

CONTENTS

1. Mahatma Gandhi

- Mahatma Gandhi Career till 1915
- Fact Box: Indian Indenture System
- Franchise Law Amendment Bill
- Indian Natal Congress
- Green Pamphlet
- Boer Wars 1880-1902
- Gandhi and the Second Boer War 1899
- Indian Opinion
- Impact of "Unto This Last"
- Impact of Leo Tolstoy
- Celibacy and the Controversial side of Sex Life
- Black Law 1906
- Impact of Thoreau's Civil Disobedience
- Fact Box: Passive Resistance and Arubindo Ghosh
- Fact Box: Difference between Passive Resistance & Active Resistance
- Satyagraha & Tolstoy Farm
- Hind Swaraj
- Tolstoy Farm
- Fact Box: Satyagraha and Passive Resistance
- Return to India & Sabarmati Ashram

2. Annie Besant

- All India Home Rule League 1915-1920
- Objectives of the Home Rule League movement
- Indian Home Rule League & Home Rule League
- Was Home Rule League a light in the dark tunnel?
- Contribution of HRL

3. Lord Chelmsford

- Arrival of Lord Chelmsford 1916
- The Lucknow Pact of 1916
- Lucknow Pact- Was it signed without a thought for its consequences?
- The Champaran Satyagraha 1917
- Kheda Satyagraha 1918
- Ahmadabad Mill Strike 1918
- Montagu Declaration 1917
- The Duke Memorandum
- Committee under Montague Chelmsford
- Government of India Act 1919
- Merits (despite limitations) of GOI Act 1919
- Rowalt Committee 1918
- Rowlatt Act & Satyagraha 1919
- Jallianwala Bagh tragedy
- Saddler University Commission 1917
- Impact of Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy
- Crawling Order
- Hunter Committee Report
- Fact Box: Disorders Inquiry Committee: Members
- Khilafat Movement 1919-20
- Did Gandhi asked Maulana Brothers to launch Khilafat Movement?
- Was Khilafat Movement a new chapter in Hindu Muslim Unity?
- Non-Cooperation Movement 1920

- The Spread of Non-Cooperation Movement 1920-21
- Livery of freedom: Khadi & Charkha
- Volunteer Corps
- Dar-al-Harb
- Major Events of Non-Cooperation Movement
- Moplah Rebellion 1921
- Chauri Chaura Incident 1922
- Chauri Chaura Incident and Swaraj Party
- Outcome of Non-cooperation movement
- Was abandoning NCM a desperate bid of Gandhi to save the capitalists and the landlords?
- Did three objects of non-cooperation failed in NCM?
- Birth of Swaraj Party
- Pro-changers & No-changers
- Muddiman Committee
- Separation of Khilafat leaders: Kakinada session 1923
- Lahore session of Muslim League 1924
- Revival of Hindu Mahasabha 1923
- Establishment of Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh 1925
- Emergence of Communists
- Another view of genesis of CPI
- Beginning of All India Trade Union Congress 1920
- Re-emergence of Revolutionary and Terrorist Movement
- Hindustan Republican Association (HRA) 1924
- Kakori Train Conspiracy
- Peshawar Conspiracy Case 1923
- Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case 1924

4. Lord Irwin

- Arrival of Lord Irwin 1926
- Appointment of Simon Commission 1927
- Explicit and Implicit Objectives of Simon Commission
- Recommendations of Simon Commission
- Limitations of Simon Commission
- Foundation of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association 1928
- Death of Lala Lajpat Rai 1928
- Lahore Conspiracy Case 1928-31
- Moti Lal Nehru Report 1928
- Was Nehru Report a Reversal of Lucknow Pact?
- Jinnah's 14 Points
- Poorna Swarajya Resolution: Lahore Session 1929
- Trial and Execution of Bhagat Singh 1931
- Chittagong Armory Raid 1930
- Failure of revolutionary terrorism contributed to the success of Gandhi?
- Salt Satyagraha 1930
- Beginning of Civil Disobedience Movement

- Recommendations of Simon Commission 1930
- First Round Table Conference 1930
- Gandhi- Irwin Pact 1931, March 5
- Karachi Session of Congress 1931
- Second Round Table conference 1931
- Civil Disobedience Movement Second Phase 1931-1934
- Assessment of the Civil Disobedience Movement
- How did CDM differ from NCM?
- Communal Award August 1932
- McDonald award was another manifestation of British policy of divide and rule?
- Poona Pact of September 1932
- Did Poona pact divert all attention from CDM?
- Third Round Table Conference November 1932
- Changes in the Congress before Government of India Act 1935
- Bihar Earthquake 1934

5. Lord Linlithgow

- Arrival of Lord Linlithgow 1936-1944
- Government of India Act 1935
- Salient Features of Government of India Act 1935
- Lord Dundas & Viscount Ennismore
- Background: Separation of Burma
- Political Reaction to the Federation of India Act
- Circumstances at the time of Election
- Elections and Results
- Rise of Separatism
- Wardha Scheme of Education 1937
- Rise of Congress Socialist Party : 1934 Onwards
- Rise of Subhash Chandra Bose: Career till 1938
- Congress Haripura Session 1938
- Congress Tripuri Session 1939
- Establishment of Forward Bloc 1939
- Begin of Second World War 1939 & Bose's Escape
- Second World War 1939 & Congress
- Jinnah's Two Nations Theory March 1940
- Pirpur Committee
- August Offer 1940
- Individual Satyagraha 1940-41
- Cripps Proposals 1942
- Quit India Movement: August 1942
- Was the Great August Uprising inevitable?
- Was the Quit India Movement a natural corollary of the prolonged struggle for the independence?
- Did Quit India Movement prove to be a metaphor?
- Subhash Chandra Bose: In Germany
- Tokyo Conference: March, 1942
- All Malayan Indian Independence League: 1942, Singapore
- Bangkok Conference : June 1942
- Arrival of Bose in Japan 1943

-: About this document:-

- Provisional Government of Free India, Singapore, October 1943
- End of INA
- INA Trials (Red Fort Trials) 1946
- 6. Lord Wavell**
- Arrival of Lord Wavell 1943-47
- C. Rajagopalachari formula of 1944
- Gandhi-Jinnah talks of 1944
- Moth Eaten Pakistan & Allama Mashriq's Point
- Wavell Plan, June 1945
- Shimla Conference, June 1945
- Was the failure inevitable at Shimla?
- General Election, December 1945
- RIN Mutiny 1946
- Cabinet Mission Plan 1946
- Reaction to the Cabinet Mission Plan
- Direct Action Day, August 16, 1946
- Constituent Assembly – December 6, 1946
- Objectives Resolution- January 22, 1947
- Atlee's Declaration – February 20, 1947
- 7. Lord Mountbatten**
- Arrival of Lord Mountbatten 1947
- Dickie Bird Plan 1947
- June 3 Plan: June 3, 1947
- Partition Council
- Indian Independence Act 1947

MAHATMA GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi Career till 1915

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in Porbandar Town of the Bombay Presidency on 2 October 1869, the year in which **Lord Mayo took office** as Governor General of India. His father Karamchand Gandhi was a **Diwan of the Porbandar State**, which was a small princely state under the Kathiawar Agency. His mother Putli Bai was the fourth wife of his father, the earlier three died during child birth.

The impression of stories of Raja Harishchandra gave this young boy, the first introduction to truth. At the age of 13 year, he was married to 14 year old Kasturbai. At the age of 15 years this couple gave birth to first child, who died in a few days.

He passed Metric from the **Samaldas College of Bhavnagar**, with difficulty because he was not so good in education, but his family wanted him to become a Barrister.

His father died in 1885 and in 1888, the year in which his eldest son Harilal was born, he went to London to study law and get training as a barrister.

Before this journey to "*vilayat*" he had given a pledge to his mother to not indulge in meat, alcohol and promiscuousness. He enrolled in the Inner Temple London in the same year (1888) and in kept fasting due to non availability of Vegetarian eateries around till he joined the **London Vegetarian Society**. In 1891 he was called to Bar at the age of 22 years and in the same year he returned to India.

But he was not a good lawyer at all and thus, could not establish himself in the court. In **1893**, when got a one year contract with the **Dada Abdulah & Company in South Africa**, he left for the job in the Colony of Natal, South Africa, part of British Empire.

The young man of 24 years when was in South Africa saw the discrimination with the Black South Africans and Indians. The **Indian Indenture Act** was in place and the Indians were indentured to South Africa. Most of the Indians were of low castes.

Fact Box: Indian Indenture System

Indenture literally means "a contract binding one party into the service of another for a specified term". During the British Era, a new kind of slavery started in the early 19th century, in which Indians were exported to various parts of the world as 'forced' laborers.

The Slavery ended in 1833 and this news kind of slavery started from that year and continued till 1920 when thousands of Indians were transported to various colonies of European powers to provide labor. *Most of the labor was used for sugar plantations.*

- ✍ The system started in 1826 when the Government of the **French Indian Ocean island of Réunion**, laid down terms for the introduction on Indian laborers to this colony.
- ✍ Every person was required to appear before a magistrate and declare that he was going voluntarily. Thus the person would enter into a 5 year contract and would be given 8 rupees monthly plus ration.

So, the first laborers started moving from Pondicherry and Karaikal which were under the French.

From 1826 to 1830 more than 3 thousand Indian laborers were transported from Pondicherry and Karaikal to Reunion. Then there was an attempt to send Indian Laborers to Mauritius, in 1829, but this attempt was unsuccessful. But after 1834, Indian labor export to Mauritius got pace.

From 1833 to 1920 around 12 Lakh Indians were sent to work in different parts of the world. Out of them maximum 4.53 Lakh were sent to Mauritius, followed by 2.39 Lakh to British Guiana, 1.44 Lakh to Trinidad and 1.52 Lakh to South Africa.

- ✍ On January 11, 2011, a **Memorial plaque** in honor of Indian Indentured Laborers was unveiled at Kidderpore Dock, **Kolkata Port**, which is the first ever Memorial established in India in honor of Indian Indentured Laborers that travelled from India in the 19th & 20th centuries.

The Kolkata Memorial recognizes and honors the indomitable spirit and heroism of all Indians who left the shores of their motherland from 1833 to 1920 to embark long and hazardous journeys to faraway lands and begin a new life there.

In months of arriving to South Africa, Gandhi was sent by his firm to handle a case at Pretoria. On this train ride, while still new to South Africa, he encountered the brutal reality of racial prejudice.

It was in May 1893, while Gandhi was on his way to Pretoria, a white man objected to Gandhi's presence in a first-class carriage, and he was ordered to move to the van compartment at the end of the train. Gandhi, had a first-class ticket, refused, and was thrown off the train at **Pietermaritzburg**. Shivering through the winter, during that long, bitterly cold night in the maritzburg station he came to a decision that set the course of his life.

He writes:

" The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial-----only a symptom of hate deep disease of colour prejudice. I should try, if possible, to root out the diseasesuffer hardships in this process. Redress for wrongs I should seek only to the extent that would be necessary for the removal of the colour prejudice "

Gandhi was on a one year contract, but the events in South Africa inspired and strengthened his resolve to fight the degrading racism. He stayed not one but **twenty-one-years**-----from **1893 through 1914**.

Shortly afterwards he called upon a general meeting of the Indians to discuss the prejudice. He pledged them to help him to overcome it. He was shy but he was able to deliver a powerful speech in this meeting and tried to admonish the audience to improve themselves as much as possible by practicing truthfulness and fairness in their business dealings, transcending caste and religious differences, learning English, and maintaining cleanliness. He urged them to replace passivity with self-esteem, industriousness and visible civic practices.

We should also know that in South Africa, whether it was a rich or poor, educated or illiterate, laborer or professional Indian, he was considered a **coolly**. They were not allowed to vote. They had to keep a pass after dark and the Whites could push them off a sidewalk to make way.

He was asked to remove his hat while in the court, a common practice prevalent. The Blacks had to pay an annual tax to stay there. They used to live in separate, segregated neighborhoods. They were not entitled to have any property out there.

In the speeches he was able to charm the Indian audiences and was able to clearly define the situation as well as ways to deal with the situations.

-: About this document:-

Franchise Law Amendment Bill

The lawsuit of Dada Abdulla and Company was anyhow settled and Gandhi returned to Durban where he started preparing for coming back to India.

Dada Abdulla, who was probably the richest Indian in South Africa, gave a farewell party to Gandhi, but in this party, by chance, Gandhi had a glance over a newspaper titled "**Natal Mercury**". The headline of the news that attracted him was "**Indian Franchise**".

The news was related to a bill named **Franchise Law Amendment Bill** that was tabled before the Natal legislature. *The idea of this bill was to deprive of voting who then enjoyed "limited Franchise" then based upon the wealth criterion.* Anybody with some other requirements had to keep a property of 50 Pounds in South Africa to exercise a voting right. The right was ceded to the Indians by the Royal Charter of 1850.

✓ So, the new bill was contradictory to what this Royal chart says. It was also against the letter and spirit of Royal Proclamation of 1858, which said:

.....We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian Territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all other subjects.....a it is our further will that, so far may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our services, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity....

But the said bill was based upon the assumption that the Indians who came to Natal from India had never exercised franchise in their motherland. Another assumption of this bill was that they were "*Not fit for the exercise of franchise*". ☺

This naked violation of the human right gave a shock to Gandhi and in the same farewell party, he explained the Indian Guests about the result and consequence of the bill if it becomes an act - It was the first nail in the coffin of the Indian interests and strikes at the roots of their self respect.

The Indians realized the danger of the bill. The result was that this farewell party turned out to become a working committee.

- ✓ To chalk out the future plan, a meeting was arranged next day under the chairmanship of **Seth Haji Adam**, another rich Indian merchant in Natal.
- ✓ This was followed by a telegram in the name of Seth Haji Adam to be sent to the speaker of the Natal legislative assembly, Prime Minister and Attorney General of Natal. The consideration of the bill was deferred for two days.

This was followed by a petition by Gandhi signed by five hundred Indians opposing the Franchise Law Amendment Bill. In this petition, Gandhi presented Indians as humble subjects of the British and docilely opposed the said bill. He highlighted the ancient Panchayati system of India and quoted example of Mysore assembly which was a model of British parliament. He also gave reference of the existing municipal system of India. He tried to convince the honorable members of the assembly of Natal that Indians know their duty and responsibility with regard to the Franchise.

- ✓ At the same time (Around July 1894) Gandhi wrote a letter to Dada Bhai Naoroji in London to raise the question of their problems in South Africa.

-: About this document:-

But the above efforts proved fruitless. The bill got passed in the assembly and it was sent to the Legislative council for approval. On July 6, 1894, Gandhi presented a second petition, which was too rejected. The bill was sent to the Governor for assent on July 10, 1894. Gandhi wrote a letter to the Governor. He again wrote a letter to Dada Bhai Naoroji about the affairs. On July 17, 1894, he submitted a mass petition with signs of ten thousand Indians to Lord Ripon, who was Secretary of State for Colonies at that time. This third petition was having the full faith in the British Empire and it represented Indians as "subjects" of the British Empire, gave the historical background and current condition elaborately.

✓ Thus was the **first political mission of Gandhi**. After submitting the petition to Lord Ripon, Gandhi convinced that his work his almost done sought permission of the Indians in South Africa to return India.

But the merchant colleagues did not permit him. He had witnessed their enthusiasm and the community over there wanted him to lead them for their cause. Gandhi saw the logic and settled in Natal. He registered himself in the Supreme Court to practice at Bars and started earning his livelihood from legal practice.

Indian Natal Congress

On 22 August 1894 Gandhi founded **Natal Indian Congress**. In 1895, he brought out a Pamphlet; ***The Indian Franchise: An appeal to Every Briton in South Africa***.

✓ **Seth Haji Adam became its president and Gandhi became its secretary.**

But the Europeans had the natural hatred for Indians and Blacks. In May 1895, the Natal Legislative Assembly introduced a new anti Indian Bill called the **Indian Immigration Law Amendment Bill**. This Bill was **related to the Indian indentured laborers**. The bill intended to raise the **period of Indenture from 5 years to an indefinite period**. Further, it also made the return of the Indian Indentured laborers to India just after their period of indenture is finished. But if they wished to love in Natal, they had to fulfill the following conditions:

1. They should enter another indenture agreement
2. They should pay an annual tax of 25 Pounds

Gandhi again rose against this bill. He sent a petition that the bill will only further the prejudice on the basis of the color. He pointed out the bill was unjust and contradicts the fundamentals of British Constitution. The bill also followed the same course and Gandhi sent 3 petitions at different points of time.

✓ But the bill became an act. However, the tax was reduced from 25 Pounds to 3 Pounds.

This was in 1895. The previous Indian Franchise Amendment Bill was refused the Royal Assent and this brought jubilation among the Indians. This jubilation was short lived and another similar bill was passed later on.

Green Pamphlet

By 1896, Gandhi had **two partial victories** to his credit:

- ✓ One was the **Indian Franchise Amendment Bill**, which was not approved in its prior condition and
- ✓ another was the **Immigration bill**, which though got passed, but the 25 Pound Poll Tax was reduced to 3 Pound.

-: About this document:-

Thus now Gandhi was established as a leader of the Indians in South Africa. In 1896, he wished to come back to India to see his family. He came to India via Calcutta.

✍ At Rajkot he wrote and issued a "**Green Pamphlet**". In this **Green Pamphlet**, he exposed the conditions of Indian Indentured laborers and Coolies in South Africa. He also made some speeches in India, regarding the human rights and their condition.

The **Green Pamphlet** was taken by the British as an anti-government publication. When Gandhi again reached Durban, his ship was not allowed to dock for three days. When he finally got himself dislodged, he was beaten by the "whites". But despite this humiliation, he continued to work for Indian Natal Congress.

Boer Wars 1880-1902

Boer is an Afrikaans word for *Farmer*. The Southern African Kingdoms of Orange Free State, Transvaal (Now South Africa) and to some extent Natal were known as Boer Republics. The two Boer wars were fought between the British Empire and the two independent Boer republics, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal Republic) during the 1880 to 1902 period.

1. In the First Boer War, the British lost the Transvaal and the Boers of Transvaal got freedom, but in the second Boer war which lasted from 1899 to 1902, converted these republics into British Colonies. These colonies later became part of Union of South Africa.

Gandhi and the Second Boer War 1899

Gandhi abhorred the mistreatments of the Indians in South Africa. But he was **not anti-British** Empire and had the faith over the British Constitution and empire. In his views, the empire was not responsible for the individual problems of the colonies whose vast conglomeration was under the Government in London. In his view, it was the local problems.

The First Boer war resulted in the British defeat in 1881. In 1899, the war again started. Gandhi wished to **support the British in a hope that the conditions of Indians would improve later**. He set up by organizing 1100 volunteers and served in the **Indian Ambulance Corps**.

This ambulance did not continue throughout the war. In 1901 his family returned to India. Gandhi established a legal practice in Mumbai and started taking interest in the Indian National Movement. But in 1902, he received a Telegram from Durban and returned there.

Indian Opinion

With the support of the **Natal Indian Congress** and the other well-wishers in Natal and by the *Madanjit Viyavaharik International Printing Press*, he released the first issue of **Indian Opinion** on June 6, **1903**.

✍ The newspaper was published in **Gujarat, Hindi, Tamil and English** and its editor was **Mansukhlal Nazar**.

✍ 1904 its publication office was relocated in Phoenix, close to Durban.

In the Indian Opinion, Gandhi highlighted the poor conditions in which the indentured workers worked. The cases of harsh treatments were exposed. Regarding this newspaper Gandhi writes famously:

"Satyagraha would have been impossible without Indian Opinion."

-: About this document:-

- ✍ Indian Opinion was the **First newspaper brought out by Gandhi.**
- ✍ Later, he published Young India, Navjivan and Gujarat Samachar.

Impact of "Unto This Last"

During a long train journey in South Africa, Gandhi was given a book of John Ruskin (Unto This Last) by one of his friends.

About this book, he has written that it brought an **instantaneous change in his life.** Gandhi derived the following 3 messages from this book:

1. **"The good of the individual is contained in the good of all".** The concept of "Sarvodaya" and "Antyodaya" were the **products of this influence of Ruskin on Gandhi.** Here we note the following talisman of Gandhi, which is inspired from the ideal of Antyodaya:

Whenever you are in doubt or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test: 'Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?' then you will find your doubts and yourself melting away.

Thus for Gandhi, 'Unto The Last' would mean **only the uplift of the last** (Antyodaya). Ruskin's Unto The Last had directly or indirectly had a profound **influence on Gandhi in adopting the ideal of Sarvodaya as his life's mission**

2. Gandhi derived from this book that a "Lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work".
3. The third message Gandhi derived from this book was that *a life of the tiller of the soil and that of handicraftsman / farmer / laborer is the life worth living.* This message gave him a teaching that he would live a **life of labor.**

Inspired young Gandhi established the Phoenix Farm in 40 hectares of land near Durban and started publishing Indian Opinion from there.

Impact of Leo Tolstoy

Gandhi was greatly influenced by Leo Tolstoy, through his book **'The Kingdom of God is Within You'** and his essay on 'Christianity and Patriotism'. Tolstoy's **ideal** of "simplicity of life and purity of purpose" influenced Gandhi deeply. The "love as law of life" and **principles of non-violence**, that is based on love for the entire mankind, were deeply embedded in the writings of Tolstoy. Both Gandhi and Tolstoy adopted the idea of love to solve problems of life. Gandhi has written that reading the **'The Kingdom of God is Within You'** had cured him of skepticism and **made him** a firm **believer of Ahimsa.** For both of them, non-violence could cure all social maladies, eradicate political ills and establish peace on earth.

- ✍ In summary, it was Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom Of God Is Within You' which made Gandhi speak of his **"inner voice"** and live a life of **"simplicity"**.

Celibacy and the Controversial side of Sex Life

Gandhi's life of celibacy and *brahmacharya* has many aspects and includes some controversial, abnormal and unusual facets also. Gandhi has constantly spoken of sex and chastity. *Most of the material regarding this side of his life has been distorted and suppressed in the course of elevating him to the "Father of the Nation".*

Gandhi is famous and often controversial for his famed chastity that also included sleeping naked next to nubile, naked women to test his restraint. It has been said that his was the personal vision of the Indian Brahmacharya in which mind dominates the body. Since, self control is paramount, his testing to see whether that control is truly in place or not was his logic, that made him having a bizarre sexual history.

Black Law 1906

The Transvaal Government proposed to bring a new bill which if passed would reregister Asiatics in the Transvaal. It was the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance called the Black Law. If passed it would require all the Indians to register themselves with the authorities and carry their registration certificates with them, with their fingerprints taken. This would also empower the police to enter Indian Homes and carry out searches.

The outrage grew and on 11 September 1906, a mass meeting was organized at Empire Theatre at Johannesburg. The act was passed in 1907 with some amendment excluding the women from its provisions.

Impact of Thoreau's Civil Disobedience

Henry David Thoreau was an American author, poet, and philosopher, who is best known for his book *Walden*, a reflection upon simple living in natural surroundings, and his essay *Civil Disobedience*, an argument for individual resistance to civil government in moral opposition to an unjust state. *Thoreau's philosophy of civil disobedience influenced* the political thoughts and actions of such later figures as Leo Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Thoreau is called a pacifist. He is known to be a champion of the free spirit. He was grossed out by the established political and economic routine of time.

However, Gandhi did not derive his idea of 'civil disobedience' from the writings of Thoreau. He has started his resistance to authorities in South Africa much before he got the essay of "civil disobedience" by Thoreau. Gandhi called it "passive resistance". Gandhi did not prefer to use the term "Civil Disobedience" and instead he used another term "Civil Resistance".

Fact Box: Passive Resistance and Arubindo Ghosh

The concept of passive resistance was highlighted by Arubindo Ghosh. Arubindo was against the Moderates' theory of "politics of petition" and along with Tilak belonged to the Extremist section. In place of prayer, petition, protest and "please", he advocated the more radical policy of boycott. Arubindo visualized that other nations had won the precious prize of liberty by 'intense suffering, humiliations and martyrdom', than 'merely by spending the ink of the journalist and petition-framer and the breath of the orator'. In view of Arubindo, the politics of petitioning was "the dream of timid inexperience, the teaching of false friends who hope to keep us in perpetual subjection, foolish to reason, false to experience". In view of Arubindo, the Moderates displayed only sentimental enthusiasm.

In South Africa, Gandhi organized the Indians to resist the move. He set up the **Passive Resistance Association** to run the campaign.

-: About this document:-

Fact Box: Difference between Passive Resistance & Active Resistance

The essential difference between passive or defensive and active or aggressive resistance is that, while the later is to do something by which one can bring about positive harm to the government, but the former is to abstain from doing something by which he would be helping the government. The concept of passive resistance was suitable to India because - British government had depended mainly for their continuance of administration with the help and acquiescence of the local people. The idea of adopting passive resistance was to jam the administration machinery without doing any harm to it, so that the conditions may be created that the Government accepts the demands. Thus, the core principle of passive resistance was to put pressure on government. Please note that the moderates believed that Passive Resistance was either impractical or injurious political weapon.

Satyagraha & Tolstoy Farm

Against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, or Black law, Gandhi started using Non-violent way of protest known as Satyagraha, which really means Truth Force but mistaken as Passive Resistance.

They started breaking laws and the Government started arresting the law breakers. In 1908, Gandhi was given two months imprisonment.

Hind Swaraj

In 1909 Gandhi went England to support his cause, unsuccessfully. In England, he had written a manifesto called "Hind Swaraj" in which he outlined the views on Indian Independence and made it clear that he did not object to British Rule as such, but the way Indian society was "corrupted" due to Britain's introduction of mechanized industry and its material possessions.

Tolstoy Farm

In 1910, the provinces of Southern Africa joined and created the Union of South Africa with Louis Botha its prime Minister. In 1910, Gandhi established another cooperative colony near Johannesburg, called Tolstoy Farm, having been inspired by Tolstoy's ideas. Tolstoy Farm became Gandhi's cradle of the Satyagraha activities.

Fact Box: Satyagraha and Passive Resistance

The term satyagraha was coined by Gandhi in south Africa to indicate the movement which was originally described, even by Gandhi himself, as passive resistance. The word satyagraha was deliberately substituted for "Passive Resistance" because Gandhi, probably felt ashamed to use an English word. However, he also believed that Satyagraha had a wider meaning than the Passive Resistance. For him, Passive Resistance is a weapon of the weak, and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end, but satyagraha has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form." So, the motive behind Satyagraha was not to destroy or harass the opponent, but convert him or win him over sympathy, patience, and self-suffering.

In the Tolstoy Farm and Phoenix Farm the disciplined cadres were trained about the peaceful violation of the specific laws, mass courting of arrests and occasional strike offs.

In 1914, Gandhi was awarded the *Kaisar-i-Hind* Gold Medal by the government for raising the Indian ambulance unit during the second Boer war.

Return to India & Sabarmati Ashram

On 8 January 1915, Gandhi returned to India. In May 1915, he laid the foundation of Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmadabad.

-: About this document:-

200 people lived in Sabarmati Ashram in a typical Indian village style. To demonstrate the rejection of mechanized industry of Britain, these men at Ashram took the pledge to wear only Khadi. To explain his ideas, he started travelling in IIIrd class railway carriages. He started getting concerned about the poor and untouchables of the country.

✍ Till 1917, Gandhi had no official leadership or role or agenda and British could easily tolerate his presence.

ANNIE BESANT

In June 1914, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was released from Mandalay. In the beginning he supported the British endeavors in the war. All the **moderates and extremists** alike were on a mistaken belief that a grateful Britain would repay India by making political concessions towards self-government, once the war is over.

The congress was rendered politically inactive practically, after 1910. During the initial period of the World War-I, the new element of reunification of the congress started with the rise of **Annie Besant**, a theosophical leader. This 66 years lady (in 1914) had begun her career in England as a proponent of free thought, radicalism, Fabianism (socialism), and theosophy and was an ardent supporter of Irish and Indian self rule.

She was born in 1847 into a family of Irish origin. The conditions prevalent at home taught her fighting for freedom of thought, secularism, women's rights etc. She started keeping in touch with the Irish home rulers and gave them support, while writing in the newspaper items.

✍ She had a close relationship with **George Bernard Shaw**, an Irish struggler living in London, who later cofounded London School of Economics.

✍ George Bernard Shaw is the only person to have been awarded both a Nobel Prize for Literature (1925) and an Oscar (1938), for his contributions to literature and for his work on the film Pygmalion.

✍ George sponsored Annie to join the Fabian Society.

In 1875, Theosophical Society was established in New York as an organization to advance the spiritual principles and search for Truth known as Theosophy.

✍ Its prominent founding fathers were Helena Blavatsky, Henry Steel Olcott, William Quan Judge etc.

In 1891, Helena Blavatsky died and soon after William Quan Judge was accused of forgery by Annie Besant and Henry Steel Olcott. Both Henry Steel Olcott and Annie Besant took most of the American society with themselves and this society which exists today in India is called the **Theosophical Society - Adyar**, when the organization's headquarters moved to Adyar, an area of Chennai in 1883.

Prior to Annie Besant the leader was Charles Webster Leadbeater who got in some controversy over a sexual insinuation of the spirituality with the boys of the society.

In 1898, she was instrumental in setting up of Central Hindu College, which in 1911 culminated as Banaras Hindu University with her joint efforts with Madan Mohan Malviya. In 1908, Annie Besant became President of Theosophical Society. By 1914, she had been associated with the Indian National Congress. When the war broke out and England declared a war against Germany, she famously said:

"England's need is India's Opportunity".

-: About this document:-

All India Home Rule League 1915-1920

After returning from Mandalay, **Tilak** proposed that the congress should small and cohesive working committee to carry out its daily functions, so that the Congress is transformed to a real political party. But the good idea was not accepted.

The meaning of war for a common man was increased *dacoity on his pocket* by the government so; the common man was ready to join any movement or protest against the Government. But India lacked a solid political front and congress was just a deliberate functionary; not in a position of organizing mass protests.

✍ In September 1915, Annie launched the Home Rule League, modeling demands for India on Irish models.

She clearly gave a signal of fighting for a change. For the first time, India saw a political party that was to work all year round, *unlike the Congress which croaked once a year*. The result was that she was able to mobilize the demonstrations and organize demonstrations, public meetings and agitations.

✍ In the next year 1916, Tilak also reorganized his supporters. When the war was near closing, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Annie Besant, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Joseph Baptista, G. S. Khaparde, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, all came together under the umbrella of the **All India Home Rule League**. The demand was self-government within the British Empire for all of India.

Objectives of the Home Rule League movement

1. To establish self- government
2. To build up an agitation for home rule by promoting political education and discussion.
3. To build the confidence of the Indians against the suppression of the British government and to create an alternative movement to break the existing state of stagnation and the inertia.
4. To revive the political activity on their own while maintaining the principles of congress.
5. To demand for greater political representation from the British government.

Indian Home Rule League & Home Rule League

Please note that Indian Home Rule League and Home Rule League were not simultaneously launched by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant. Indian Home Rule League of Tilak was launched in April 1916, while the Home Rule League of Annie Besant came into existence in September that year. As per a common informal understanding between the two leaders, the Indian Home Rule league had to work in Maharashtra and Central Provinces, while Home Rule League had to work in all India except Maharashtra and Central Provinces. Commonweal and New India were the papers of Home Rule League, while those of the Indian Home Rule league were Kesari and Mahratta. Please note that after Montague declaration in 1917, Besant had dropped her league but NOT Tilak.

Was Home Rule League a light in the dark tunnel?

We see that the period between 1909 to 1915 was the lowest ebb in the national movement, when the British suppression led to a vacuum of ideology and leadership. The Congress became directionless and mass movement lost the direction. Under these circumstances, it was the HRL which not only showed positive attitude towards masses but also prevented them from being alienated from the mainstream. HRL was able to combine and balance all the three trends viz. moderates, extremists, and revolutionary terrorists. The two things must be noted here:

1. HRL dropped ides of extremist's mass movement but continued their idea of passive resistance
2. HRL dropped the idea of mendicancy of the moderates but continued their concept of patriotism.

-: About this document:-

It's worth note that both HRL and IHRL , at that time had emphasized more on awareness through journals like commonweal, India , Mahratta etc. They tried to restore the confidence of the Indians against British suppression, demanded greater political representation and self government and maintained the principles of congress. Therefore, HRL helped to restore the movement which was derailed movement.

Tilak founded the first League in Poona. Mohammad Ali Jinnah headed up the League's Bombay Branch. With its national headquarters in Delhi, the main cities of activity were Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

✍ In June 1917, Annie was arrested under the Defense of India Act. To show her defiance, she flew a red and green flag in the garden. Mass protests began and American President Wilson intervened for her release.

Despite the banner of All India Home Rule League, there were two leagues one by Tilak that worked in Bombay Presidency, Carnatic, Central provinces and Berar. The Annie Besant's league worked for rest of India. At the climax of its activities in 1917, the combined membership of both the leagues was around 40,000.

✍ The All India Home league **ended in 1920**, when it elected Mahatma Gandhi as its President, when within a year it merged into the Indian National Congress.

Contribution of HRL

- ✍ It organized congress party when it was decaying.
- ✍ It popularized concept of home rule.
- ✍ It created organizational **links between town and country.**
- ✍ It revived the old lost confidence of the Indians and created a generation of ardent nationalists.
- ✍ **Declaration of Montagu** and the **Montford Reforms** were influenced by the Home Rule League agitation.
- ✍ For the first time, widely disseminated the idea of Swaraj via the journals, something which was followed even by Gandhi.

LORD CHELMSFORD

Arrival of Lord Chelmsford 1916

On April 4, 1916, Lord Chelmsford took over as next Viceroy of India. This was the time for constant development in the national politics in India.

The Lucknow Pact of 1916

Initially, the policy of the Muslim League was to preserve Muslims interests in India and to support the British Raj. Before and after the cancellation of partition of Bengal, the aims and objectives of Muslim league were confusing.

- ✓ At the close of the war, Lord Chelmsford had invited suggestions from the Indians for post World War I reforms further helped in the development of the situation. So, naturally the Muslim league which was on the sidelines of the country politics by that time would like to come ahead to **get a better share in the expected giveaways of reforms.**
- ✓ So, it was the brain of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, that an objective aim of the Muslim league emerged and they sought for a sort of joint platform with the moderates and extremists to put a constitutional pressure on the British Government to do some favors in return for the support in the First World War.
- ✓ In December 1915, the extremists under Tilak and moderates under Gokhle met at Bombay where Muslim league joined them to draft a set of **minimum constitutional demands** through mutual consultations, thus giving an idea of illusionary **Hindu Muslim Unity.**

-: About this document:-

Congress met once again at Lucknow on December 29 and December 31, 1916. Here Congress and Muslim league negotiated and reached an agreement to pressure the British government to adopt a more liberal approach to India and give Indians more authority in respect with the self government.

✍ This was for the first time that Muslim League and Congress met at a common platform for the first time since their birth.

The soul of this pact is written here. The Highlighted clauses seem to be the main blunders of our congress leaders.

1. There shall be self-government in India.
2. **Muslims should be given one-third representation in the central government.**
3. There should be **separate electorates for all the communities** until a community demanded joint electorates.
4. A system of **weightage to minority political representation (giving minorities more representation in the government then is proportional to their share of the population)** should be adopted.
5. The number of the members of Central Legislative Council should be increased to 150.
6. At the provincial level, four-fifth of the members of the Legislative Councils should be elected and one-fifth should be nominated.
7. The size of provincial legislatures should not be less than 125 in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.
8. All members, except those nominated, should be elected directly on the basis of adult franchise.
9. No bill concerning a community should be passed if the bill is opposed by three-fourth of the members of that community in the Legislative Council.
10. The term of the Legislative Council should be five years.
11. Members of Legislative Council should themselves elect their president.
12. Half of the members of Imperial Legislative Council should be Indians.
13. The salaries of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs should be paid by the British government and not from Indian funds.
14. Of the two Under Secretaries, one should be Indian.
15. The Executive should be separated from the Judiciary.

This pact which approved one-third representation of the Muslims in the central government was probably an *oncogene* that finally resulted in a Cancer in India and was cured only when India was cut in two pieces.

Lucknow Pact- Was it signed without a thought for its consequences?

We see that the Lucknow Pact of 1916 was signed without regard for its consequences. Muslim League and Congress agreed to separate electorate which means congress formally reorganized communal political and tacitly gave recognition that India consisted of different communities with separate interest of their own. Then secondly, the weightage to Muslim minority was recognized, the result was that this left the way open to the future resurgence of communalism in Indian politics. Thirdly, the Muslim member's strength in legislature was laid down province by province, thus one of the most dangerous pacifist policies of congress not only recognized communal representation but also recognized communal privileges. Fourthly, in the imperial legislative council, Muslim representation was slated to be 1/3rd, although their population was not 1/3rd. And lastly, any legislature could not work if on any more 3/4th member of any religion opposed it, its consequence was introduction of communal veto in legislature. We see that INC leaders though they are sacrificing their seat in the legislature yet, they failed to understand its logical implications and partition in the offing.

But at that time it was called a symbol of Hindu Muslim unity and Sarojini Nayudu hailed Jinnah as an "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity". The unity last a few years.

- ✍ Till Lucknow pact, Muslim League was nowhere in the national politics.
- ✍ By making this pact, the Congress "recognized" that it is a political party that represents the Muslims of India. This was a mistake, this was a wrong belief that showed its results very soon.

-: About this document:-

The Champaran Satyagraha 1917

Gandhiji dangled between India and South Africa for many times till January 1915, when he arrived in India and remained here till his death. The date of his arrival is celebrated today as Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas.

✍ His first major public appearance in India was at the opening ceremony of the Banaras Hindu University in February 1916.

In the next two years he involved in some significant struggles that made him the undisputed leader of India's masses.

- ✓ The Champaran Satyagraha of 1917 was Mahatma Gandhi's first Satyagraha.
- ✓ Champaran and Kheda Satyagraha were the events which later put Gandhi on the front seat of Indian National Revolution and made Satyagraha a powerful tool.

The peasants (bhumihars) of the Champaran and other areas of North Bihar were growing the **Indigo** under the *tinakathia* system. Under the *tinakathia* system the peasants were bound to plant 3 out of 20 parts of his land with indigo for his landlord.

- ✓ This means that out of 20 khatas which make an acre, they had to dedicate 3 khatas for indigo plantation. This was the root cause of the trouble. They had to lease this part in return to the advance at the beginning of each cultivation season. The price was too less and was fixed on the area cultivated rather than the crop produced. They were actually being cheated by the English planters.

The planters had agreed to the peasants to relive them from the lease contracts but demanded heavy compensations which they were not able to pay. One local peasant leader Rajkumar Shukla had invited Mahatma Gandhi to visit Champaran. Gandhi ji arrived in Champaran but was later ordered by the District magistrate of Champaran W B Heycock to leave the district. Gandhi ji refused and persisted. He decided to commit Satyagraha. He proceeded towards the Champaran. The commissioner of tirhut division ordered Gandhi's arrest but Government of India cancelled the arrest because it did want to make him a hero.

✍ He was left at liberty to pursue his investigations into the peasant's grievances. Later the Champaran Agrarian committee was constituted and Gandhi was offered a seat in it.

The psychological impact of this Satyagraha was outstanding. Gandhi became Lord Rama of the peasants who demolished the demons (planters) ☺ People got a holy man" Gandhi Baba" in Gandhi who could cure all their problems.

Kheda Satyagraha 1918

In Kheda, Gujarat, the peasants were frequently plagued by poverty, famines, scant resource, untouchability, alcoholism and British discrimination. The famine of Chhappania Akal and some subsequent famines had destroyed the agrarian economy of the region and the peasants were still dying out of starvation.

✍ The Bombay Presidency increased the taxes in 1917-18 by 23%.

In 1918, Gujarat as a whole suffered a severe epidemic of Plague and in Kheda alone around 17000 people lost their lives. Further, cholera also broke out locally. This was the immediate reason of the revolt.

The revolt was against the taxes. The government said that if the taxes are not paid, the property would be seized.

-: About this document:-

✍ This revolt gave India a robust leader in **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel**.

✍ Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and his colleagues such as **Narhari Parikh, Mohanlal Pandya and Ravi Shankar Vyas** organized this major tax revolt, which was able to mobilize all the castes and creeds of the region.

The peasants of Kheda signed a petition in leadership of Sardar Patel and called for tax to be scrapped. The revolt was **organized by Gujarat Sabha** and Gandhi was its spiritual leader. The Kheda peasants were joined by Ahmadabad and Vadodara Gujaratis, but it was kept a pure Gujarati struggle.

- ✓ When the tax was not paid, the government sent agents to seize the property.
- ✓ The farmers did not resist but they simply donated their cash and invaluable to the Gujarat Sabha. It was a united protest, outstandingly disciplined.
- ✓ The result was that the Government reached an agreement for both the parties. Tax for the current year and next year was suspended and all confiscated property was returned.

Ahmadabad Mill Strike 1918

The Satyagraha was not confined to Kheda only. In Ahmadabad also, Gandhi ji organized a pure internal campaign, which received less publicity. Ahmadabad was the second largest city of Bombay Presidency. It was a long established commercial centre. Under the British, the cotton industry grew in the city and Ahmadabad became a modern Industrial town of the 20th century.

In February March 1918, there was a situation of conflict between the Gujarat Mill owners and workers on the question of Plague Bonus of 1917. The Mill Owners wanted to withdraw the bonus while the workers demanded a 50% wage hike. The Mill Owners were willing to give only 20% wage hike.

In March 1918, under the leadership of Gandhi, there was a strike in the cotton mills. In this strike Gandhi used the weapon of Hunger strike. If Gandhi were not there as a leader of this revolt, may be the shops were picketed, but it was carried out in pure non-violent disciplined way. The result was that the strike was successful and the workers got a 35% wage increase.

- ✓ One more leader of this strike was Anusuya Ben Sarabai, a sister of a rich mill-owner of Ahmadabad, had just returned from a tour of England.

Montagu Declaration 1917

Edwin Samuel Montagu served as Secretary of State for India between 1917 and 1922. **On 20 August 1917**, he made a historic declaration in the House of Commons defining the goal of British policies in India. In the previous month, he had made a scathing attack on the whole system by which India was being administered in a debate in British House of Commons. It is also known as **August Declaration of 1917**

The **Montague declaration** is titled:

“Increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration, and the Gradual development of self governing Institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible governments in India as an Integral part of the British Empire”.

The Keyword was **Responsible Government**; the rulers must be answerable to the elected representatives. In November 1917, Montagu visited India to ascertain the views from all sections of political opinion from India. He discussed with Gandhi, with Jinnah and others. On the basis of the above discussions, a detailed report on **Indian Constitutional Reforms** was prepared. This report was published in **July 1918**.

-: About this document:-

The Duke Memorandum

Duke Memorandum is associated with Sir William Duke, a member of the English Round Table Group and he had formulated a scheme which eventually became the basis of Joint Report of Montague and Chelmsford. "The Duke Memorandum" became the basis of Mont-Ford Reforms.

- ✓ This report became the basis of Government of India Act 1919.
- ✗ Montague declaration, again after a gap of more than half a century of Queen Victoria's proclamation 1858, was called the "*Magna Carta of India*".
- ✗ The nationalists criticized it, as it lacked the legitimate expectations of theirs.
- ✗ The declaration was criticized in the December 1917 Calcutta session, in which Annie Besant as president pleaded for establishment of Self Government in India.
- ✗ Tilak characterized the Montague reforms as "*unworthy and disappointing- a sunless dawn*". Mrs. Besant said that it was something "*unworthy of England to offer and India to accept*".

But the **moderates led by Surendranath Banerjee supported** the Montague declaration in November 1918 in a separate conference. Thus Congress again got split. The extremist remnants created another front **All India Liberal Federation**, which soon disappeared from the scene.

Committee under Montague Chelmsford

Three committees were appointed to give the Montague Chelmsford report a Constitutional form viz. Franchise Committee, Functions Committee and Committee on Home Administration. They were as follows:

1. Franchise Committee - Lord Southborough
2. Functions Committee - Richard Feetam
3. Committee on Home Administration- Lord Crewe (Marquess of Crewe)

Government of India Act 1919

Government of India act is known as a consequence of Montague Chelmsford Reforms.

The Government of India act 1919 was passed on the basis of recommendations of Lord Chelmsford and Samuel Montagu to introduce self-governing institutions gradually to India. This act covered 10 years from 1919 to 1929.

Salient Features:

- ✗ The Government of India act 1919 had a separate Preamble. This Preamble declared that Objective of the British Government is the *gradual introduction of responsible government in India*. Thus we see that the beginning was made.
- ✗ The beginning was **introduction of Diarchy**. Preamble suggested for a decentralized unitary form of government.

Diarchy means a dual set of governments one is accountable another is not accountable.

The Government of India Act of 1919, made a provision for classification of the central and provincial subjects.

- ✗ The provincial subjects were divided into two groups: One was reserved and another was transferred. The reserved subjects were kept with the Governor and transferred subjects were kept with the Indian Ministers. This division of subjects was basically what they meant by introducing the Diarchy.

-: About this document:-

The reserved subjects were the essential areas of law enforcement such as justice, police, revenue. The transferred subjects were such as public health, public works, education etc.

- ✍ Please note that Government of India Act 1919, kept the Income Tax as source of revenue to the Central Government. However, there were two Provinces, for which, to meet their objections, a provision to assign them 25% of the Income tax was made. **These Provinces were Bengal & Bombay.**
- ✍ Also, Foreign Relations and relations with Native states were NOT kept in Central Subjects in Government of India Act 1919

- ✍ The Indian executive comprised of the Governor General and his council.
- ✍ No bill of the legislature could be deemed to have been passed unless assented to by the governor general. The later could however enact a Bill without the assent of the legislature.
- ✍ This act made the central legislature bicameral. The first house which was central legislature, with 145 members (out of which 104 elected and 41 nominated) was called central **Legislative Assembly** and second called with 60 members (out of which 33 elected and 27 nominated) was called Council of States. The term of the assembly was fixed 3 years and council 5 years.
- ✍ The central legislature can be called a primitive model of today's Lok Sabha & council of states can be called a primitive model of Today's Rajya Sabha.
- ✍ The act provided for the establishment of a Public Service Commission in India for the first time.
- ✍ This act also made a provision in its part V, that a statutory commission would be set up at the end of 10 years after the act was passed which shall inquire into the working into the system of the government.
- ✍ The Simon commission of 1927 was an outcome of this provision.

The communal representation was extended and Sikhs, Europeans and Anglo Indians were included. The Franchise (Right of voting) was granted to the limited number of only those who paid certain minimum "Tax" to the government.

- ✍ The tenure of the central legislature was 3 years
- ✍ The seats were distributed among the provinces not upon the basis of the population but upon the basis of their importance in the eyes of the government, on the basis of communities, and property was one of the main basis to determine a franchisee. Those people who had a property, taxable income & paid land revenue of Rs. 3000 were entitled to vote.
- ✍ The central legislature was empowered to consider, pass or reject legislation on any of the subjects enumerated in the Central list. But, the Governor-General had the last word on any Bill passed by the Legislature.
- ✍ He possessed the power to prevent the consideration of a Bill or any of its part, on the plea that it was injurious to the peace and tranquility of the country. He could disallow a question in the legislature. He had the power to withhold his assent to any Bill passed by the legislature without which it could not become an Act. He also had the power to disallow an adjournment motion or debate on any matter. He could enact a law, which he considered essential for the safety and tranquility of the empire even if the legislature had refused to pass it.
- ✍ The financial powers of the central legislature were also very much limited. The budget was to be divided into two categories, votable and non-votable. The votable items covered only one third of the total expenditure. Even in this sphere the Governor-General was empowered to restore any grant refused or reduced by the legislature, if in his opinion the demand was essential for the discharge of his responsibilities.

Thus the Government of India Act provided for partial transfer of Power to the electorate through the system of diarchy. It also prepared the ground for the Indian Federalism, as it identified the provinces as units of fiscal and general administration. But the growing nationalism was not satisfied.

Merits (despite limitations) of GOI Act 1919

Despite of several limitations, the GOI Act 1919 had some merits. The GOI act 1919 marked the end of the policy of benevolent despotism, and thus began the genesis of the responsible government in India. It was for the first time, that elections to the legislatures were known to the people and this created political consciousness among the masses. However, those people who had a property, taxable income & paid land revenue of Rs. 3000 were entitled to vote. The number of the Indian in the was raised to 3 in the Governor General in Council of 8. These Indian members were entrusted to some portfolios such as labor, health and industry.

It was the GOI Act 1919, whereby, the Indians came in direct contact with administration for the first time. This was a very useful experience. It was also for the first time that a number of Indian women got the right to franchise for the first time.

Now, under the Indian ministers , some of the far reaching measures were taken such as enactment of Madras State Aid to Industries Act, 1923, the Bombay Primary Education act, the Bihar and Orissa village administration Act, the Bombay local boards act, 1923, etc.

Rowlatt Committee 1918

In 1918, Lord Chelmsford appointed a sedition committee with Justice Rowlatt, an English judge, as its president. The idea was to evaluate the political "terrorism" in India, especially in Punjab and Bengal. The committee was also identifying its links with the German government and the Bolsheviks of Russia. The Government was aware that the Indian revolutionaries are getting massive support and resources from the Germans.

This committee submitted its report in April 1918 and tried to make a comprehensive review of the militant nationalists. The committee could not establish the Bolsheviks, but substantiated the links with the Germans.

Rowlatt Act & Satyagraha 1919

On the basis of the finding of the **Rowlatt Committee** two bills were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council.

✍ Out of them one was dropped and another which was an extension to the **Defense of India Regulations Act 1915** was passed as "**Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919**, in March of that year.

✍ This act authorized the government to imprison for a maximum period of two years, without trial, any person suspected of terrorism.

✍ The act provided speedy trial of the offenses by a special cell that consisted of 3 High Court Judges. There was no court of appeal above that panel.

✍ This panel could also accept the evidences which were not even acceptable in the **Indian Evidences Act**.

Thus in succession, the Government passed Montagu Chelmsford Reforms and Rowlatt Act that were part of the Carrot and Stick policy of the British.

-: About this document:-

This act gave a new direction to the movement. Gandhi organized a mass protest at all India level. By March 23, 1919, the volunteers started courting arrests. The three organizations viz, the Home Rule league, Muslim league and the Satyagraha Sabha along with some other small organizations coordinated and organized the biggest Satyagraha ever.

On April 6, 1919, an all India strike was organized. There was mob violence in Bombay, Ahmadabad and all other major towns. The Satyagraha lost momentum with the **Jallianwala Bagh tragedy** on April 13, 1919.

Jallianwala Bagh tragedy

Punjab was facing from the sever war time depression as the *sipahis* were returning from Central Asia and Mesopotamia. Then the Ghadar party made Punjab a cradle of revolutionary movements. The situation in Amritsar and Lahore was worse and army was called there. The Amritsar was handed to Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer.

On April 13, 1919 in Amritsar, more than 5,000 people gathered at Jallianwala Bagh.

The foolish General believed that these Indians are conspiring for a coordinated revolt in the next hot months when the British troops will be withdrawn from the plains and would be deployed in the hills. So, such a conspiracy must not be accepted.

It was a Baisakhi day and the people were peaceful, unarmed, most of the crowd was villagers and were not aware that the *sarkar* has banned the meetings.

The luckless mob was fired from all sides by the troops of General Dyer and massacred more than 400 people at the place. This stunned the entire country. Punjab was placed under martial law.

- ✓ On April 18, 1919, Gandhi withdrew the movement and called it a "*Himalayan blunder*".
- ✓ On May 30, 1919 Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood.
- ✓ Gandhi returned the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold medal given to him for his work during Boer war.

A parallel nonofficial enquiry committee was set up by the congress and Government also set up a committee of enquiry with 4 British and 3 Indian members. The Indemnity act was also passed. Dyer was removed from the job and sent to London, but he was never charged of any offence.

Saddler University Commission 1917

The successors of Lord Curzon did not take any active interest in the improvement of the education system. The education system was 'overloaded' and the universities worked merely as examining bodies. A fresh commission under Dr. M E Saddler of Leeds University was set up to study and report the problems of university education. This was called Saddler Commission or Calcutta University Commission.

- ✓ The major objective of this commission was to free the universities from the burden of the secondary education, so that the wholly focus on the Higher education.
- ✓ This resulted in the creation of Board of secondary education in the Provinces; United Provinces was the first to have such board.
- ✓ The secondary education was separated from the University education and admission to the university was upgraded from metric level to intermediate level.
- ✓ The Saddler Commission also recommended the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction in the intermediate colleges. The Education was made a " provincial subject".
- ✓ Creation of Inter University Board for coordination among the universities.
- ✓ As far as Calcutta University is concerned, this commission gave the following recommendations:

-: About this document:-

1. More powers should be given to the university.
 2. A full time paid Vice Chancellor should be appointed in the University.
 3. Provisions should be made to differentiate the Pass Course from the Honors course.
 4. A residential university should be established at Dhaka.
 5. A special board of women education should be set up in Calcutta University.
- The above recommendations were accepted and implemented in due course of time. After independence UGC was established in 1953. with the recommendation of a similar Radha Krishna Commission.

Impact of Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy

On April 13, 1919 on the Baisakhi day, the luckless people gathered were fired from all sides by the troops of General Dyer. At least 400 people died on the spot and many died when they jumped in a well to save their life. The massacre was worth calling genocide and it stunned the entire country.

Whole of Punjab was placed under martial law and within a week on April 18, 1919, Gandhi withdrew the movement and called it a "Himalayan blunder". On May 30, 1919 Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood. Gandhi returned the *Kaiser-i-Hind* Gold medal given to him for his work during Boer war. A parallel nonofficial enquiry committee was set up by the congress and Government also set up a committee of enquiry with 4 British and 3 Indian members.

The Indemnity act was also passed. Dyer was removed from the job and sent to London, but he was never charged of any offence.

Crawling Order

Brigadier General Reginald Dyer could not see any difference between the peaceful meeting of the Jallianwala Bagh and the Warfield of France. After placing Punjab in Martial law and imposing curfew, he placed one more foolish and humiliating order. In the turmoil one Miss Marcella Sherwood was assaulted and the General passed an order that those who are passing through the street where she was living would have crawl, laying flat on their bellies. Gandhi declared that the British have lost the moral right to rule this country.

Hunter Committee Report

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre was followed by establishment of a non-official enquiry committee was Congress. The British Government did not initiate such inquiry till Congress had set up such committee.

Later, the Government established a committee headed by I.ord Hunter a Senator of the "College of justice of Scotland". This committee had 7 members viz. 4 British and 3 Indians.

Fact Box: Disorders Inquiry Committee: Members

The 7 member Hunter Committee which was set up to investigate the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy was also known as Disorders Inquiry Committee. The British members were as following:

1. Chairman: Lord William Hunter, ex- Solicitor-General and the Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland
2. WF Rice, Additional Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department)
3. Justice GC Rankin, Judge of the High Court, Calcutta;
4. Major General Sir George Barrow, Commandant of the Peshawar Division, a non-official Englishman

The Indian Members were as follows:

1. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad

-: About this document:-

2. Pandit Jagat Narayan
3. Sardar Sultan Ahmed Khan

The secretary of this committee was H G Stokes, secretary to the government of Madras.

Before the committee could publish its own report, Congress put forward its own view. This view criticized Dyer's act as inhuman and also said that there was no justification in the introduction of the martial law in Punjab. But the Hunter Report, as expected saw the things differently. Although it condemned most of the decisions taken by General Dyer, it agreed with imposition of the martial law in Punjab. It also criticized the method of Satyagraha adopted by Gandhi and held Gandhi partially responsible for "deteriorated" law and order situation.

The result was the Dyer was sent to England, relieved of his command. But rests of the things were the official opinion of the Government. This miffed Gandhi and he returned the Kaiser-I-Hind Gold medal. He said that *the time has come when such blatant action of inhumanity could not be 'remedied' through the conventional political channels.*

The time was ripe for the **Khilafat Grievances** as well. The result was the Indian National Congress joined hand with the Khilafat leaders and in the wake of once again shortly revived Hindu Muslim unity, Gandhi put forward the idea of nationwide non-cooperation campaign with the goal of attaining full Swaraj. as it was the only opinion left for the nationalists.

Khilafat Movement 1919-20

Background:

From 1876 to 1909, **Abdul Hamid II** was the Ottoman emperor. Being a Caliph, the Ottoman emperor was the supreme religious and political leader of all **Sunni Muslims** across the world. In the World War I, the Ottoman Empire had sided the Central Powers and the result of this war was the defeat of the Central Powers. As per the Treaty a/Versailles (1919), the territorial boundary of the Ottoman Empire got reduced.

Meanwhile, in Turkey, a national movement arose under **Mustafa Kemal Ataturk**, who was a Pro-western nationalist. He, supported by the western powers, abolished the position of the Caliph. Naturally the Muslims in India became anti British, as the power and influence of their religious leader was ended.

In India Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali along with some other Muslim leaders such as Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari. Raees-ul-Muhajireen Barrister Jan Muhammad Junejo, Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Hakim Ajmal Khan joined hands a created an **All India Khilafat Committee**, at Lucknow..

It had two main demands, which were never accepted:

1. Caliph Sultan must retain sufficient territories so that he is able to defend the Islamic Faith.
2. The places which are called **Jazirat-ul-arab**, including the Arabia, Syria, Iraq and Palestine must remain under Muslim suzerainty.

October 17, 1919 was observed as **Khilafat Day**. The Hindus also joined hands with the Muslims and a strike was called for. On November 23 1919, the **All India Khilafat Conference** was organized at New Delhi and later a **Khilafat Manifesto** was published which called upon the British to protect the Caliphate.

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Did Gandhi give a call to Maulana Brothers to launch Khilafat Movement?

Please note that Gandhi had not called Maulana Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali to launch Khilafat Movement. First the leaders met, and then Published their Khilafat manifesto and after only that there was an unwritten pact between INC and Khilafat Movement to work and cooperate on agitation. Gandhi gave them a call to participate in NCM, because he (Gandhi) thought that it was only remedy for British.

The leaders of the Khilafat Movement joined hands with Indian National Congress for the upcoming Non-cooperation Movement. Again March 19 1920 was observed as **Khilafat Day** and following that there was an all party conference in June 1920 at Allahabad. The agenda of the Non-cooperation Movement was finalized.

The agenda was:

1. Boycott of the Titles conferred by the Government
2. Boycott of civil services, army and police and all other Government offices.
3. Non-payment of taxes to the government.

The Khilafat movement came and went very quickly. It had lost its relevance when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had abolished the Caliphate. The last Caliphate was Abdülmecid II, who was expelled with his family and took asylum in Istanbul (Constantinople), where he spent rest of his life catching butterflies. He died in 1948.

Was Khilafat Movement a new chapter in Hindu Muslim Unity or was a closing chapter?

The period 1919-22 is understood as the heyday of Hindu-Muslim unity against the colonial rule. This was the period when the leaderships of Congress and the Khilafat movement often overlapped. This was in tune with Gandhi's idea that British can be fought only with united Hindus and Muslims. Strikes, demonstrations, and Satyagrahas took place around the country, while '*Hindu-Muslim ki Jai*' was the famous slogan.

But the above was just ephemeral. After 1922 a series of differences between the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation leaderships intersected with growing popular conflict between Hindu and Muslim communities. Some section of Muslims started to see the futility of Swaraj and fresh interest was awakened in the Muslim league which had been stagnant since 1918.

The most ardent khilafatists started to believe that there was more to be gained by supporting government in its honest efforts than by adhering to the hitherto non-cooperation. Many Muslim leaders raised fears and doubts about the capacity of India to win freedom through civil disobedience. As a result of this, the old dissensions, based upon complaints like cow-slaughter and music before mosque, were raised up and issues of disagreement such as Suddhi Movement or tabligh and sangathan or tanzim were added.

The Hindu Muslim Unity was shattered, giving way to a period of "communalism". This was the sad demise of the Hindu-Muslim unity as marking a turning point in the freedom struggle. The disintegrated state of affairs then offered an opportunity to the British to re-establish their old relations with the Muslims. They were able to successfully bring the Muslims into their loyalists fold. The so called bond of fraternity turned out to be an ad hoc coalition of interests. India was now on a path to partition.

How Government seeded hate?

The Government created commissions and commissions on one another with an undeclared motive of creating mutual apprehensions and mistrusts. It was the time when the top leaders including Gandhi were failed to understand the political implications of his extensions of support to the cause of Khilafat. Practically, the leaders of Khilafat needed support of Gandhiji only for a defined particular purpose.

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Most of the constitutional acts were there to ensure that there was a constant creation of mutual mistrust among the communities. It was made sure that people would understand that the benefit of one caste / community was at the cost of those of others

Non-Cooperation Movement 1920

On 1 August 1920, Non-Cooperation Movement was announced formally. This was a bereaved day when early in the morning, the news of death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak arrived. Gandhi and a crowd of around 2 Lakh people paid its respect to this "Maker of Modern India", The Movement started with strikes and processions all over India.

On 4 September 1920, Congress met at Calcutta in a special session. ***In this session Gandhi wrongly projected that if the Non-cooperation movement gets successful, Swaraj could be attained in One year.*** This was something immediately repudiated by CR Das.

In December 1920, Congress met once again in the Nagpur Session. This time the differences of CR das had melted away. He moved the main resolution of Non-cooperation. A programme of surrender of titles, the boycott of schools, courts and councils, the boycott of foreign goods, the promotion maintenance of a Hindu-Muslim unity and strict non-violence was adopted. Nagpur Session 1920 At the Nagpur session in December 1920, some crucial changes were made in the organization of the Congress, so that it becomes a real political party. These changes were actually mooted by Gandhi, but they confused Jinnah and Jinnah left the party, a beginning of the division that later would make him Qaide-i-azam of Pakistan.

Here are a few important changes:

Earlier the object of the Congress was to attain self Government by constitutional and legal means. The new aim of congress was attainment of Swaraj by legitimate and peaceful means. Here, was confusion. Jinnah and Madan Mohan Malviya were confused whether this object of Swaraj is to make any connection with the British Empire or any other way out.

1. Jinnah was still not convinced because the objective was still not clear. Thus Jinnah said adieu to the Congress and left it after his association for 15 years with the party.
2. A **4 anna** membership was launched so that more and more poor people could join the Congress
3. A hierarchy of village, taluka and district level committees was to be created so that Congress reaches to the Grassroots.
4. Reorganization of the Provincial Congress Committees so that now they would be organized on linguistic basis. The idea was to bring it close to the masses by using the vernacular languages.
5. The numbers of delegates were to be fixed in proportion to the population.

The above changes in Nagpur session paid the party dividends when it walked away with independence in 1947 and elections were held later on. Congress is still the largest political party in the country, though, now it is not of the same character and value

The Spread of Non-Cooperation Movement 1920-21

The Noncooperation movement was the first nationwide mass movement. The year 1921-22 witnessed an unprecedented movement in the nation's history, when there was a widespread unrest among students. Here are some important points related to its spread in all over India:

A nationwide tour was taken up by Mahatma Gandhi and Ali Brothers of Khilafat movement C R Das. Moti Lal Nehru, M.R Jayakar. Saifuddin Kitchlew (Punjab), Vallabhai Patel, C.Rajagopalachari. T. Prakasam and

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Asaf Ali left their legal practice and jumped in the full-fledged politics of congress. Thousands of students left government schools and colleges and joined the movement. Maulana Mehrnud Hasan, laid the foundation stone of Jamia Millia Islamia at Aligarh on Friday, October 29, 1920, during the meeting of the Foundation Committee of *Jamia Millia Islamia*.

- ✓ Bihar Vidyapeeth came into existence. The leaders of Indian movement started teaching in the pure Indian educational institutions. In some provinces such as Bengal and Punjab, there was a complete boycott of education by the Firangies.
- ✓ The shops which sold foreign clothes were picketed. **Khadi and Charkha** became the symbol of national movement.

Livery of freedom: Khadi & Charkha

"Livery of freedom" was a phrase used by Jawahar Lal Nehru for Khadi. Khadi and Charkha were the two things for which Gandhi had an unbounded passion. The middle class and the educated class initially did not like the use of Khadi because of the boring whiteness and even Rabindranath Tagore said that "use of Khadi by everyone would bring the 'death-like sameness in the country'" (taken from the book Mahatma Gandhi by Sankar Ghose). However, Jawahar Lal Nehru used this phrase and became a beloved of Gandhi for almost rest of his life. Gandhi remarked that this expression shall be remembered as long as the English Language lasted ☺

- ✓ In Bengal, Someshwar Prasad Chaudhary led the peasants in a anti-indigo cultivation.
- ✓ The Tana-Bhagat sect of Bihar boycotted the liquor.
- ✓ In Punjab , Akali Movement that was originally for reforms in the Gurudwaras got linked with the noncooperation movement.

On 13 December 1920 after the formation of Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC), to secure Sikh Gurudwaras from corrupt priests, Akali Dal was formed. The prominent founders were Kartar Singh Jabbar, Master Tara Singh, Baba Kharak Singh.

Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee provided a focal point for the movement for the reformation of Sikh religious places. The Committee began to take over management of gurudwaras one by one, and were resisted by incumbent mahants of Udasi sect. The movement was weak in the Presidency of Bombay, where, the people were mourning on the demise of Tiiak. The Gandhi magic did not work there. In Andhra Pradesh, Alluri Sitaram Raju organized the tribals and linked with the Noncooperation movement. In March 1921, there was a Congress session at Vijayawada, in which the congress rookies were directed to collect funds, enroll more and more members and distribute charkhas. On July 21, 1921, All India Khilafat Conference was called in Karachi. Here, Maulana Mohammad Ali initiated a resolution that no Muslim should serve in the British Indian army. So, the Ali brothers were arrested for sedition. But, later congress also passed similar resolution and the Government had to ignore the whole episode. In Midnapore of Bengal, a movement was led by Birendranath Sasmal against the union board of taxes. People in various parts of the country happily joined the No-tax to Government movement. It was successful in the Andhra region.

Volunteer Corps

In November 1921, the Prince of Wales arrived in India. He was welcomed with strike in Bombay. The cup of Congress was full when the volunteers created a parallel unofficial police force, which was called Volunteer Corps. In December 1921. the Government declared this corps illegal and banned all the public meetings, assemblies and all kinds of noise.

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The government took actions by declaring the activities of Congress and the Khilafat volunteers illegal. By December 1921 all main leaders of the movement were arrested and lodged in jails. The newspapers offices were raided.

The Congress wanted to start mass civil disobedience movement. A letter was written by Gandhi to Viceroy Lord Reading to lift a ban on the civil liberties and release the political prisoners. The viceroy did not try to oblige. So, with this Gandhi announced that mass Civil Disobedience would begin from the Bardoli in Surat of the Bombay Presidency, the place where later, a Satyagraha would be launched in 1928.

Dar-al-Harb

In November 1920 the Muslim theologians had issued a joint pronouncement wherein, India was declared Dar-al-Harb (House of war). This pronouncement issued two options for the Muslims:

1. **Wage a Holy war against the infidels**
2. **Hijrat (migration)**

Some 20 thousand Muslims adopted the second option and left India to Afghanistan. The Emir of Kabul refused to accept these people and this there was a chaos and misery among these poor Muslims.

Major Events of Non-Cooperation Movement

The visit of the Prince of Wales in November 1921 was marked with demonstrations, hartals and political meetings marred by scenes of mob violence and Police atrocities in Bombay. It was in December 1921, when some leaders such as Madan Mohan Malviya and Mohammad Ali Jinnah interceded with the viceroy to find some solutions to the deteriorating situation. The Viceroy agreed for a Round Table Conference but here, Gandhi demanded to release all the prisoners associated with the Khilafat Movement as a precondition. The Viceroy refused it.

In 1921, at the Allahabad Session of the Indian National Congress, it was decided to launch Non-cooperation movement at both individual and Mass levels. An appeal was made to all men over the age of 18 to join the Volunteer Corps. At this Allahabad Session, Gandhi was declared as sole of this movement. In February 1922, Gandhi wrote to the viceroy and said that he had the intention to launch the movement in Bardoli in Gujarat, if the government fails to solve the Khilafat question and Punjab issue.

Moplah Rebellion 1921

The Moplah Rebellion or the Malabar Rebellion was an extended version of the Khilafat Movement in Kerala in 1921. The Government had declared the Congress and Khilafat meetings illegal. So, a reaction in Kerala began against the crackdown of the British in Eranad and Valluvanad taluks of Malabar.

But the Khilafat meeting incited so much communal feelings among the Muslims peasants, known as Moplahs, that it turned out to become an antihindu movement from July 1921 onwards. The violence began and the Moplahs attacked the police stations and took control of them. They also seized the courts, and the government treasuries. It became a communal riot when the kudiyaan or tenant Moplahs attacked their Hindu *jenmis* or landlords and killed many of them. Thus the Hindu Landlords became the victims of the atrocities of the Moplahs.

The leaders of this rebellion were:

1. Variyankunnath Kunjahammed Haji,
2. Seethi Koya Thangal of Kumaranpathor

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3. Ali Musliyar.

For two some two months the administration remained in the hands of the rebels. The military as well as Police needed to withdraw from the burning areas. Finally the British forces suppressed the movement with greater difficulty. The situation was under control by the end of the 1921. This rebellion was so fearful that the government raised a special battalion, the Malabar Special Police (MSP).

Chauri Chaura Incident 1922

The Non-cooperation movement was on its pinnacle in all of north India. In South, though it was luke warm. On February 4, 1922, a mob of 2000 people gathered to picket a liquor shop at Chauri Chaura, a town near Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh. The local administration sent armed police to control the situation. The Police, tried to disperse the crowd by firing two shots in air. So stone pelting started. The police fired and killed 3 people. The result was that outrageous mob set the Police Chauki on fire and all 23 Police wallas inside got burnt alive.

On 12 February 1922, when the Congress leaders met at Bardoli, Gandhi decided to withdraw the Noncooperation movement. It was a bit controversial but by that time Gandhi's figure was respected by every Congressman. Thus, they accepted this decision, but they got demoralized and disintegrated. Gandhi was arrested on 10 March 1922 and trial led at Ahmadabad. A simple prison of 6 years was awarded to him.

Chauri Chaura Incident and Swaraj Party

Chauri Chaura incident led Gandhi to call off the Civil Disobedience movement from Bardoli in February 1922. The event led to a Schism in the Congress Party when one faction of the leaders established the Congress-Khilafat-Swarajya Party. Moti lal Nehru, C R Das, N C Kelkar, GS Gharpade and S Srinivas who founded the Swaraj party were in frustration due to sudden withdrawal of CDM by Gandhi via the Bardoli resolution on 12.2.1922. But as none of them was capable to lead such a large scale movement, they decided swaraj within the British Raj and that 's what led them to contest the elections and win some handsome number of seats.

Outcome of Non-cooperation movement

The most significant impact of the NCM was that it brought Gandhi on the front seat of National Politics in India. He was regarded as a logical heir of Balgangadhar Tilak. There was a mass imprisonment and the sense of terror of the jails was removed and "going to jail" became a badge of honor.

Negative:

- ✓ Gandhi's decision had given a sudden jolt to the Congress. The reasons for which it was started were the Jallianwallah Bagh tragedy, Swaraj, problems of Khilafat volunteers etc. But none of them got a remedy. Gandhi's idea of Swaraj in one year proved to be a bubble.
- ✓ The boycott of the educational institutions was not accepted by many of the leaders such as Lala Lajpat Rai. Some leaders did not like they way it was started, many other did not like the way it was conducted and most of them could digest the sudden withdrawal.
- ✓ There shock was for the people of Punjab who were waiting some wonders to happen that would punish the guilty of the Jallianwala massacre. Nothing happened and the revolutionary activities in Punjab again got a setback in Punjab. Some new outfits were born parallel to congress, because Congress was left without any political programme.

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Positive:

- ✓ Congress became the party of common man. Now it was with widespread support of the average peasants, workers and the intellectuals.
- ✓ **Charkha and Khadi** became symbol of Indian Nationalism.
- ✓ Gandhi was able to see the real picture of India. He realized that the real power of India lies in the rural areas and not in urban area.
- ✓ There was a need for general awakening the masses to their political rights and privileges, and further there was a total loss of faith in the system of government. People could realize that it was only through their own efforts that India could hope to be free.
- ✓ It revealed that the congress was the only organization while could properly direct national effort to gain freedom. The movement also revealed that communal problem is going to be a big problem and this problem of communalism is absolutely state sponsored.

Do you think that abandoning of NCM, all of a sudden at Chauri Chaura was a desperate bid of Gandhi to save the capitalists and the landlords?

No. This statement is lacking historical and circumstantial evidences. Chauri Chaura was a distant remote village and the violence over there was not sufficient enough to take such a major decision on this pretext. The Government repression was something which blocked the success of the movement. There was a practical view in Gandhi's decision that because in later half of 1921, the movement had become violent in some parts and started dwindling in many parts of the country. The prolonged movement was not possible in those circumstances, it had been realized by Gandhi, who a few days back had declared that Swaraj is possible in one year, if movement gets mass support. There was a fear of communal violence, responsible for breaking the morale of the volunteers and shaking the main pillar of strength of the movement. Further, Gandhi had not specific links with capitalists and landlords.

Do you think that all the three objects of non-cooperation viz. Swaraj, boycott and constructive programmes comprehensively failed and NCM was meaningless?

Partially Yes. Gandhi had promised Swaraj within a year and this proved to be a bubble. The boycott of councils, law courts, educational institutions proved ineffective and as regards to constructive programme like Charkha didn't last long. But still, this movement was able to make the Charkha and Khadi a symbol of National Movement. There was a general awakening of masses of their political rights and privileges, the total loss of faith in the present system of the government. There was a belief that people by their own efforts can get the freedom. There was another belief that Congress was the only organization which can properly direct national effort to gain freedom and the utter failure of repression to cow down the people. But the Non-Cooperation Movement proved the will and ability of the general masses. The Movement collapsed but its greatness survived.

Birth of Swaraj Party

The sudden withdrawal of the Non Cooperative Movement left congress with no other such programmes. There was an impatient section of the leaders in Congress whose expectations were wrapped up in the coming up elections in India in 1923, so that they enter into the legislatures and bring "change". These elections had to be conducted as per the provisions of the Government of India Act 1919.

Pro-changers & No-changers

These leaders were Moti Lal Nehru, N C Kelkar and CR Das. They linked up with some Khilafat leaders such as Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy and some other leaders such as Subhash Chandra Bose & Vithalbhai Patel and were known as Pro-Changers.

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But, most of the leaders of Congress had now left the business of agitation for a while and started uplifting the poor people by teaching them how to use Charkha, denouncing untouchability, making nonviolence and Gandhian methods popular. These were called No-changers.

The Gaya session of Congress was organized in 1922, which was led by C R Das, who was leading the Pro-Changers. The No-changers leader was C Rajgopalachari. The outcome of this session was that once again these leaders got divided.

CR Das resigned from the presidentship of the Congress and along with Moti Lal Nehru, N C Kelkar launched their own political outfit called "Congress Khilafat Swarajya Party" or simply the "Swarajya Party".

- In the elections they got elected in the councils and one among them **Vithalbhai Patel became the President at the Central Legislative Assembly**, some titular kind of arrangement with very limited powers .
- They could not bring any change except making a noise in the parliament. However, one work was notable. It was making a noise so that the Government appoints Muddiman Committee to bring out the defects in the Government of India Act 1919.

Muddiman Committee

To meet the demand of the Indian Leaders and in view of the resolution adopted by Swaraj Party in early 1920s, the British Government had set up a committee under Sir Alexander Muddiman (Muddiman Committee), along with 4 Indian members, to go into the provisions of the Government of India Act 1919 and pinpoint the defects. The members were:

1. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar
2. Dr. R P Paranjape
3. Sir Tejbahadur Sapru
4. 4. Mohammad Ali Jinnah

On 5 February 1924, Gandhi was released from Jail due to health problems. He favored the No changers but wanted to stop a disastrous repeat of Sur at split of 1907. So he wanted conciliation and in November that year he brought the strife between no-changers and Swarajists to an end. Both the parties signed the joint statement and declared that Swarajists would work in the council on behalf of and as an integral part of the Congress.

This decision was endorsed in the December 1924 Belgaum Session of Congress in which Gandhi became president of congress for first and only one time. In 1925. C R Das Died and this was followed by Moti Lal Nehru return to congress a few years later.

- ✓ Please note that in Madras Province, a different Madras Province Swarajya Party was established in 1923 by S. Sathyamurthy and S. Srinivasa Iyengar. This party later merged with the Congress in 1935, prior to the elections by the Government of India Act 1935.

Separation of Khilafat leaders: Kakinada session 1923

There was another dangerous outcome of the sudden withdrawal of the Non Cooperation Movement. The direction less leadership actually disintegrated and now the communal elements became a permanent feature of the Indian Politics. In September 1924, some Hindus were killed in the North West Frontier Province. In April and July 1926. there were Hindu Muslim riots in Calcutta in which some 150 people lost their lives. Between 1923-27, there were a lot of communal riots in India. Delhi, Patna, Rawalpindi, Dhaka, Calcutta and Punjab got affected.

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The marriage of Khilafat movement and Congress soon ended into a divorce. The 1923 Kakinada session of Congress was presided by **Maulana Mohammad Ali** and soon after this session he split from the Congress citing the communal riots. The seeds of this schism were sown by the Government of India Act 1919, which broadened the franchise but preserved the system of separate electorates .

- ✓ In Muslims, there was a growth of the Tabligh and Tanzims.
- ✓ Among Hindus, the Arya Samajis started Shuddi sangathans. The leader of the Arya Samajis was Swami Shraddhanad who was murdered later in 1926 in Delhi.

Suddhi Movement

The Suddhi movement was initiated by Dayananda with the intentions to unify India and in it, Non-Hindus and untouchables were converted to Hinduism. So, the movement led to some political implications, and indirectly led to growth of communalism.

Lahore session of Muslim League 1924

All India Muslim league got revived under Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In 1924, they had a session at Lahore, thus met for the first time since 1918. This session saw a new demand of the Muslim league in which they asked for a federation with full provincial autonomy, so that they can preserve the Muslim majority areas from the danger of Hindus. This demand remained so (separate electorates) till 1940, after that they wanted nothing less than Pakistan.

Revival of Hindu Mahasabha 1923

In 1923, there was a Kumbh Mela in Haridwar and here the Hindu Mahasabha was revived by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. Now the slogan of Hindu Mahasabha became the protection and promotion of the Hindu Civilization.

Establishment of Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh 1925

In 1925, Keshav Bahram Hedgewar founded the Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh in Nagpur. Dr. Hedgewar , who had got his education in the Calcutta Medical College had been a part of the Anushilan Samiti and Yugantar and was a nationalist by heart. He became a member of Indian National Congress initially but left it soon and established RSS. The idea was to train the Hindu youths so that they united the Hindu Community and make India an Independent undivided country. He was much influenced by V D Savarkar and adopted his ideals.

Emergence of Communists

The Russian Revolution of 1917 had a great impact on the minds of the Indian People. So naturally when the Non cooperation movement turned out to be a failure, they were dissatisfied. The image of Gandhi was also tarnished.

One of the members of the Anushilan -**Manabendra Nath Roy** was very much influenced by the communist thoughts. His original name was Narendra Nath Bhattacharya and in 1907, when he was a young man of 20 years had conducted a political dacoity, to raise money for Anushilan. He was arrested but was defended by J N Roy and was released.

Later he tried to get arm making techniques in Batvia, unsuccessfully. After that he reached California and then married a Californian girl and settled in New York. In New York he studied Marxism. But he was

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pursued by the British spies out there. So he fled to Mexico and from there he developed contacts with the Germans. In 1930 he came to Bombay and was arrested in 1931 and sent to jail for 6 years.

On 20 October 1920, he had been in Russia to attend the second congress of communist international. Here as per the sources of one faction of (PI with his wife Evelyn Trent Roy, Abani Mukherji, Rosa Fiting, Mohammad Ali, Mohammad Shafiq Siddiqui and MPST Acharya founded the Communist Party of India in **Tashkent**.

At the same time, an Berlin group was launched by Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Bhupendra Dutt et al.

✍ Thus, the communist party of India was launched in Tashkent in October 1920.

But this was only the primitive work done. For the next five years, various Communist groups were launched in various parts of India. It was in December 1925, when Satyabhakta organized these small organizations into one All India Conference of the Communists at Kanpur.

✍ The present of the All India Conference of Communists was Singaravelu Chettiar from the Madras Province.

✍ This conference is known as the “formal” beginning of communist party of India in 1925, from Kanpur.

Another view of genesis of CPI

Please note that in 1922-24, communist party faced a series of conspiracy cases such as Peshawar and Kanpur Bolshevik conspiracy case. In 1924, Satyabhakta announced the formation of CPI and he became the secretary. Most of these groups came together at Kanpur in December 1925 and founded an all India organization under the name of **Communist Party Of India** in December 1925. S.V. Ghate became general secretary of CPI. In March 1929, government arrested 32 radical political and trade union activist, including Bradley and Lester Hutchinson in the Meerut conspiracy case, defense of the prisoners was to be taken by many nationalists including M.C. Chagla, M.A. Ansari, Jawaharlal Nehru, K.N. Katju, etc. In 1934, the communist party was declared illegal.

Beginning of All India Trade Union Congress 1920

In October 1920, when MN Roy was laying the foundation of CPI in Tashkent in Russia, back at home, Lala Lajpat Roy was busy in giving rise to the oldest trade Union federation of India.

In 1920, India saw more than two hundred strikes, as they were the most popular means of public protest. Most of these strikes were called by the labor.

✍ On October 31, 1920, the first session of the All India Trade Union Congress was held at Bombay under Lala Lajpat Roy, thus marking the beginning of AITUC.

✍ Today AITUC has over 27 Lakh members and is politically affiliated with the CPI.

Re-emergence of Revolutionary and Terrorist Movement

Mahatma Gandhi had created a wave of dissatisfaction among the revolutionaries by a sudden suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement. So these decisions disillusioned many young men who were full of energy to fight the Government. These young men did not like the theory of nonviolence. They had confidence that the British can be thrown out of the country by using of force and violence. At the same time, there were uprisings in other parts of world and one could witness a number of bloody revolutions and *coupe de etat*

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around the word. The result was that the old Yugantar and Anushilan samiti got awoken and a new breed of terroristic kind of revolutionaries emerged from the unenthusiastic and unsatisfied Non-cooperators.

Hindustan Republican Association (HRA) 1924

In the village of Bholachang in East Bengal, there was meeting between some of these young men viz. Sachindra Nath Sanyal, Narendra Mohan Sen, Pratul Ganguly. Here, they established an offshoot to the Anushilan samiti.

- ✍ The name was chosen as Hindustan Republican Association on the lines of Irish Republican Army.
- ✍ The manifesto of this revolutionary organization was "*The Revolutionary*".

The Objective of the HRA was to establish "**Federated Republic of the United States of India**" through an organized armed revolution"

The tactics of HRA were killing the officials; organize political dacoities to raise funds, terrorism among the British and British loyalists and strikes against the raj.

However, it is incorrect to say that these revolutionaries were terrorists by attitude. The perspective of the HRA was socialistic and it wanted to establish a United States of India by deposing the British.

The idea attracted the young champions; some immediately joined the organization were Bhagat Singh, ChandraShekhar Azad, Sukhdev, Ram Prasad Bismil, Roshan Singh, Ashfaqulla Khan, Rajendra Lahiri and many others.

- ✍ The first organized 'crime' of this group was the **Kakori Train Conspiracy**.

Kakori Train Conspiracy

The idea that objects of the political dacoities must be to secure money belonging to the Government was that of **Ram Prasad Bismil**. The idea was accepted and it followed a plan that a running train at Kakori on the Lucknow-Saharanpur section should be looted. The Railway was carrying the Government chest and it was plundered successfully by 10 HRA revolutionaries. But the whole plot was unearthed. The result was arrest of some 30 people and all of them were trailed in the Kakori Conspiracy Case.

- The people who were arrested as follows:

Swaran Singh (uncle of Bhagat Singh), Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqulla Khan, Rajendra Lahiri, Durga Bhabhi (Durga Bhagavati Chandra Vohra), Roshan Singh, Sachindra Bakshi, Chandrasekhar Azad, Vishnu Sharan Dublith, Keshab Chakravarty, Banwari Lal, Mukundi Lal, Sachindra Nath Sanyal, Manmathnath Gupta.

- These detainees were provided legal defense by Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, Mohanlal Saxena, Chandrabhanu Gupta, Ajit Prasad Jain, Gopinath Srivastava, R. M. Bahadurji and B. K. Chaudhury.
- The following 5 members of given sentence to death.

Swaran Singh, Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah Khan, Rajendra Lahiri and Roshan Singh

- ✓ Swaran Singh was the uncle of Bhagat Singh. His martyrdom inspired Bhagat Singh.
- ✓ The Urdu poem *Sarfaroshi ki Tamanna* was **made popular** by Ram Prasad Bismil.
- ✓ This poem was actually written by Bismil Azimabadi. This poem is associated with Ashfaqullah Khan, Shaheed Bhagat Singh, and Chandrashekhar Azad, who got very much inspired.

Rest all were either put in jail for long term or were deported for life. The result was that HRA came to almost an end.

-: About this document:-

Peshawar Conspiracy Case 1923

Peshawar Conspiracy case is related to the Muslims taking interest in the Communist revolution of Russia. Many Muslims from Peshawar went to Moscow and started getting training related to Military and Communist regimes. When they returned to create disturbances, the Government caught them on the way and trialed them. Many of them were sentenced to long imprisonment.

Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case 1924

Kanpur Conspiracy Case was also against the newbie communists which were abhorred by the British Government. Some newly turned communists named M N Roy, Muzaffar Ahamed, S A Dange, Shaukat Usmani, Nalini Gupta, Singaravelu Chettiar, Ghulam Hussain were caught by the Government and were trailed for conspiring against the Government. The Charge on them was

"to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India, by complete separation of India from imperialistic Britain by a violent revolution."

- But this case, brought the communists in the lime light. The newspapers covered the matter exhaustively and this was for the first time the people of India could know the communist doctrine in details.
- So, this case was responsible for introduction of Communism to the Indian Public.

In this case, M N Roy was charged *in absentia*, so he was not arrested. Ghulam Hussain turned a British informer and was pardoned. Rest all people were arrested and sent to jail for 4 years.

LORD IRWIN

Arrival of Lord Irwin 1926

On April 3, 1926 Lord Irwin was appointed 30th Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He succeeded Lord Reading. This was the most tumultuous period for the politics of India. The following important events happened during the times of Lord Irwin:

- ✓ Appointment of Simon Commission
- ✓ Nehru Report
- ✓ All Parties Conference.
- ✓ Jinnah's 14 Points
- ✓ Civil disobedience Movement
- ✓ Round Table Conferences.

Appointment of Simon Commission 1927

Government of India Act 1919 had introduced the system of dyarchy to govern the provinces of British India. This act had a provision that a commission would be appointed after 10 years to investigate the progress of the governance scheme and suggest new steps for reform.

The Government in England was a conservative Government which was not in very much favor of giving any control to Indians. In March 1927, his majesty's Government announced its decision to appoint the "**Statutory Commission**" in advance of the prescribed date. (The commission was supposed to be set up in 1929).

The announcement came as a surprise. Indians were already in a state of frustration.

-: About this document:-

The Congress was almost agenda less and no active programme was there except the *Khadi*. The Swarajists were in the Legislative Council and had lost cohesiveness with the Congress. *So, for the agenda-less Congress, Simon Commission came as a blessing in disguise and they got an issue to take up effectively.*

The personnel of the Commission and its terms of reference were announced in November 1927. It had 7 members which were lifted from the three political parties of the British Parliament under the chairmanship of **Sir John Simon. None of the Indians was appointed** in the commission and the promise of appeasing the Indian opinion seemed to be a bubble. When no Indian was included in the commission, it was like depriving of their right to participate in the determination of the constitution of their own country.

At the annual session of the Congress in Madras in December 1927, a resolution was passed which advocated the boycott of the Simon Commission "*at every stage and in every form*". Other factions of the politicians also joined the suit.

✍ However, in Muslim league, there was a split of thought. Jinnah was **for boycotting** the commission; but Muhammad Shafi was **for support** for the Government.

✍ Thus in 1927, Muslim league had two sessions- One was led by Jinnah at Calcutta where he opposed the Commission. Another was held at Lahore that was led by Muhammad Shafi, where he supported the Government.

So, all parties except *the Shafi group of Muslim league and a Justice Party at Madras*, were against the Simon Commission.

Explicit and Implicit Objectives of Simon Commission

- ✓ To delay the process of transfer of power from the British to the people.
- ✓ To further widen the communal feelings by diametrically provisions which could be diametrically opposed to the interests of the two communities?
- ✓ To show the people that British were sincere in the efforts in giving people the self rule but it was Indians who could not decide for a consensus on power-sharing.
- ✓ To give impression of a federal constitution so that weak centre and a powerful province can be created. It would created feelings of regionalism which is an antidote to nationalism.
- ✓ To give political autonomy without economic autonomy.

Recommendations of Simon Commission

1. There should be a constitutional reconstruction.
2. It would be a federal constitution.
3. The provinces should be given full autonomy including law.
4. The governor should have discretionary power to relate to internal security and administrative powers to protect the different communities.
5. The number of members of provincial legislative council should be increased.
6. Governor general should have complete power to appoint the members of the cabinet.
7. The government of India should have complete control over the high court.

Limitations of Simon Commission

- ✓ No Indians members in the commission.
- ✓ No universal franchise was proposed.
- ✓ The position of governor-general remained unaffected.
- ✓ No provision to abolish separate electorate but rather extended to other communities as well.
- ✓ No financial devolution was proposed.

-: About this document:-

Foundation of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association 1928

The sole remaining absconder of the Kakori Conspiracy of 1923 was Chandra Sekhar Azad. He was born in 1906 in Jhabua District of Madhya Pradesh and was deeply disturbed by the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. He had actively participated in the Non-cooperation movement but was jolted due to sudden withdrawal of the movement. At that time he age was around 15 years and this young boy was sent to prison at this tender age.

After the Kakori conspiracy, 5 members as mentioned above were sentenced to death. Other members either were sent for long imprisonments or deported for life.

Chandrasekhar led the remaining revolutionaries and on September 9-10, 1928 at Feroz Shah Kotla Maidan of Delhi and he along with Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Batukeshwar Dutt, and Rajguru founded the **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association** or the Garam Dal.

- This HSRA brought out a Manifesto known as "**Philosophy of the Bomb**". This manifesto was written by Bhagawathi Charan Vohra.

Death of Lala Lajpat Rai 1928

The political parties boycotted the Simon commission and this was followed by a wave of demonstrations all over India. In Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai was leading an anti-Simon Commission demonstration on 30 October 1928, when the brutal Lathicharge claimed his life.

Lahore Conspiracy Case 1928-31

The death of Lala Lajpat Rai led the HSRA again take the path of assassination of the British.

The death of Lala Lajpat Rai led the HSRA again take the path of assassination of the British. To avenge the killing of Lal Lajpat Rai, Bhagat Singh, Raj guru, Jai Gopal and Sukh Dev conspired to kill the police chief, Scott. But they shot on the DSP - J. P. Saunders, who was killed on the spot. Bhagat Singh immediately fled from Lahore and to avoid recognition, he cut his beard and hair. Later he was trailed in this **Lahore Conspiracy Case** when he was captured after throwing bomb in Delhi Assembly.

Moti Lal Nehru Report 1928

At the annual session of the Congress in Madras in December 1927, a resolution was passed which advocated the boycott of the Simon Commission "*at every stage and in every form*". Other factions of the politicians also joined the suit.

On February 3, 1928 a complete Hartal was observed in Mumbai on the day when Simon Commission landed in Bombay. Wherever the commission goes, people came out in processions and show him "Simon Go Back".

But the commission had to do its duty. It visited twice in 1928 and 1929 and finally submitted its report in May 1930.

But, it was not to be accepted by the Indian Leaders. The secretary of state for India was Lord Birkenhead, who threw a challenge to these congressmen to prepare a draft of constitution of India. The political leaders accepted the challenge and this was followed by a call for All party conference in February and May 1928.

The outcome of the All Parties Conference was that a committee was appointed under the Chairman ship of Motilal Nehru, to draft the proposed constitution.

-: About this document:-

The draft constitution was prepared which was called “**Nehru Committee Report**”. This report was submitted on August 28, 1928 at the Lucknow conference of all the parties. But Jinnah Voted against this report. The main points of this report were as follows:

1. India would be given Dominion status. This means independence within the British Commonwealth.
2. India will be a federation which shall have a bicameral legislature at the centre and Ministry would be responsible to the legislature.
3. Governor General of India would be the constitutional head of India and will have the same powers as that of British Crown.
4. There will be **no separate electorate**.
5. The draft report also defined the **citizenship and fundamental rights**.

The novel features of the Nehru Committee Report were almost accepted by the Indian leaders. The next session of the Congress was held in Calcutta in December 1928. In this session, the Nehru Report was accepted by a majority vote. The congress gave an ultimatum to the British Government to accept the recommendation of the report by December 31, 1929, and also threatened for another mass movement in case the report is not accepted.

The report was not accepted by the Government.

Was Nehru Report a Reversal of Lucknow Pact?

Yes. The Motilal Nehru Committee Report, published in 1928 recommended reservation of seats for Muslims only in provinces where they were in a minority. The report proposed to abolish separate electorates, to discard reservation of seats for Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal and to reject the principle of weightage for Muslim minorities. This was a reversal of the Lucknow Pact. The Nehru Report asked for a political status of India as a dominion, which should be the same as that of British dominions like Canada, south Africa. It asked for a similar reservation for Hindus in NWFP. The provinces of Sindh and Karnataka shall be separate any further reorganization of proposed report was good but not practical. The joint and mixed concept was practically unacceptable for the Muslim league.

Jinnah's 14 Points

In the All parties meeting at Calcutta in December 1928, Jinnah moved certain amendments to the Nehru Report. But these amendments were not accepted by Congress. So Jinnah *et al* refused to participate further in the conference.

A few days later, there was a Muslim All Parties conference was held in Delhi, in which the nationalist Muslims attended and formulated a series of demands on behalf of the Muslims of the Country. In this All Muslim Parties conference, it was made clear that no constitution, by whomsoever proposed or devised, would be acceptable to the Muslims of the country, unless it conformed with those demands. At the same time Jinnah after consulting the Muslim leaders formulated the “**Fourteen Points**” for safeguarding the rights and interests of the Muslims in any future constitution of the country. Here are these 14 points:

1. The form of the future constitution should be Federal, with the residuary power vested in the provinces.
2. A Uniform measure of the autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to minority or even equality.
4. In the Central legislature Muslim representation shall not be less than one third.

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5. Representation of the communal groups shall continue to be by separate electorates provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favor of the joint electorates.
6. Any terrestrial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWF Province.
7. Full religious liberty that is liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body **if three fourth of the members** of any community in that particular body oppose it being injurious to that of the community.
9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be made in the NWF Province and Baluchistan.
11. Provision should be made in the Constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with the other Indians in all the services of the State and Local self Governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12. The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards to the protection of the Muslim Culture, education, language, religion, personal laws, and Muslim charitable institutions. They should get their due share in grant-in-aid.
13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being at least one third of the Muslim Ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central legislature except with the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian Federation.

Poorna Swarajya Resolution: Lahore Session 1929

When the Nehru Report came before the annual session of the Congress in Calcutta in December 1928, the left lashed it out on the fact that it did not want the complete Independence and wanted only a dominion status.

✓ Independence of India League

Meanwhile in April 1928, the "**Independence of India League**" was formed with Jawahar Lal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose as Secretaries and S. Srinivasa Iyengar as President.

The Congress session at Calcutta marked an almost split among the leaders who wanted dominion and leaders who wanted complete Independence. Ultimately it was resolved that if the British parliament accepts the Nehru report by 31 December 1929, Congress would adopt the report as it is. If the report is not accepted by the British parliament, Congress would insist in Complete Independence and would organize a nonviolent Non cooperation movement.

The one year deadline passed and no positive reply came from the Government. This was followed by Lahore Session of Congress which was presided by **Jawahar Lal Nehru.**

The most land mark resolution was that the Nehru Committee Report had now lapsed and Dominion status will not be acceptable. A Poorna Swarajya Resolution was passed and it was Swarajya means **complete Independence.**

-: About this document:-

In pursuance with this resolution, the Central and Provincial Legislatures had to be boycotted completely and all the future elections were also to be boycotted. A Programme of the Civil Disobedience was to be launched.

✍ On the midnight of December 31, 1929 and January 1, 1930, the deadline of the Nehru Committee report expired and Jawahar Lal Nehru unfurled the Flag of India's independence on the bank of River Ravi in Lahore.

✍ The Congress working committee met on January 2, 1930 and on that day it was decided that the January 26, 1930 should be observed as **Poorna Swarajya Day.**, as on that day, a Poorna Swarajya pledge was drafted by Mahatma Gandhi.

Trial and Execution of Bhagat Singh 1931

After the murder of Saunders, Bhagat Singh and others went underground. The Government enacted the Defense of India Act, which gave more power to Police such as preventive detention and admissibility of evidence which did not conform to the Indian Evidence act.

To protest against this act, Hindustan Socialist Republican Association conspired to explode a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly where the ordinance was to be passed. The idea was of Bhagat Singh and it was influenced by a similar bombing in the by anarchist Auguste Vaillant in the French Assembly who said

"It takes loud noise to make the deaf hear".

On 8 April 1929, **Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt threw a bomb** onto the corridors of the assembly and shouted "*Inquilab Zindabad!*". After that they showered the leaflets stating that it takes a loud voice to make the deaf hear. The bomb was not intended to kill or injure any one. It was just to make noise. It was later proved by the forensics also that the bomb was not powerful to kill anybody. Bhagat Singh and Dutt surrendered themselves and were transported for life on June 12, 1929.

Meanwhile, in April Police discovered the Lahore Bomb Factory, followed by arrest of other members of HSRA. Out of them 7 became informants and they helped the British to solve the mystery of JP Saunders Murder and Bhagat Singh was connected to that Lahore Conspiracy. The trial began with charges of murder on Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, and Sukhdev.

✍ During the trial, Bhagat Singh and others launched hunger strike for the rights of under trials and prisoners.

✍ After 64 days strike, Jatin Das, one of the under trials died on September 13, 1929.

✍ It ended the strike and Bhagat Singh demands were accepted by the Jail authorities.

In May 1930, an ordinance was passed by **Lord Irwin** declaring an emergency. The Lahore Conspiracy Case was shifted from the court of an Indian Judge to special Tribunal of three Judges which was given the power to proceed with the case in the absence of the accused and accept death of the persons giving evidence as a benefit to the defense.

The Tribunal was also the highest court of appeal. The tribunal gave its verdict on 7 October 1930, Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and Raj guru were given Capital Punishment in the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

The other members of HSRA wished to free them by attacking on the prison. This was to be done by exploding bombs in the jails which had to be prepared by **Bhagawathi Charan Vora.** But the unlucky bomb maker died while making bombs when one of the bombs exploded.

-: About this document:-

✍ Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged in Lahore on March 23, 1931.

Chittagong Armory Raid 1930

On April 18, 1930, there was an attempt to raid the armory of the Police and Auxiliary forces from the Chittagong armory in Bengal.

✍ **The leader of this conspiracy & raid was Surya Sen.**

Apart from Surya Sen, these patriots included Ganesh Ghosh, Lokenath Bal, Nirmal Sen, Ambika Chakrobarty, Naresh Roy, Sasanka Datta, Ardhendu Dastidar, Harigopal Bal, Tarakeswar Dastidar, Ananta Singh, Jiban Ghoshal, Anand Gupta, Pritilata Waddedar and Kalpana Dutta.

The idea was to capture the two main armories in Chittagong and then demolish the Telegraph and telephone office. It was to be followed by the assassination of Europeans.

The plan was put into implementation on the night of April 18, 1930. On that night, the armory of the police was captured by Ganesh Ghosh. Lokenath Bal took over the Auxiliary Force armory. But the ammunition was not located.

They dislocated the telephone and telegraph communications and disrupted the movement of the trains. 65 people executed this conspiracy in the name of Indian Republican Army. After everything was done, all the revolutionaries gathered outside the police armory where Surya Sen took a military salute, hoisted the National Flag and proclaimed a Provisional Revolutionary Government. After that they fled to the hills.

They were pursued by the Police; surrounded by the British Indian Army in the Jalalabad Hills. There was an encounter. Surya Sen was successful in fleeing. The revolutionaries who were arrested in Chittagong were captured and trailed and 12 people were deported for life. In February 1933, Surya Sen was arrested by the Police because of a tip off. He was trailed and hanged in the January 1934.

Did the failure of individual revolutionary terrorism significantly contributed to the success of Gandhi?

Yes. The revolutionaries sent a message of failure to both moderates and extremists and proved that a vacuum had been created and thereby a new reorientation was needed. This was something which contributed to some extent to the emergence of Gandhian Politics. The failure of revolutionaries indicated that unless there is an involvement of big organizations, British can not be exterminated by the sporadic efforts. The revolutionary activities compelled the British to relinquish the double standards of benevolent despotic rule. The ruthless executions exposed in brute manners of British exposed the naked face of colonialism and imperialism.

Salt Satyagraha 1930

Mahatma Gandhi was authorized by the Congress Working Committee to determine the time, place and issue on which the Civil Disobedience was to be launched. He took the decision to break the salt law first, on which the British had imposed a duty, affecting the poorest of the poor.

Salt Satyagraha began with the Dandi March on March 12, 1930 and was the part of the first phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhi led the Dandi march from Sabarmati Ashram to the sea coast near the village of Dandi. In this journey of 24 days and covering a distance of 390 kilometer, thousands of people joined him. He reached Dandi on April 6, 1930, and broke the salt law.

This triggered the **Civil Disobedience Movement** and millions of Indians jumped in the tumult.

-: About this document:-

Beginning of Civil Disobedience Movement

Breaking of the salt law was the formal inauguration of the Civil Disobedience Movement. A programme was outlined, which included the following:

1. Violation of the laws such as Salt Law
2. Non payment of Land Revenue, Taxes and Rent
3. Boycott of courts of law, legislatures, elections, Government functionaries, Schools and Colleges.
4. Peaceful picketing of shops that sold foreign goods.
5. Mass strikes and processions.
6. Picketing of shops that sold liquor.
7. Boycott of Civil Services, Military and Police services.

The Government came into action by putting the law breakers in jails and suppressing them by police firings, lathicharge and other means. 60 Thousand people were arrested in less than one year. Those who did not pay taxes, the properties were confiscated. Gandhi and all important leaders were arrested and placed behind the bars.

Recommendations of Simon Commission 1930

The recommendations of the Simon Commission were published in May 1930. They were as follows:

1. Dyarchy in the provinces should be abolished and ministers should be made responsible to the provincial legislatures in all departments, including the department of law and order.
2. The Governor was to retain the special powers for the safety and tranquility of the province and for the protection of the minorities.
3. He would also have full powers of intervention in the event of breakdown of the constitution.
4. The Franchise was to be extended and legislatures were to be enlarged.
5. At the centre, a Federal assembly would be constituted on the basis of representation of the provinces and other areas as per the population.
6. The council of state would continue as the Upper House but its members would be chosen not on the basis of direct election but on the basis of indirect election by the Provincial councils.
7. No change in the central executive.
8. The all India federation was not considered practical idea for immediate execution.
9. Burma should be separated from the British India and should be provided a constitution of its own.

First Round Table Conference 1930

On 11 September 1930, the personnel of the Round Table Conference were announced. The conference was opened officially by King George V on November 12, 1930 in London. It was chaired by British PM Ramsay MacDonald. 16 delegates represented the three political parties of Britain and 57 political leaders from India representing all shades of Indian opinion, minus Indian National Congress. The main Indian representatives were as follows:

- ✍ **Muslim League:** Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Muhammad Shafi, Aga Khan, Muhammad Ali, Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, A.K. Fazlul Huq
- ✍ **Hindu Mahasabha:** B. S. Moonje and M.R. Jayakar
- ✍ **Indian Liberal Party :** Tej Bahadur Sapru, C. Y. Chintamani and Srinivasa Sastri
- ✍ **Sikhs:** Sardar Ujjal Singh

-: About this document:-

✍ **The Untouchables:** B. R. Ambedkar

✍ Dewans of many princely states.

The concept of All India Federation was supported. Dr. Ambedkar demanded a separate electorate for the Untouchables.

Most of the congress leaders were absent because they were either in Jails or followed the decision of Congress to boycott the conference. So, without congress, the entire exercise turned out to be fruitless.

After the failure of the First Round Conference, many leaders mainly the pro-British members of Indian Liberal Party such as Tej Bahadur Sapru, C. Y. Chintamani and Srinivasa Sastri appealed Gandhi to talk with the Viceroy. The talks between Gandhi and Irwin were arranged. Many congress leaders were released to make a favorable environment.

Gandhi- Irwin Pact 1931, March 5

Gandhi was authorized by the Congress to negotiate with Lord Irwin. The talks prolonged and the outcome of these talks was a pact known as Gandhi Irwin pact that was signed on March 5, 1931. Its main points were as follows:

1. Gandhi agreed to discontinue the Civil Disobedience movement, on behalf of the Indian National Congress.
2. Congress agreed to join the second Round Table Conference to chalk out the constitutional reforms on the basis of
 - a) Federation
 - b) Responsibility
 - c) Safeguards for Indian opinion on matters of defense, external affairs, minorities and finances.
3. The ordinance that was promulgated in the wake of the Civil Disobedience Movement was agreed to be withdrawn.
4. All those detained in connection with the movement were to be released.
5. The Government agreed to permit some people living at the sea coast to collect duty free salt.
6. Government agreed to let the people picket peacefully, the shops that sold liquor.

Karachi Session of Congress 1931

The **Gandhi Irwin Pact** was endorsed by the Congress in the Karachi Session of 1931, that was held from March 26-31. Gandhi was nominated to represent Congress in the Second Round Table Conference.

Just a week back, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Raj guru had been executed. So, there was anger in the public whose point was that why Gandhi did accept to sign the pact.

So, when Gandhi was going to attend the Karachi session, all over the route, he was greeted with the Black flags.

In the Karachi session, congress passed a resolution to dissociate itself from and disapprove the political violence in any shape. The resolution which was drafted by Gandhi, admired the bravery and sacrifice of the 3 martyrs. Congress endorsed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and reiterated the goal of "Poorna Swaraj".

✍ In the Karachi session of 1931, there were two major resolutions passed on the "**Fundamental Rights**" and "**National Economic Programme**".

-: About this document:-

✍ These resolutions were drafted by Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

✍ Thus it was the Karachi session, which for the first time tried to define what would be the meaning of Swaraj for common people.

Some important aspects of these resolutions were:

1. Basic civil rights of freedom of speech, Freedom of Press, Freedom of assembly, Freedom of association,
2. Equality before law
3. Elections on the basis of Universal Adult Franchise
4. Free and compulsory primary education.
5. Substantial reduction in rent and taxes
6. Better conditions for workers including a living wage, limited hours of work.
1. Protection of women and peasants
7. Government ownership or control of key industries, mines, and transport.
8. Protection of Minorities.

Thus, the Congress which was agenda less a few years back had the most impressive agenda in hand now and made this agenda- the basis of its political programme for the next many years to come.

Second Round Table conference 1931

The Second Round Table conference was held in less auspicious environment. In India, Lord Irwin was replaced by Lord Wellington, who remained India's Viceroy till 1936. In England, The Labor Government was now replaced by a National Coalition Government.

✍ Samuel Hoare was the Secretary of State for Government of India.

✍ Meanwhile, there was a strong reaction in India against the statement of **Winston Churchill** who called Gandhi a "**Naked Seditious Fakir**".

There were political and financial pressure on the Imperial Government. The period of 1928 to 1931 also marked the large number of revolutionary activities in which many Europeans were killed.

The Second Round Conference opened on September 7, 1931. Gandhi represented Indian National Congress and Sarojini Nayudu represented Indian women. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Ghanshyam Das Birla, Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Mirza Ismail Diwan of Mysore, S K Dutta and Sir Syed Ali Imam were other people that attended the conference.

✓ This conference saw an overwhelming number of Indian delegates. These included loyalists, communalists, careerists, big landlords, representatives of the princes and all sorts of Tom, Dick and Harry.

So, now the Government claimed that the Congress did not represent the interests of All India. But, Gandhi claimed that Congress Represented India.

Gandhi iterated the need of a partnership between Britain and India as between two equal nations. His demands were :

1. A responsible government must be established immediately and in full, both at the centre and in the provinces.
2. Congress alone represented political India
3. The Untouchables were Hindus and should not be treated as a "minority",

-: About this document:-

4. There should be no separate electorates or special safeguards for Muslims or other minorities.

But these claims of Gandhi were rejected by the other Indian delegates. The conference was deadlocked on the minorities' issue for; separate electorate was now being demanded by the Muslims, Dalits, Christians, Anglo Indians, and Europeans etc.

The result was that the Conference ended on December 11, 1931 and Gandhi came back to pavilion without any score.

In the last document, we studied that with the advent of the coalition Government in England, the whole atmosphere of the Second Round Table conference got changed and the sole outcome of this session was the widening of the gap between the Congress and the minorities. Except Sikhs, all of the minorities (including Dalits) wanted to get their own separate electorates.

So, on the one side, Minorities were in opposition, who wanted to reach at an agreement among them. On the other side, it was the antagonistic British Government, which was for anything opposite to the Indian aspirations. Result? Gandhi came back, disappointed, without any achievement.

Civil Disobedience Movement Second Phase 1931-1934

When Gandhi was in England to attend the round table conference, the political situation in India got even worse. There was a general disturbance in Bengal, United Provinces and Punjab.

✍ The Viceroy had issued an array of ordinances, which gave the authorities unlimited powers. This is called by many scholars as "**Civil Martial Law**". There were no civil liberties. The authorities could detain people and seize their property at will.

In a proposed launch of no-rent campaign by the Congress, Jawahar Lal Nehru had been arrested. In NWF province, Khan Abdul Gaffer Khan had also been arrested along with his comrades – The **Red Shirts**.

Gandhi arrived from London on 28 December 1931 and on that day, Congress Working Committee decided to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement. Within a week, on 4 January 1932, Gandhi was arrested. In the first 4 months, around 80 thousand people were jailed. Lakhs of people jumped into the protests all over India. They just did two main things i.e. picket the shops that sold liquor and foreign cloth and carried out processions.

The Congress and other political parties were declared an illegal organization. The offices and funds of these parties were seized. All the Ashrams of Gandhi were occupied by the Police.

But the movement could not build the tempo and was crushed within a few months. Officially, the Civil Disobedience movement was suspended in May 1933 and it was finally withdrawn in May 1934.

Assessment of the Civil Disobedience Movement

- ✓ While the Non-cooperation Movement was launched to remedy the wrongs of the Government of India Act 1919, the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched as an attempt to attain Poorna Swarajya.
- ✓ The Congress became so popular that in 1937, when elections were held, it swept away all others.

-: About this document:-

- ✓ The Non-cooperation movement was the beginning, and there was no deliberate violation of law. But in the Civil Disobedience Movement laws were deliberately broken; it became popular among the rural and poor.
- ✓ The picketing of the Liquor shops was something which made the women an indispensable part of the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- ✓ The impact of this movement was slow but definite. In due course of time, CPI emerged as an alternative to the Congress.
- ✓ The gap between Hindu and Muslims became so wide that it culminated in partition, around a decade and half later.

The second phase of the Civil disobedience Movement also saw the significant uprising in two princely states viz. **Kashmir & Alwar in Rajasthan.**

The uprising in Alwar is also called the Mev Uprising; the Mevs are the semi-tribal peasants of Alwar district.

- ✓ These people rose against the Maharaja Jaisingh against the revenue enhancement measures.
- ✓ The result was the Maharaja of Alwar was sent to Europe and Alwar administration came under the Central Government for many years.

It was the second half of 1932, when it was almost clear that the Civil disobedience Movement is going to prove to be fruitless. The days of Gandhi's Satyagraha seemed to have gone, and the Peasants were almost against Gandhi because, they never wanted to lose their lands. The result was that in many Zamindari areas, the peasants turned radicals. Some Kisan Sabhas came up and many peasants started leaning towards the Communists.

How did CDM differ from NCM?

During the civil disobedient movement, government income from liquor, excise and land revenue fell and there was drastic fall in the imports of foreign cloth and other items. The election of legislative assembly was largely boycotted. Here are some visible and invisible differences between CDM and NCM:

Difference	CDM	NCM
Objective	Complete Independence	Swaraj
Methods adopted	Violation of Law	Only non-cooperation , adopted the British Rule
Government's reaction	Ruthless repression	Moderate repression
Participation of women	Great extent	Marginal
Participation of Business and peasants	More than NCM	Less than CDM
Impact on Congress	Emerged stronger	Emerged weaker
Number of Imprisonments	X	3X

Communal Award August 1932

On August 16, 1932, the British Prime Minister **McDonald** announced the Communal Award. Thus it is also known as McDonald Award.

The Communal Award was basically a **proposal on minority representation**. Major proposals were as follows:

1. The existing seats of the provincial legislatures were to be doubled.
2. The system of separate electorates for the minorities was to be retained.
3. The Muslims, wherever they were in minority, were to be granted a weightage.
4. Except NWFP, 3 % seats for women were to be reserved in all provinces.
5. The depressed , dalits or the untouchables were to be declared as minorities.
6. Allocation was to be made to labor, landlords, traders and industrialists.

-: About this document:-

Thus, this award accorded separate electorates for Muslims, Europeans, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo Indians, Depressed Classes, and even Marathas. (Some seats in Bombay were given to Marathas)

- ✍ The depressed classes were given seats which had to be filled by election from the special constituencies in which only they could vote.
- ✍ However, they were eligible to vote in the general constituencies as well.
- ✍ The labor, Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting, Landholders were also given special electorates.
- ✍ Sikhs were 13.2% of the population in Punjab. Here they were given 32 seats out of the total 175 seats.

Do you agree that McDonald award was another manifestation of British policy of divide and rule?

Absolutely Yes. The McDonald Award was based on the British theory that India was not a nation, but is a conglomeration of racial, religious and cultural groups, castes and interests. The British knew the strengths and weaknesses of the Indian Society and knew that Indian society had a tendency to gravitate towards localism and regionalism and the reason was obvious: India was a self-sufficient country based on self-sufficient units and there was very little interaction between the two. The British were very much aware that a sense of nationalism is always an antidote to imperialism. We can also say that the British had a single point agenda to strike down the nationalism and to create parochial loyalties among the smaller communities. This was one of the reasons that British came up with the concept of separate electorate, as Elections are a powerful means for the allocation of power and therefore,

So, we agree with this point that McDonald award was to debilitate national unity by creating different spheres of interests. It was dangerous and Gandhi knew it. The new challenge was to combat with the feeling of separatism. This award started a policy of appeasement and quota, which is still killing India, slowly.

It was declared by Gandhi for more than once that the separate electorates for the depressed class was an attempt to divide and detach the depressed classes from the main body of Hindus.

It seemed to him the these *Firangies* are going to break the country on the basis of the communities and so, he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister that if the award, so far it was related to the Depressed class, is not changed, he would sit on a fast unto death.

On 20 September 1932, Gandhiji sat on the fast unto death in the Yarawada Jail, in which he was lodged at that time. The Hindu leaders woke up and went directly to Dr. Ambedkar, to negotiate on this matter. The outcome of these negotiations was **Poona Pact of 1932**.

Poona Pact of September 1932

The Poona Pact was the agreement between Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Br Ambedkar reached on 25 September 1932. The major points in this pact were as follows:

1. 148 seats were to be allotted to the depressed classes in the provincial legislatures. This was more than double from the 71 seats as promised in the Communal Award.
2. Certain percentage of the seats allotted to the general Non-Muslim electorate would be reserved for the depressed classes.
3. Congress agreed that adequate representation would be given to the depressed classes in the civil services.
4. The depressed classes agreed to adhere to the principle of Joint Electorate.

-: About this document:-

We see that the Poona pact was more generous to the depressed classes comparing to the Communal award. The seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of the general Non-Muhammadden seats in the provincial legislatures were as follows:

1. Madras 30
2. Bombay plus Sind: 15
3. Punjab : 8
4. Bihar & Orissa : 18
5. Central Provinces: 20
6. Assam : 7
7. Bengal : 30
8. United provinces : 20

What is Joint Electorate?

The election to these seats was to be by joint electorates. This means that all the members of the depressed classes registered in the general electoral roll in a constituency would form an electoral college which would elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the depressed classes of the reserved seats by the method of the single vote. The four members getting the highest number of votes in such primary election would be candidates for each such reserved seats by the general electorate.

Did Poona pact divert all attention from the actual fight of civil disobedience movement, when it was on its climax?

Yes. We should blame both the McDonald Award and Poona Pact. McDonald award was devised create a dissension amongst the Hindus and it had the hidden objective of deviating the leadership from the CDM. British were successful in attaining both the objectives. Depressed classes secured double the number of seats reserved for them in the communal award and also enjoyed the benefits of a separate electorate thought in a modified form. Thus, the future of the depressed classes was deliberately linked to the policy of reservation. In this process, the larger issues fade into the background for the time being at least. The common man was confused with the compromise formula of Poona pact. They thought that the agreement on communal award is the end of the movement, and thus brought a halt in the pace of the movement.

Third Round Table Conference November 1932

Third Round Table Conference was held in London on November 17, 1932.

This was just a nominal conference, Congress refused to attend it (not invited, in fact) and in Britain, the Labor party also refused to not to attend it.

So, only 46 people reached out there.

✍ Please note that it was this conference where a college student **Chaudhary Rahmat Ali** proposed the name of the new land specially carved out from India for the Muslims. The name of this "holy" land was - **Pakistan.**

✍ Muslim leaders who attended the conference were Muhammad Ali, Agha Khan, Fazlul Haq, Jinnah.

The outcome of the Third Round Table conference was the "White Paper" issued by the Government. On the basis of this paper, the Government of India Act 1935 was to be passed.

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Changes in the Congress before Government of India Act 1935

The proposal of the Communal award and its aftermath led Gandhi to focus his attention on the Harijan Welfare. Harijan upliftment was now to become his main concern. He started an all India Anti-untouchability league in September 1932 and the weekly Harijan paper in January 1933.

In 1933 he went out on a Congress Harijan Tour. He worked towards the social upliftment of these sections- openings of wells, roads, and particularly temples plus humanitarian work. However, by this the Civil Disobedience gradually slipped in the background.

Officially, the Civil Disobedience movement was suspended in May 1933 and it was finally withdrawn in May 1934.

- ✓ The Swarajya Party was reconstituted and in the annual session of the Congress in October 1934, the Congress rejected the "White Paper".
- ✓ The Congress iterated that the only satisfactory alternative was a constitution drawn up by the Constituent Assembly which should be elected as far as possible on the basis of Adult Suffrage.
- ✓ But the Communal award was not rejected by Congress. It was criticized only.

A section of Congress led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya broke away from the main body and started the "Congress Nationalist Party". This party's immediate job was to reject the communal award. By the end of 1934, the elections were held to the Central legislative assembly. Congress and Congress Nationalist party together secured more than half of the number of elected seats. Muslim League did not contest the elections. Jinnah returned to the assembly as an Independent.

Bihar Earthquake 1934

The last major event during the times of Lord Wellington was the catastrophic 8.4 scale Earthquake in Bihar. This earthquake completely destroyed the Munger and Muzaffarpur area. Its epicenter was in Nepal and almost whole of the Bihar state got affected. Life of some 40 thousand people was lost.

LORD LINLITHGOW

Arrival of Lord Linlithgow 1936-1944

Lord Linlithgow was Viceroy of India from 1936 to 1944. This was the longest reign as Viceroy of India. During his reign, the following important events took place:

1. Government of India Act 1935
2. Elections in the Provinces 1937
3. Beginning of Second World War 1939
4. Arrival of Cripps Mission. 1942
5. Quit India Movement begins 1942
6. Great Famine of Bengal 1943

He was the third last British Viceroy of India. The two following viceroys were Lord Wavell (1944-1947) and Lord Mountbatten (1947-48).

Government of India Act 1935

Background of Events

-: About this document:-

- ✓ The changes introduced by the Government of India act 1919 were too short of a self government in our country. There was only partial transfer of powers through a system of dyarchy. The act was inadequate to satisfy the National aspirations.
- ✓ The division of subjects in Reserved and transferred was illogical and not acceptable. In November 1920, there were elections which were boycotted by the congress. The government of India act 1919 envisaged the centralization through the division of authority between the central and provincial governments in various fields of administration but central legislature was competent to legislate on the Provincial subjects and there was still no federal principle in operation and Government in India was still unitary.
- ✓ The act of 1919 could not satisfy any one. The dyarchy as an experiment failed, when it was put to practice as there was no substantial transfer of power to the representatives of the people.
- ✓ There was an emergence of a new spirit, zeal and unity among the educated Indians under the banner of Indian National Congress
- ✍ In January 1915, Mahatma Gandhi had returned to India from South Africa. In may 1915 he established Sabarmati ashram in Gujarat.
- ✍ The Champaran Agrarian dispute of North Bihar, a similar dispute in Gujarat at kaira and also a labor dispute in Ahmadabad made Mahatma Gandhi a national hero and his influential political career started. He devised a new technique Satyagraha.
- ✍ The British were irked by the growing revolutionary terrorism and the ongoing First World War.
- ✍ In 1919, a committee was established by the Governor general Chelmsford under the judge of the Kings Bench in London Sydney Rowlatt. The responsibility of this committee was to investigate into the nature and extent of revolutionary activities and suggest measures. This committee submitted its report in April 1918. Based upon the recommendations of this committee two bills were introduced. One was dropped and another was passed. The name of this passed bill, which was now an act was Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act which was called Rowlatt Act.
- ✍ On February 6, 1919, Gandhi Ji decided to launch the Satyagraha and criticized the Rowlatt act as subversive and unjust and against the principles of liberty. The volunteers courted arrest and a strike was launched country wide on April 6, 1919. On April 13, 1919 the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy occurred and the Satyagraha lost momentum.
- ✍ Before the government of India act 1935 passed, 3 round conferences in London were held. These have been discussed in our Independence struggle.

Salient Features of Government of India Act 1935

- ✍ The Government of India Act 1935 introduced the provincial autonomy and provided for an all India federation.
- ✍ This act introduced dyarchy at the central level.
- ✍ This act had 321 sections and 10 schedules.
- ✍ It made a provision for establishment of a Federal court.
- ✍ The franchisee was extended.
- ✍ It divided the subjects in 3 lists.
- ✍ The Indian council was abolished and an advisory body was introduced.
- ✍ **Burma was separated from India**, and Aden was surrendered to British Colonial office.

Lord Dundas & Viscount Ennismore

In 1935, the Government of India Act 1935 provided a new Burma Office, in preparation for the

-: About this document:-

establishment of Burma as a separate colony, but the same Secretary of State headed both Departments and was styled the Secretary of State for India and Burma. The first secretary of state for India and Burma was Lord Dundas. The India Office of the Secretary of State for India and Burma came to an end in 1947, when we got independence and now the Secretary of state of India and Burma was left to be Secretary of Burma. Viscount Ennismore was the first and last Secretary of Burma, as Burma got independence in 1948.

The political conscious of the people of India was not considered. There was no provision of any fundamental right. It perpetuated the sovereignty of the British parliament over India.

All India Federation:

The government of India act 1935 provided for an all India federation. In this all India federation the British India provinces, the chief commissioners of the provinces and those Indian states which might accede to be united were included. The federation consisted of 11 provinces, 6 chief commissioners' provinces and other states.

✍ The accession to the federation was voluntary.

Some notable Points:

✍ This act ended the system of dyarchy introduced by the Government of India Act 1919 and provided for the establishment of a "**Federation of India**", to be made up of both British India and some or all of the "princely states"

✍ This act introduced for the first time the direct elections and increased the franchise from seven million to thirty-five million people.

✍ The partial reorganization of the provinces included separation of Sind from Bombay, Splitting Bihar and Orissa into separate provinces, Complete separation of Burma from India, Detachment of Aden from India and establishing as a separate colony.

However, the degree of autonomy introduced at the provincial level was subject to important limitations: the provincial Governors retained important reserve powers, and the British authorities also retained a right to suspend responsible government.

The act proposed that federation of India could come into existence only if as many princely states (which had been given option to join or not to join) were entitled to one half of the states seats in the upper house of the federal legislature.

✍ The parts of the Act intended to establish the Federation of India never came into operation, due to opposition from rulers of the princely states. The remaining parts of the Act came into force in 1937, when the first elections under the Act were also held.

The proposed federal polity was to have a bicameral legislature at the center.

Upper House:

The upper house was called **Council of States** and it consisted of 260 members. Out of these 260 members 156 were to represent the provinces and 104 to the native states. Out of the 156 which were to represent the provinces, 150 were to be elected on communal basis. Seats reserved for Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, were to be filled by direct elections and Seats reserved for Indian Christians, Anglo Indians and Europeans was to be filled by indirect method of a electoral college consisting of their representative members.

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Lower House:

The lower house was to be called the federal assembly. It consisted of 375 members out of whom 250 were to represent the provinces and 125 to represent the princely states. The term of the assembly was five years but it could be dissolved earlier also.

Federal Court:

A federal court was established which began its functioning from October 1, 1937. The chief Justice of the federal court was Sir Maurice Gwyer.

It consisted of One Chief Justice and not more than 6 Judges.

Federal Railway Authority:

The Government of India Act 1935 vested the control of the railways in federal railway authority, a new 7 member body. This authority was kept free from the control of ministers and councilors. The idea was to assure the British Stakeholders of the railways that their investment was safe. ☺

The Simon commission had promised 'Dominion Status' for India in 1929, but the Government of India Act did not confer it. This act by providing separate electorates for Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo Indians, Indian Christians etc. proved to be an instrument of disintegrating the unity fabric of the country. It was over obstructing and Nehru called it "all breaks, no engine".

So, in summary this act provided the following:

- ✍ Establishment of an All India Federation of the Provinces in British India and Princely states.
- ✍ Bicameral Federation Legislature
- ✍ Representatives of the Princely states to be elected by their rulers.
- ✍ Abolition of Dyarchy
- ✍ 14% of the population was now having right to vote.
- ✍ Appointment of Governor General and Governors by British.
- ✍ Special Powers to Governors.
- ✍ Principle of Separate Electorates.
- ✍ Provincial autonomy.
- ✍ Federal Court.
- ✍ Creation of Sind and Orissa.

The federal part of this act was never introduced. However, the provincial part came into being on 1st April 1937.

Background: Separation of Burma

Please note that the Government of India Act 1935 contemplated the Federation of the British Indian Provinces and Indian States. But for Burma, there was a separate set of Events. Burma was proposed to be separated in pursuance of the recommendation of the Indian Statutory (Simon Commission) whose proposal was accepted in principle by the Government. Consequently a Burma Round Table Conference was held in London in 1932. In 1935, Burma Act was passed and separation of Burma actually took place in 1937.

-: About this document:-

Political Reaction to the Federation of India Act

The Government of India act came into force on 4 August 1935.

The provinces namely Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, North West Frontier Province, Orissa and Sind were now in a proposed federation. The chief commissioner's provinces namely Delhi, Ajmer-Mewar, Coorg, British Baluchistan, Andmana & Nicobar Islands, Panth Piploda were also to be in the Federation.

In the case of the provinces, accession to the Federation would be automatic. But in case of the princely states this accession was to be voluntary. This means that the ruler of an Indian Princely state would acceded to the Federation by executing an "Instrument of Accession", which would have to be accepted by Viceroy of India and this Federation would be brought by a Royal proclamation. But here was a big confusion. ..

No such proclamation would be issued until the rulers of the States, representing not less than half of the aggregate population of the States, and also entitled to not less than half of the seats allotted to the states in the Federal Upper Chamber, had signified their desire to accede to a Federation, and both the houses of the Parliament had presented an address to His majesty that such proclamation be issued.

Since, for the princely states, this was something similar to surrendering the remnants of the autocratic powers which was left with them. So, this was a nonstarter. No princely states were ready to join the proposed federation.

- ✓ The first reaction was towards the way, the representation of the princely states was proposed. The delegates were not to be elected by the public but by the rulers.
- ✓ This was because, they (princely states) were the "natural" allies of the British Government of India. So, here Dr. Rajendra Prasad commented:

It will be a kind of federation in which unabashed autocracy will sit entrenched in one third of India and peep in now and then to strangle the popular will in the remaining two thirds.

- ✓ Second important reaction was against the proposed form of dyarchy.
- ✓ The Dyarchy had been total failure in the provinces, but now there was an experiment coming up at the centre.
- ✓ The safeguards and the special powers vested in the Governor General was something like a "Charter of Slavery" as mentioned by Jawahar Lal Nehru. He compared it with a "machine with all brakes, no engine".
- ✓ Similarly Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya said:

"the act is somewhat democratic in its appearance but completely hallow from inside".

- ✓ Jinnah commented it as "*thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable*".
- ✓ Jinnah's point of view was based upon the feeling that it would substantially increase Hindu majority at the center.
- ✓ However Jinnah was ready to accept the provincial scheme, as it seemed that it would ensure Muslim control of the four Muslim majority provinces.

The result of above *hotch potch* was that the proposed Federation of India was shelved. Next was the provincial elections. The Elections to the provincial legislatures were held in the January and February 1937. This was a radical change in the politics of India.

-: About this document:-

The political reaction of the Government of India Act 1935 was so that the proposed Federation of India was shelved. Next were the provincial elections. The Elections to the provincial legislatures were held in the January and February 1937. This was a radical change in the politics of India.

Before we move ahead, please note the following important points:

- ✓ The Population of British Indian Provinces under the 1931 Census was 256 million. 11.5% of the population was enfranchised.
- ✓ The Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 provided that at any time of the Governor of the Province was satisfied that a situation had arisen in which the Government of the Province could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the act, he could by proclamation take upon himself, the administration of the province. This was the primitive model of President Rule of present in India as today and was provided by the Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935.
- ✓ The Chief Commissioners Provinces were directly governed by the Central Government. **But Coorg was an exception.** In Coorg, there was a legislative council.
- ✓ If there was any dispute regarding the domains of powers between the Central Government and the Provincial Government, there was a Federal Court Established.
- ✓ This Federal Court consisted of One Chief Justice and 2 regular Judges.

Circumstances at the time of Election

As per the Congress, the act had more enemies than friends. In words of J L Nehru, it had *all brakes not engine*. The Federal provisions had already been condemned by all the political parties including the Congress and the Muslim League.

- ✓ The Only parties to declare themselves in favor of the working of the Act of 1935, both in the provinces and the Central were --**National Liberal Federation** and **Hindu Mahasabha**.

In due course of time, the urge to fight the elections grew among them Congressmen. In 1936, When Congress met at Faizpur, the president of the session was Jawahar Lal Nehru. He said that

"there was no choice but to contest the elections as it would educate the masses on the political policies and economic programmes of the party".

In the Faizpur session, there was a general opposition to the proposed federal portion, safeguards and Governor General's overriding powers. So, the resolution of the congress was *"not to submit to this constitution or to cooperate with it, but to combat it both inside and outside the legislatures so that it can be ended."*

But the provincial portion of the act was accepted. The Congress launched the Election campaign and in its manifesto the top thing was **"A demand for the Constituent Assembly"**.

In the same year 1936, Jinnah was elected president of the Muslim League. Thus the Muslim league which was up till now was in moribund state got a fresh lease of life. The Muslim league appointed a Central parliamentary board to direct the elections.

Elections and Results

The Congress swept the polls. It won absolute majority in 5 provinces viz. Madras, United Provinces, Central provinces, Bihar & Orissa, Bombay, Assam and North West Frontier Province it emerged at the largest political party and formed the governments. Later Assam and NWFP also came under Congress rule.

- ✓ In **Bengal, Punjab and Sind**, Congress had no majority.
- ✓ In Punjab, the Muslim League with Unionist Party formed a coalition government. However, later a faction of Unionist Party in the premiership of Sikandar Hayat Khan mixed up with the Muslim league and remained so till 1947.
- ✓ In Bengal, Muslim league formed a coalition government with Krishak Praja Party under Fazlul Haq.
- ✓ In Sindh, during 1937-1947, two leaders remained premiers viz. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla and Alla Bakhsh. They were non congress leaders.
- ✓ The Muslim league got 108 seats out of the total 485 Muslim Seats. Congress contested on 58 Muslim seats and won 26 seats out of them.

Congress remained in office for more than two years. Under this tenure, Tenancy acts were passed in United Provinces and Bihar, to protect the tenants from the moneylenders. They took pro-labor stand but remained away from the class struggle.

✍ In 1937, the Congress Government in Bombay appointed a Textile Inquiry Committee which recommended a wage increase for labor.

✍ In November 1938, the Congress Government in Bombay introduced the "Industrial Disputes Act". The act was based upon the principles of arbitration and avoided the strikes and lock outs.

In these two years Congress did all that lifted its image from a political party to a party that can lead the masses of India not only in protests but also in Governance. The Ministers of Congress traveled in second and third class of railways and voluntarily reduced their salaries by Rs. 500 per month.

Rise of Separatism

In 1937, after the Provincial elections, the Congress had refused to make coalition Governments with the Muslim league. This gave the Muslim League leaders an opportunity to accuse the ministries of oppressing the Muslims. Apart from that, Muslim League had the view that it alone had the right to contact with the Muslims and take care of them. When Congress started mass contacts in villages, the Muslim league did not approve it.

A dream was shown to the middle and lower class Muslims of the country that if they remain in united country, they will always be unable to compete with the *Kafirs* who will not allow them to get the higher jobs and prospects. If a separate sovereign state is created, then it would be the middle and lower class Muslims that would get the most benefit.

There was one more reason of a press for separate Muslim nation. It was the **Wardha Scheme of Education**, which led the Muslim league to champion for the cause of Pakistan.

Wardha Scheme of Education 1937

On July 31, 1937, Gandhi had published an article in the Harijan. Based upon this article, an all India National Education Conference was held on October 22 and 23, 1937. The conference is called Wardha Educational Conference and the president of this conference was Gandhi himself.

-: About this document:-

The resolutions passed were as follows:

1. Free and compulsory education to be provided for 7 years at a nationwide scale.
2. Mother tongue should be the medium of instruction.
3. Through out this period of 7 years, the education should be around some forms of manual and productive work and for this purpose a handicraft must be chosen, based upon the environment of the child.
4. This system would generate the remuneration of the teachers.

Following this conference, a committee under Dr. Zakir Hussain was appointed to formulate the scheme of the basic education. The aim of the basic education was to develop the qualities of the ideal citizenship and more aspect should be give to the Indian culture than the literacy.

- There should be NO PLACE for English in the curriculum.
- There was no place for religious education in this scheme.

The most important plus point was the economic goals of the basic education, which would develop by the manual handicraft of the children for a period of 7 years. This was not accepted by Muslim League, for religious education was of utmost importance.

Rise of Congress Socialist Party : 1934 Onwards

Congress Socialist Party, or (CSP), was a left-wing group within the Congress. It was formed with Acharya Narendra Deva as President and Jay Prakash Narayan as General Secretary in 1934.

The rise of this party was due to the increased left influence in the Indian National Congress. By 1935, one third of the Congress members were Congress Socialists. These leaders rejected the idea of Gandhi (which they saw as anti-rational). Though, they remained active in the workers and peasants movement, they rejected the sectarian attitude of the Communist Party of India.

They were influenced by **Marxism-Leninism**. The members ranged from the advocates of arms struggle to nonviolent resistance. The ideal of this party was decentralized socialism in which a substantial share in the economic power of co-operatives, trade unions, independent farmers, and local authorities.

Some important points:

- ✍ J P Narayan was lodged in the Nasik Jail in 1932 for civil disobedience against British rule. Here he met with Ram Manohar Lohia, Minoo Masani, Achyut Patwardhan, Ashok Mehta, Yusuf Desai and other national leaders.
- ✍ After his release in 1934, JP Narayan convened a meeting in Patna which founded the **Bihar Congress Socialist Party** with Narayan as general secretary and Acharya Narendra Deva as president.
- ✍ On October 23-23, 1934, another conference was held in Bombay where they formed an all India level "Congress Socialist Party" with Narayan as general secretary and Masani as joint secretary and Acharya Narendra Deva as president.
- ✍ The greeting "Comrade" was used in the new party.
- ✍ Masani mobilized the party in Bombay, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and Puroshottam Trikamdas organized the party in other parts of Maharashtra.
- ✍ The CSP was not separate from the Congress. Its constitution defined that the members were all required to be members of the Indian National Congress. Members of communal organizations or political organizations, whose goals were incompatible with the ones of CSP, were barred from CSP membership.

-: About this document:-

✍ Many communists joined the CSP, it adopted Marxism in 1936. They had a conference on the sidelines of the Faizpur Conference and then propounded a doctrine that was aimed to transform the Indian National Congress into an anti-imperialist front.

Thus, emergence of the CSP had a long lasting impact on the politics of the Congress for many years to come.

SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

Rise of Subhash Chandra Bose: Career till 1938

Netaji was born on 23 January 1897 at Cuttack. His father Jankinath Bose was an advocate and his mother's name was Prabhavati Devi. He finished his schooling from Cuttack and graduated from the Scottish Church College of the University of Calcutta in 1918. Later, he went to University of Cambridge for higher studies and passed the **Indian Civil Services Examination** with high marks.

He resigned from Civil services in 1920 and remarked "The *best way to end a Government is to withdraw from it*".

After he returned to India, he started writing for Swaraj and then worked towards the publicity of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

✍ Chitranjan Das was his mentor.

✍ In early 1920s he mobilized the All-Bengal Young Men's Conference. His ideology was very much influenced with Swami Vivekananda and Arubindo Ghosh.

In 1925, he was arrested and sent to Burma (Mandalay Jail) where he is said to have contracted the Tuberculosis.

He was released in 1927 and then was appointed the General Secretary of the Congress. He worked closely with Jawahar Lal Nehru. In participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement and then was again sent to Jail.

✍ In Jail itself, he was elected as Mayor of Calcutta.

He was then released and in 1930, he was again arrested for organizing demonstrations. Most of the early 1930s he spent in Europe, travelled Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Ireland and other countries of the Eastern Europe and got influenced by the preparations of the Axial Powers. He met Mussolini during these visits.

In 1938, he returned from Europe. His philosophy was entirely different from that of Gandhi and Nehru, which reflects in the saying "*If somebody slaps you once, slap him twice*".

Congress Haripura Session 1938

By 1938, Jawahar Lal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose had emerged as candid spokespersons of the Congress. By the same time, Congress had divided among two groups based upon the ideology. One was the conservative group and another was radical. During this period, Gandhi remained almost retired from the active politics and took the job of upliftment of the Harijans.

✍ Babu Subhash Chandra Bose was very critical to the ideology of compromise of Gandhi.

In the midst of the violence and non-violence, in the midst of new developments of the socialist ideology, in the midst of the subdued resentment against the Congress ministries which had become slow in their

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progress towards independence and in the midst of the conflict of ideologies, Congress met at Vitthal Nagar Haripua from 19th 21st February 1938. President of this Congress was Subhash Chandra Bose. He outlined his policy as follows:

" My term of office as the Congress President will be devoted to resist the unwanted federal scheme will all the peaceful and legitimate powers, including non violence and non cooperation if necessary and to strengthen the country's determination to resist this scheme".

Bose had the idea of developing the **power of resistance** among the people of India as to make the British Government abandon the idea of forcing the federal scheme down the throats of Indians.

But it was this 1938 Haripura session when the differences between Gandhi and Bose surfaced over their attitudes towards the Great Britain. Subhash Chandra Bose was against the plan of the British to drag India into the Second World War. He was aware of the political instability of Britain and wanted to take advantage of it, rather than wait for the British to grant independence. Which is evident from his statement : **Britain's Peril is India's Opportunity**.

In this session, under Bose, a resolution was passed.

✍ As per Haripura resolution, Britain was given 6 months ultimatum to the British, failing to which there will be a revolt.

But this was something Gandhi could not digest. Subhash did not endorse the nonviolence and Satyagraha tactics of Gandhi to throw the British away. The result was that there was a great divide between Gandhi and Bose. Similarly, Nehru also fell apart from Bose.

✍ This variance grew further when Subhash Chandra Bose organized **National Planning Committee**.

✍ **National Planning Committee** was the Forerunner of India's Planning Commission. The idea was to draw a comprehensive plan for economic development of India on the basis of Industrialization. It was against the *Charkha* policy of Gandhi.

Congress Tripuri Session 1939

The British Government was keen on Bose taking interest in the Axis Powers and the developing Gandhi Bose strife. In December 1938, Bose had a meeting with two representatives of the German Nazi Party. Here, Bose told the Nazis that the Hitler regime must stop insulting the Indians. In India, Nazis were not liked because of their deeds of extinguishing the democracy, eliminating the socialist ideas.

For the 1939 elections of the President of Congress, Subhash announced his candidature knowing that he would be opposed. By this time, Nehru was on a long holiday in Europe. When he returned in 1938, Gandhi suggested him to announce his name as a candidate. But he declined and suggested the name of Maulana Azad. But Maulana Azad withdrew his name and then new name came up was of **Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya**, an Andhra leader. But Subhash was not sure of his win. The result was declared on January 29, 1939 and Subhash secured 1580 Votes. Sitaramaya got 1377 votes, thus Subhash winning by a narrow but clear margin.

✓ But the defeat of Sitaramayya was taken by Gandhi as a personal blow. He said "

... I am glad of his (Subhash's) victory....and since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name after Maulana Azad Sahib done so, the defeat is more mine than his...."

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Gandhi said that Bose was president in his own right. He should form his own working committee and run the congress. Gandhi said that

"...after all Subhash Babu is not the enemy of our country...he has suffered for it". In His opinion, his is the most forward and boldest policy and programme....the minority can only wish him all the best".

We see, that Gandhi in a characteristic way had declared a **"personal" war against Bose**. Actually, Gandhi meticulously started planning to destroy Subhash, who was now the most serious challenge to his ideology and superiority. Gandhi, whom we today cherish as Father of the Nation, planned his moves against Subhash with utmost care.

The constitution of Congress did not provide for the removal of the President and the delegates vote was something which could not be reversed. The Congress Working committee was still controlled by the followers of Gandhi. Thus, Subhash might reign but could not rule.

In March 1939, Congress met at annual session at Tripuri near Jabalpur.

Prior to this session, Bose fell ill (which may be a psychological reaction to the stress) just before February 20-21, when a meeting of Congress Working Committee was held in Wardha. Subhash was unable to reach and so sent a telegram to Patel to postpone the meeting of working committee till the annual session. He had also sent a telegram to Gandhi to nominate the working committee as his wish, but strangely Gandhi DID NOT SUGGEST any name.

But this telegram hurt the congressmen. They said that this demonstrates Subhash's dictatorial ambition, who does not want the congress to do the normal business in his absence. The result was that Patel and other 11 members resigned from the Working Committee. Earlier, Bose had described the followers of Gandhi as of low intellectual level. The members of Congress wanted Subhash to apologize for the slur. He refused.

In this session, when Subhash was brought to the dais on stretcher, one of the congressmen fanned *"Why don't you check whether he has any onions under his armpits"* (Onions when kept under armpits raise the temperature of the body).

Such was the disastrous division between Subhash and Gandhi & his followers. Next Month, Subhash resigned from Congress and now he was on an entirely different path. The place was filled by Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Establishment of Forward Bloc 1939

In April 1939, Subhash left Congress and on 3 May 1939, he established the "Forward Bloc" of the Indian National Congress. This formation was announced in a Public Rally at Calcutta. Here, he said that those who are joining would never return to the British and must fill the pledge form by cutting their finger and signing it with their blood. Bose became the president of the Forward Bloc and S.S. Cavesheer its vice-president.

In June 1939, a Forward Bloc Conference was held in Bombay. In July 1939, he announced the Committee of the Forward Bloc. In August same year, he started publishing a newspaper titled **Forward Bloc**. He travelled around the country and now was the most cherished after hero of the nation.

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Begin of Second World War 1939 & Bose's Escape

The Second World War broke out on September 3, 1939 and on the same day **Lord Linlithgow** declared India as belligerent and at war with "Germany".

Bose advocated a campaign of mass civil disobedience to protest against Viceroy Lord Linlithgow's decision to declare war on India's behalf without consulting the Congress leadership. He approached Gandhi to persuade on this matter, but was not successful. Gandhi had different ideas. He organized protests in Calcutta and called for removal of the 'Holwell Monument', which commemorated the Black Hole of Calcutta.

In 1940, he was arrested and was put behind the bars. In Jail, he sat on a hunger strike. When his condition deteriorated, he was released by the British and was taken under surveillance to his home in Calcutta. He left the house in disguise and reached Peshawar by Train. From there he crossed India's border and reached Kabul. From Kabul, he went to Moscow and From Moscow he reached Germany to take Hitler's help.

✓ In Berlin, he established **Free India centre** and raised a unit of Indian prisoners of War in Germany.

Later he came to know about Japan's phenomenal success in the war. So to take advantage, he moved on to Japan. However, things did not come up as expected and thus India lost a True Hero in disarray. (Discussed later)

Second World War 1939 & Congress

Soon after the war broke out, an array of emergency legislations was passed in India and Britain. The autonomy of the Provincial Governments was curbed and civil liberties of the people were restricted. Congress was of the idea to support the British on the condition that India should be declared an independent nation immediately after the war and a responsible government must be placed at the centre.

Gandhi, opposed to Subhash, did not want independence from the ruins of England, because that was not the way of non violence.

On September 8, 1939, there was a meeting of the Congress Working Committee. In it, it was suggested that the issue of the war and peace with India must be decided by the Indian People. But on this resolution, Government did not do anything. So the Congress High Command declared that Congress Ministries in the provinces should resign. This irked the British Government. The Muslim league had openly supported the British in the war policies and thus they were encouraged hereafter.

Jinnah's Two Nations Theory March 1940

✓ In November 1930, a **Pirpur Committee** which was submitted by the Muslim league had presented its report in which it charged the congress for interference with the religious rites, suppression of Urdu and propaganda of Hindi, denial of legitimate representation and suppression in economy of the Muslims.

Pirpur Committee

Pirpur Committee was established in November 1930 by the All India Muslim League to prepare a detailed report regarding the atrocities of the Congress Ministries (1937-1939) formed after the elections under the 1935 Government of India Act in different provinces. Its report charged the congress for interference with the religious rites, suppression of Urdu and propaganda of Hindi, denial of legitimate representation and suppression in economy of the Muslims.

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✓ The national poet of Pakistan, Allama Muhammad Iqbal had initially suggested the creation of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. But in his work *Tarana-e-Hind*, he stated the belief of a strong united India.

✓ In the Third round table conference, a Cambridge student **Chaudhary Rehmat Ali** coined the term Pakistan. On 28 January 1933, he published a pamphlet "**Now or Never**" which is called "**Pakistan Declaration**".

This declaration said:

"At this solemn hour in the history of India, when British and Indian statesmen are laying the foundations of a Federal Constitution for that land, we address this appeal to you, in the name of our common heritage, on behalf of our thirty million Muslim brethren who live in PAKSTAN - by which we mean the five Northern units of India, Viz: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan."

✓ This pamphlet appealed the Government that the five northern Units of India come up as a state independent of the proposed Indian Federation.

✓ But, this was not a movement until Jinnah Took it up.

✓ For Jinnah, the Congress was "Gandhi Hindu Congress".

On March 20, 1940, the Muslim League met at Lahore. Here Fazlul Haq, the Premier of Bengal, who along with Muslim League had formed the Government Bengal Province, moved a resolution, which was passed by Muslim League.

The resolution said:

the areas in which Muslims are numerically in majority, as in north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute the Independent States in which the Constituent units would be autonomous and sovereign".

In this session Jinnah in his Presidential address gave the famous two nation theory as follows:

"India cannot be assumed today to be Unitarian and homogenous nation, but on the contrary, there are two nations in the main- the Hindus and the Muslims".

✓ But the term Pakistan was not used in this session. This resolution was ambiguous and only a primitive idea which took firm shape only in 1946.

Gandhi rejected the two-nation theory and said:

"My whole soul rebels against the idea that Hinduism and Islam represent two antagonistic cultures and doctrines. To assent to such a doctrine for me is denial of God".

August Offer 1940

When the Congress ministries in the Provinces resigned, the British arose and wanted to get support of the Congress for war. In March 1940, Congress met at Ramgarh in Bihar in its annual session. He Congress passed a resolution offering the British Government support in war, if a provisional National Government is setup at Centre.

This was responded by Lord Linlithgow in the sort of a proposal which is called August Offer.

The august Offer turned down the demand of the Congress to set up a national Government at the center but proposed the following:

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1. After the war, a representative "Constitution Making Body" shall be appointed immediately after the war.
2. The number of the Indians in the Viceroy's Executive council will be increased.
3. A war advisory Council would be set up.

The Congress did not approve the August Offer. Jawahar Lal Nehru said that the whole idea was "dead and doornail". The Muslim League said that it will not be satisfied with anything short of partition of India.

Individual Satyagraha 1940-41

The Congress was in a confused state again after the August Offer. The radicals and leftists wanted to launch a mass Civil Disobedience Movement, but here Gandhi insisted on Individual Satyagraha. The Individual Satyagraha was not to seek independence **but to affirm the right of speech.**

✓ The other reason of this Satyagraha was that a mass movement may turn violent and he would *not like to see the Great Britain embarrassed by such a situation*. This view was conveyed to Lord Linlithgow by Gandhi when he met him on September 27, 1940.

The non-violence was set as the centerpiece of Individual Satyagraha. This was done by carefully selecting the Satyagrahis.

- ✓ The first Satyagrahi selected was Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who was sent to Jail when he spoke against the war.
- ✓ Second Satyagrahi was Jawahar Lal Nehru.
- ✓ Third was Brahma Datt, one of the inmates of the Gandhi's Ashram.

They all were sent to jails for violating the Defense of India Act. This was followed by a lot of other people. But since it was not a mass movement, it attracted little enthusiasm and in December 1940, Gandhi suspended the movement. The campaign started again in January 1941, this time, thousands of people joined and around 20 thousand people were arrested.

Cripps Proposals 1942

1942 saw the advancement of British forces in India. Apart from that there was a pressure from the American President F. Roosevelt and Chinese premier Chiang Kai-Shek to concede the real political power to the people of India. The fall of Burma was enough to frighten the British and when the Japanese army began to knock the doors of India after Burma and Singapore, the war cabinet of Britain sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India on March 1942 to elicit cooperation from the Indians. It promised for the fulfillment of past promises to self government to Indian people.

The proposal of the Cripps mission was that:

"India would be a dominion associated with the United kingdom".

It promised that immediately after the war is stopped, steps would be taken up to set up an elected body charged with the task of making the constitution for India and provisions would be made so that the Indian states could participate in the framing of the constitution.

- ✍ Through the Cripps mission for the first time, British government recognized the "Right of Dominion" for India.
- ✍ Indians were given promise of liberty to frame their own constitution.

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The Cripps mission which was a move to appease the Congress, Muslim League and Indian states at the same time was rejected by all of them.

Gandhi wanted an undivided India, Muslim league wanted a separate Pakistan, Congress demanded a full control over *defense* "stating that a slave country cannot have any inspiration".

Muslim league said there was *inadequate representation of Muslims*.

Sikhs rejected *because of non accession of provinces*.

Hindu Mahasabha rejected because the "Pakistan Virus" was alive.

The Dalits and depressed classed also rejected *because there was nothing new for them*.

Quit India Movement: August 1942

In July 1942, the Congress Working Committee met at Wardha. Here a long resolution was passed that demanded that the "British Rule in India must end immediately".

✓ This resolution was an outcome of the change in attitude of Congress and Gandhi himself towards British.

✓ The attitude changed because in the Second World War the Japanese were triumphing and they had already overrun Singapore and Malaya. They were nearly reaching Burma and India. So it was thought that "Presence of British in India was an invitation to Japan to invade".

The Wardha Resolution is also known as "Quit India Resolution". This resolution was ratified in the All India Congress Committee at Bombay on August 7, 1942. Here a nonviolent mass struggle under the leadership of Gandhi was sanctioned in the "**August Kranti Maidan**".

In case Gandhi and the Congress leadership is arrested, the document said:

"Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him or her on a long hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence of India"

After that, Gandhi made the following statement in his speech:

*"Every one of you should from this moment onwards consider yourself freeman or woman and act as if you were free.....I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of freedom. **You should do or die**. We shall either free India or die in the attempt".*

This movement attracted the common people of India.

After the above sanction, the AICC meeting ended on the midnight of 8 August 1942. The same night police arrested Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Aazad and all other leaders. Within a week, almost all the leaders of Congress were in jails. From August 9 to August 13, there was widespread disturbance in Bombay, Ahmadabad, Poona, and Delhi. However, after that the movement started deteriorating. It was followed by widespread hartals, strikes and other outbreaks. All of them are commonly called the "**Great August Uprising**".

Was the Great August Uprising inevitable?

Yes. We have seen in the above discussion that the immediate cause of QIM was the failure of Cripps mission. It was realized that

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any further silence would be tantamount to accept the right of the British government to decide India's fate without any reference to the wishes of her people. That was also a time of a rising inflation and the acute shortage of food stuffs. The World War created problems for the common people and as soon as the news of allied reverses and British withdrawals from south-east Asia and Burma came, the people started looking for opportunity to express their discontent.

By the end of the year, the movement had been suppressed due to ruthless use of force. For next two and half years, there was no large political movement.

Was the Quit India Movement a natural corollary of the prolonged struggle for the independence?

Partially Yes. In fact, Quit India Movement was a natural corollary of the failure of the Cripps Mission. Various reasons given for the outbreak of the Quit India Movement are as follows:

1. Gandhi's was desperate and wanted to call for "do-or-die" after the failure of the individual Satyagraha.
2. Failure & Rejection of the Cripps Proposals
3. There was a general demoralization of the Congress leaders.
4. There was a growing demand for separate land among the Muslim League.
5. There was a presence of large number of troops in India.

There was also a feeling that Indians would do the same with British as the people in Singapur, Malaya and Burma did.

Did Quit India Movement prove to be a metaphor?

India movement represented a metaphor because it was

1. Not a Non-violent Movement
2. Not led by Gandhi
3. Not Planned

Basically, Gandhi did not formulate any definite programme of action before he was arrested on 9th August. The violent acts in the 1942 movement were not of its original character, and the QIM movement in 1942 shortly merged itself into the revolutionary or terrorist movement. One of the powerful sections of congress led by **Jaya Prakash Narayan** openly repudiated the policy of Gandhi. There were sporadic events of violence in all parts of India and the leaders preached the cult of violence and mass revolution. The revolutionary movement and the non-violent satyagraha launched by Gandhi, both came to an end, almost simultaneously, without achieving freedom. The movement was not spontaneous because it ultimately represented it was a byproduct of a combination of trends underlying at varying degrees to produce independence, at that time.

Further, the communists had opposed this movement and it virtually damaged the labour movement also. Labour Unions under Communist influence had apparently decided against participation in the movement, there were large-scale strikes in mills at Kanpur, Jamshedpur and Ahmadabad. There was an indifference of the Labour Class

Subhash Chandra Bose: In Germany

In 1941, When Netaji left India in disguise and reached Germany, he was welcomed by **Joachim von Ribbentrop**, Foreign Minister of Germany from 1938 until 1945, and right hand of Adolf Hitler.

✍ In Berlin, Subhash established **Free India centre** and raised a unit of Indian prisoners of War in Germany.

✍ He frequently used the Berlin Radio and broadcasted is cause for India. It was called **Azad Hind Radio**. The headquarters of Azad Hind Radio was later shifted to **Singapore** and later **Rangoon**. On this

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Radio, Netaji referred the British Broadcasting Corporation as the Bluff and Bluster Corporation and the All India Radio as the Anti Indian Radio. ☺

✍ He used the greeting "Jai Hind" and the public greeted him in return with the same.

However, in East, the outbreak of war was giving a new dimension to the efforts of Subhash to throw out the British.

Tokyo Conference: March, 1942

By this time, **Ras Bihari Bose** had established himself in East and in March 1942, he convened a conference in **Tokyo**. The outcome of this conference was the new face of "Indian Independence League", the organization which was *originally founded in 1928, by Rash Bihari Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru*. The decision was taken to form the Indian National Army for the liberation of India. A Council of action was created and Ras Bihari Bose became its president. Mohan Singh was the commander in chief of the proposed Indian National Army. However, Mohan Singh was later arrested.

But the Indians had difference with Ras Bihari's idea of Indian liberation with the Japanese help and were actually worried about the vested Japanese interests. The result was that nothing substantial came out and the conference agreed to meet again in **Bangkok** at some future date. In April 1942, Ras Bihari and the Indian delegation returned to Singapore.

All Malayan Indian Independence League: 1942, Singapore

In Singapore, Ras Bihari Bose arranged a conference to make All Malayan Indian Independence League.

✓ The president of this league was Nedyam Raghavan, a Penang Barrister and a prominent Malayan Indian.

Again this league made a number of proposals including the creation of a Council of Action. The league got overwhelming support and by August 1942 one Lakh people became its members. The league took up the issue of the local Indian population which was mainly engaged in plantations.

Bangkok Conference : June 1942

As decided in the Tokyo conference, the Bangkok conference was held and here the Indian Independence League was again constituted.

Rash Bihari Bose was to chair the council, while K.P.K Menon, Nedyam Raghavan were among the civilian members of the council. Mohan Singh was to be the INA's members. A **34 point resolution** was passed by which the Indian National Army was made subordinate to the Indian Independence League.

✓ The resolution expected the Japanese government to respond to each point. This resolution said that the Japanese Government should clearly, explicitly and publicly recognize India as an independent nation.

✓ It also demanded that the Japanese Government should recognize the league as the nation's representatives and guardians.

✓ The resolution demanded assurances from the Japanese Government on Free India's relation with Japan, respect for her sovereignty and her territorial integrity.

✓ The resolution further demanded that the Indian National Army should be accorded the status of an allied army and be treated as such, and that all Indian Prisoners of Wars be released to the INA.

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Arrival of Bose in Japan 1943

Prior to this conference, an invitation was sent to Subhash Chandra Bose to come to East Asia. After a three-month journey by submarine, and a short stop in Singapore, he reached Tokyo on 11 May 1943, and here, he could get the promise of authorities of Japan to extend all the help to him to expel the British from India and enable India to achieve independence.

- ✓ The Indian National Army was initially formed under Capt Mohan Singh Deb with Japanese aid and support after the Fall of Singapore and consisted of approximately 20,000 Indian prisoners of war who were captured either during the Malayan campaign or surrendered at Singapore.
- ✓ Mohan Singh Deb had differences with Japanese authorities. The Japanese too were frustrated with him.
- ✓ On 29 December 1942, General Mohan Singh Deb was removed from his command and taken into custody by the Japanese military police. Later, after the war, he was given to the British authorities, which repatriated him to India to face the INA trials.
- ✓ He was not given any punishment as such and later he became a Rajya Sabha MP when India was ruled by the Congress Government!

On 15 February 1943, the Army was put under the command of **Lt. Col. M.Z. Kiani**. He revived the former ranks and badges.

In July 1943 Subhash went to Singapore and here, he was given the premiership of the Indian Independence League. When in 1943, Subhash took over the command of the Indian National Army, it was almost zenith of his career.

- ✓ At this juncture of time, an Officers' Training School for INA officers was opened under Habib ur Rahman.
- ✓ Azad School for the civilian volunteers were set up to provide training to the recruits.
- ✓ For the first time in Asia a women's regiment, the **Rani of Jhansi regiment** was raised as a combat force, under **Captain Laxmi Swaminathan**.

Provisional Government of Free India, Singapore, October 1943

On 21st October 1943, Subhash set up the Provisional Government of Free India in Singapore. The INA took half a year for its preparation to march to India. In March 1944, the INA commenced its military campaign with the battle cry of Subhash "**Dilli Chalo**" against Burma and the columns of the army reached Kohima and laid siege of Imphal. The provisional Government of India was recognized by Japan, Germany, Italy, Croatia, Burma, Thailand, Nationalist China, Philippines etc. This provisional Government was given Andaman and Nicobar Islands by the Japanese which had occupied them earlier.

- ✓ The two islands were renamed by Subhash as **Shaheed (Martyr) & Swaraj (Self-rule)**.
- ✓ Here on December 30, 1943 Subhash Chandra Bose first raised the flag of Indian independence.

From March to July 1944, the Japanese armies along with INA attempted to destroy the Allied forces at Imphal and invade India. This was known as **Battle of Imphal**. Here, the Japanese forces were driven back into Burma with heavy losses. INA also lost lots of men and material. There was another **Battle of Kohima** going on simultaneously in which the INA and Japanese forces unsuccessfully encircled Allied forces.

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But the fate changed soon after. Japan suffered the biggest defeat in this part of the world. In May 1945, Rangoon was recaptured by British. On August 6, 1945 and August 9, 1945, two atom bombs were dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki and in the next month, Japan surrendered.

✓ At the time of surrender of Japan, in September 1945, Bose left for Manchuria to attempt to contact the advancing Soviet troops. But here, he was toppled by the forces of history. ☹

End of INA

Ras Bihari Bose had died in January 1945 in Tokyo. Subhash Chandra Bose was also presumed to have died. Before the war ended, the INA soldiers started falling into the hands of the allies. These were taken as Prisoners of Wars and the Court martial began as early as 1943.

INA had around 43000 recruits out of which many perished, many fled and mixed with the civilians, but 16000 were captured. They were stuffed into the ships and sent to India via Rangoon. Various detention camps had been organized in Jhingergacha and Nilganj near Calcutta, Kirkee near Pune, Attock, Multan and at Bahadurgarh near Delhi.

INA Trials (Red Fort Trials) 1946

The officers of the INA were taken to court martial at the Red Fort of Delhi from November 1945 and May 1946. Around ten courts-martial were held.

- ✓ The first of these was the joint court-martial of Colonel Prem **Sahgal**, Colonel Gurubaksh Singh **Dhillon** and Major General Shah Nawaz **Khan**, who had been taken Prisoners of Wars in Singapore.
- ✓ They were charged of "Waging War against the King Emperor" as well as Murder and abetment of Murder.
- ✓ The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League both made the release of the three defendants, one Hindu, One Muslim and One Sikh !
- ✓ They were sentenced to death, but under pressure from the political parties from India, **Army Chief Claude Auchinleck** was forced to commute the sentences of the three defendants in the first trial.

LORD WAVELL

Arrival of Lord Wavell 1943-47

When Linlithgow retired as viceroy in the summer of 1943 he was succeeded by Lord Wavell, who remained 23rd Viceroy of India from 1 October 1943 to 21 February 1947. The most important events during his tenure were as follows:

- ✓ Great Famine of Bengal 1943
- ✓ Shimla Conference 1945
- ✓ Cabinet mission 1946
- ✓ Direct Action Day.

This period was disastrous for the population of India.

C. Rajagopalachari formula of 1944

Objective of the C R Formula was to solve the political deadlock between the All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress. League's position was that the Muslims and Hindus of British India were of two

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separate nations and hence the Muslims had the right to their own nation. The Congress was opposed to the idea of partitioning India.

The Core principle of the CR Formula was a proposal for the Congress to **offer the League the Muslim Pakistan based on plebiscite of all the peoples in the regions where Muslims made a majority**. The main features were:

1. The Muslim league was to endorse the demand for independence for the traditional period, i.e. Muslim league would support the congress's demand for complete freedom and then majority provinces would go to plebiscite especially north eastern provinces.
2. At the end of war a commission would demarcate those contiguous areas in NWFP and NEI where Muslims were in majority.
3. In the event of separation, agreements would be and other essential purpose.
4. The terms would be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for full governance of India.
5. The Muslim league endorsing the congress demand for full independence and cooperating with it in forming an interim government in the transition period.

C Rajgopalachari served as Governor of West Bengal from 1947 to 1948, Governor-General of India from 1948 to 1950, as Union Home Minister from 1951 to 1952 (invited after Patel's death) and the Chief Minister of Madras state from 1952 to 1954. He resigned from the Indian National Congress and with NG Ranga, founded the Swatantra Party, which fought against the Congress in the in 1960s and early 70s.

✍ He has written the song Kurai Onrum Illai, which is sung in the Carnatic Music.

Gandhi-Jinnah talks of 1944

The allies in the war seemed to be victorious and attitude of British administration towards Congress softened with this. At the same time, America was pressing on meeting India's demand for self-governance though being an ally of Britain in the war. When Gandhi was released on 5 May 1944, he proposed talks with Jinnah on his two-nation theory and negotiating on issue of partition. The CR formula acted as the basis for the negotiations. Gandhi and Jinnah met in September 1944 to ease the deadlock. Gandhi placed the CR formula as his proposal to Jinnah. Negotiations continued for two years and ultimately failed.

1. Jinnah rejected CR Formula arguing that separation could not be deferred till after independence, considered common services to be unnecessary, and felt that plebiscites with both Muslims and Hindus voting contradicted the basic principle of **Muslims being a distinct nation with an inherent right of self-determination**. ☺
2. Gandhi did not accept the view that the Indian Muslims constitute a separate nation, he regarded India as one family consisting of many members, and the Muslims were one of them.
3. Gandhi proposed that only the Muslims living in Baluchistan, Sindh, N.W.F.P and parts of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, who desired to live in separation from the rest of India, should form the new state. But on this, Jinnah insisted that Pakistan should include all the six provinces resolution of the Muslim league in 1940. He did not want a mutilated, moth eaten Pakistan. ☺ same like Allama Mashriqi cried for.

Moth Eaten Pakistan & Allama Mashriqi's Point

Khaksar Movement was established by Allama Mashriqi in 1931. Please note that other name of Allama Mashriqi was Inayatullah Khan and he was a mathematical intellectual. He is known for publishing a pamphlet in which he claimed that Muslims only had the right of being the guardians of Hindustan and no other could claim to govern Hindustan. The organization was declared unlawful in

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1940 and Khaksars including Allama Mashriqi were stuffed in Jails. Jinnah had appealed them to support the Muslim league's cause but Khaksar's relation with league were not so friendly. He wanted a Pakistan undivided, **stretching from Karachi to Calcutta** and did not accept a "Moth eaten Pakistan" as per the Mountbatten Plan.

4. Gandhi held that the separate Muslims state should be formed after India was free, on this Jinnah urged for an immediate and complete settlement.
5. Gandhi suggested that there should be a treaty of separation to provide for foreign affairs, defense, communication, customs commerce and the like, as matters of all these matters, which were the life-blood of common central authority or government. But none of them were acceptable to Jinnah.

We see that Gandhi- Jinnah talks did not bring the two communities nearer each other. The clever Viceroy was now convinced that these Indians would keep quarrelling and Indian problem cannot be settled by an agreement between the Hindus and Muslims. So now the British government must take the initiative for the post-war settlement promised by them. 😊

Wavell Plan, June 1945

The war had ended, though Japan was yet to surrender. The heroic deeds of INA were about to end. 30 Million people had lost lives in the Famine of Bengal, which was largely manmade as the Government stopped the supplies from Burma due to the fear of the Japanese invasion. Burma was the largest exporter of rice and the scarcity of the supplies coupled with the low rains and droughts in several parts of India from as early as 1942, when 10 princely states of Rajputana had declared themselves famine affected as per the famine code and wanted to get relief.

People in Orissa and Bengal died and the government could take steps to save a few only. The Muslim league had escalated the demand for a separate sovereign state.

There was a deadlock with the congress since 1939 resignations. On June 14, 1945, Lord Wavell came out with a plan which had the following schemes:

1. A new Executive Council was to be formed at the Centre in which all but the Viceroy and the Commander in Chief will be Indians. This executive council was for the time being till a new permanent constitution could be agreed upon and come to force.
2. All portfolios except the Defense would be held by the Indian Members.

Breakdown Plan

Wavell Plan is also known as Breakdown Plan and was not accepted by the British, for whom, leaving without a universally agreed agreement was dishonorable. It also said that in case of a disagreement, the British should withdraw to the 6 Pakistan Provinces, and leaving the Congress to deal with rest of India.

Shimla Conference, June 1945

To discuss the provisions of the Wavell Plan a conference of 21 Indian Political leaders was invited to the Summer Capital of British Government Shimla. The leaders included Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was the President of the Congress at that time. Mohammad Ali Jinnah also reached in the conference.

But here, Jinnah made a strange claim. He said that no non-league Muslim should be represented to the Executive Council because only Muslim League has right to represent the Muslims of India. So, it was said that Congress had no right to nominate any Muslim in the Executive council.

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Jinnah also demanded that in case of the division of votes and objection by the Muslim members, there should be a provision that vote is cleared only by 2/3rd of majority.

✓ Wavell had given place to 6 Muslims in the Executive Council of 14, and British had given it the power of Veto to any constitutional proposal which was not in its interest.

But Muslims represented only 25% of Indian Population. Thus, these unreasonable demands were rejected by Congress. The Muslim League did not relent and Wavell dropped the plan. However, now it was almost clear to Congress that Muslim League can make or mar the fortune of Muslims of India. It was seen as strongest at this point of time, than ever before.

Was the failure inevitable at Shimla?

Yes. The three parties' viz. Congress, Muslim League and Viceroy had to decide the fate of the conference the congress. For Congress, India was a single nation but for Muslim League, the Muslims were not only a minority but a nation in themselves. The viceroy's decision was to be based upon this disagreement as the larger is the disagreement, larger may be the extension of the British rule. It was Lord Wavell that formally handed over the power to veto-final authority in any constitutional progress in India to Jinnah. So, this was the reason that Jinnah became sole representative of Muslims. Now Jinnah was Muslim League's answer to Gandhi of Congress.

But at the same time, Wavell also reversed the proposals of Cripps mission which had recognized INC as the only platform which could discuss with the government. Thus Wavell created two platforms at Shimla.

1. Raise the level of Jinnah to that to the level of Gandhi
2. Make the Muslim League sole dispenser to the Muslim fate in India.

The result was that Muslim League emerged as a great gainer and they were now closer to a separate nation of their own.

General Election, December 1945

Before the WWII ended on August 15, 1945, there was a general election in Britain. The election ended with the defeat of Conservative Party of Winston Churchill and now the new Government of Labour Party came into power with Clement Atlee as Prime Minister. The new Secretary of State for India was Sir Pethick Lawrence.

The first major step by this new government was to announce a General Election in India. The last general elections were held in 1936 and now almost a decade later, the whole world had changed. The results of the elections were announced in December 1945. In these elections Congress secured over 91% votes and Muslim League secured all the Muslim seats.

- ✓ Congress formed the Government with absolute majority in Madras, United provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces.
- ✓ In Punjab it made a coalition Government with Akalis and Unionists.
- ✓ Muslim League was in majority in Sind and Bengal.

RIN Mutiny 1946

On February 18, 1946, a section of non-commissioned officers and sailors known as Ratings, serving in the Royal Indian Navy, mutinied against the British Officers.

The mutiny started as a strike by the ratings to protest against the hardships regarding pay, food and racial discrimination.

- ✓ In the same night, a Naval Central Strike committee was created by the Ratings.

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✓ This committee was presided by Signalman M.S Khan and Vice president was Petty Officer Telegraphist Madan Singh.

The populace of India was already fascinated by the heroic tales of the Indian National Army. So, the strikes and hartals spread from Bombay to Calcutta, Madras and even Karachi. The foolish British commander made some derogatory remarks on the nationality of these personnel and the result was that they took possession of some ships, mounted guns over there and started firing.

✓ The mutineers hoisted three flags tied together on the ships which they had captured -One of Congress, One of Muslim League, and the third Red Flag of the Communist Party of India.

The mutiny was ended by intervention of **Sardar Patel**, who after a meeting with M. S. Khan made a statement of ending the strike. The similar statement was made by Jinnah in Calcutta. The mutineers surrendered but despite the assurances of Congress and Muslim League, many mutineers were arrested, subjected to court martial and dismissed from the services.

The violence broke out in Mumbai and over 200 people lost lives in this disturbance. The mutiny made an impression on the British, that it would be better to leave the country. On February 19, the second day of this mutiny, **Cabinet Mission** was sent to India.

Cabinet Mission Plan 1946

Cabinet Mission was composed of three Cabinet Ministers of England

1. Sir Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India.
2. Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade,
- A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty

The mission arrived on March 24, 1946. The objective of this mission was to

1. Devise a machinery to draw up the constitution of Independent India.
2. Make arrangements for interim Government.

Thus the mission was like a declaration of India's independence.

The mission spent some 3 weeks to discuss with the leaders of various political parties, but could not arrive at any agreed solution. So finally it announced its own recommendations on May 16, 1946.

The cabinet mission plan of 1946 proposed that there *shall be a Union of India which was to be empowered to deal with the defense, foreign affairs and communications.*

✍ The cabinet mission **recommended an undivided India** and turned down the Muslim league's demand for a separate Pakistan. The Cabinet **mission restricted the Communal representation**

✍ It provided that all the members of the Interim cabinet would be Indians and there would be minimum interference by the Viceroy.

✍ It also provided for formation of the constituent assembly on democratic principle of population.

✍ It recognized Indian Right to cede from the Commonwealth.

✍ The Union Government and its legislature were to have **limited powers**, dealing with Finance, Foreign Affairs and Communications. The union would have powers necessary to raise the finances to manage the subjects. *Thus, the Cabinet Mission plan proposed a weak Centre. We can realize what would have been of the country if this plan was approved and implemented.*

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- ✍ All subjects other than the Union Subjects and all the residuary powers would be vested in the provinces.
- ✍ The Princely states would retain all subjects and all residuary powers.
- ✍ A Constituent Assembly will be formed of the representatives of the Provincial Assemblies and the Princely states. Each province had to be allotted a total number of seats in proportion to the its population. The Constituent assembly had to comprise 293 Members from the British Provinces and 93 members from the Princely states.
- ✍ The representation of the Provincial legislatures was to be break up into 3 sections.
Section A: Madras, UP, Central provinces, Bombay, Bihar & Orissa.
Section B: Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Baluchistan
Section C: Assam and Bengal.
- ✍ *Thus we seem that though the Cabinet Mission plan rejected the idea of separate Pakistan, yet it grouped the provinces in such a way that it gave weightage to the idea of Pakistan, because the Section B would get almost complete autonomy.*

Reaction to the Cabinet Mission Plan

The Congress accepted the proposals related to the Constituent assembly. But since, the Muslim league had been given disproportionate representation; it rejected the idea of the Interim Government. Congress also rejected the idea of a weak centre and division of India in small states. Congress was against decentralization and the idea was to have a strong centre.

The Muslim league first approved the plan. But when Congress declared that it could change the scheme through its majority in the Constituent Assembly, they rejected the plan.

On July 27, the Muslim League Council met at Bombay where Jinnah reiterated the demand for Pakistan as the *only course left open to the Muslim League*.

On July 29, it rejected the plan and called the Muslims to resort to "Direct Action" to achieve the land of their dream "Pakistan". August 16, 1946 was fixed as "**Direct Action Day**".

Direct Action Day, August 16, 1946

16 August 1946 was fixed as the Direct Action Day and it turned into the "Great Calcutta Killing". This date started the week of long Knives and following this day, 6000 Hindus and Muslims stabbed, shot, and battered each other. 20 thousand were maimed and raped. India was yet to taste the independence.

The Chief Secretary of Bengal was R.L. Walker. The Prime Minister of Bengal was Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, from Muslim League. Suhrawardy requested Governor of Bengal Sir Frederick Burrows to declare a public holiday on 16 August. But the Bengal Congress protested against the declaration of public holiday, because this would enable the Muslims to enforce hartals.

Both the political parties had their own thousand reasons of observing it or not observing it a public Holiday. Congress leaders urged the Hindus to keep the shops open. The Urdu newspapers called for a complete strike on that day. The programme was published in the newspapers that the processions would start from multiple parts of Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly, Metiabruz and 24 Parganas, and would converge at the foot of the Ochterlony Monument where a joint mass rally presided over by Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy would be held.

The emotion of Hindus was mobilizing around idea of United India.

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The troubles started on the morning of the August 16. Shops were forcefully closed. Stabbing, throwing of stones and brickbats started. At 12 O'clock, the League's rally began, which was the largest ever Muslim assembly in Bengal. The Muslims from all sides of Calcutta with Iron Bars and lathes started congregating and this was followed by a Namaz at 2.00 PM. Here some fiery speeches were made by Khawaja Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy. This was followed by widespread riots in Calcutta. The riots soon spread to all parts of North India and it turned into a Civil War between Hindus and Muslims.

Amidst this situation of Chaos and insanity, Mahatma Gandhi went to calm down the maddened riotists.

Constituent Assembly – December 6, 1946

By the December 1946, the elections to the Constituent assembly had taken place. On 6 December 1946, the Constituent assembly met for the first time.

✍ The members of the constituent assembly were elected by the Provincial assemblies by method of single transferable vote system of proportional representations.

✍ Total membership of the constituent assembly was 389, out of which 292 the representatives of the states were, 93 were representatives of princely states and 4 were from the chief commissioners provinces of Delhi, Ajmer-Mewar, Coorg and British Baluchistan.

The elections for the 296 seats assigned to the British Indian provinces were completed by July-August 1946

✍ Congress won 208 seats and Muslim league won 73 seats.

After this election, the Muslim league refused to cooperate with the Congress. The political situation got worse and Hindu Muslim riots started. The Muslim league demanded for a separate Constituent assembly for Muslims in India. So, the British declared that the decisions of the Constituent assembly would not be valid in the Muslim majority areas. Thus the working of the assembly got virtually crippled.

✍ The membership of the Constituent assembly became 299 after this reorganization and it met on December 31, 1947.

✍ The Constituent assembly was the First parliament of Independent India.

✍ Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha was the first president (temporary Chairman of the Assembly) of the Constituent Assembly when it met on December 9, 1946.

✍ Dr. Rajendra Prasad then became the President of the Constituent Assembly, and who later become the first President of India.

✍ The Vice President of the Constituent Assembly was Professor Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, former Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and a prominent Christian from Bengal who also served as the Chairman of the Minorities Committee of the Constituent Assembly. He was appointed Governor of West Bengal after India became a republic.

Objectives Resolution- January 22, 1947

The historic Objectives Resolution was moved by Jawahar Lal Nehru on 13 December 1946 and was adopted on 22 January 1947.

It reads as follows:

1. This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution;

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2.WHEREIN the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts for India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India, shall be a Union of them all; and

3.WHEREIN the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous Units, together with residuary powers and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

4.WHEREIN all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people; and

5.WHEREIN shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social economic and political : equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and

6.WHEREIN adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

7.WHEREBY shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea, and air according to justice and the law of civilized nations; and

8. this ancient land attains its rightful and honored placed in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

✍ This Resolution was unanimously adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 22 January 1947.

✍ Late in the evening of 14 August, 1947 the Assembly met in the Constitution Hall and at the stroke of midnight, took over as the Legislative Assembly of an Independent India.

On 29 August, 1947, the Constituent Assembly set up a Drafting Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to prepare a Draft Constitution for India.

While deliberating upon the draft Constitution, the Assembly moved, discussed and disposed of as many as 2,473 amendments out of a total of 7,635 tabled.

✍ The Constitution of India was adopted on 26 November, 1949 and the members appended their signatures to it on 24 January, 1950.

✍ In all, 284 members actually signed the Constitution. On that day when the Constitution was being signed, it was drizzling outside and it was interpreted as a sign of a good omen.

The Constitution of India came into force on 26 January, 1950. On that day, the Assembly ceased to exist, transforming itself into the Provisional Parliament of India until a new Parliament was constituted in 1952.

Atlee's Declaration – February 20, 1947

The Prime Minister of Britain Clement Atlee declared on February 20, 1947 in the House of Commons that the British would quit India after transferring power into the responsible hand not later than June 1948. The idea was that the Indians should settle their issues before that.

He also announced the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy in place of Lord Wavell.

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LORD MOUNTBATTEN

Arrival of Lord Mountbatten 1947

On March 22, 1947, Lord Mountbatten came as last British Viceroy of India. He immediately began the procedure to transfer the power. On March 27, 1947 Muslim League observed Pakistan Day, which resulted in riots, massacre and atrocities. The Interim government, which was in existence since 2 September 1946 had failed in controlling the riots, and later uselessness of opposition of demand for a separate Pakistan by the Muslim league was realized by the leaders of the Interim Government including Nehru.

Dickie Bird Plan 1947

Mountbatten prepared a "Dickie Bird Plan" for India's independence. The main proposal of this plan was to that provinces should become first independent successor states rather than an Indian Union or the two dominions of India & Pakistan.

As per this plan all the provinces viz. Madras, Bombay, United Provinces of Bengal, Punjab & North West Frontier etc. were proposed to be declared Independent. The states later would decide whether to join constituent assembly or not.

This plan was not discussed in details with leaders of India and Mountbatten discussed just informally. He gave the plan a final touch and sent to London. Later when he moved to Shimla, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru joined him as a guest. Here the details of the plan were put by Mountbatten before Nehru. Nehru rejected the plan right away and told him that this plan would invite Balkanization of India and would provoke conflict and violence. Consequently, Mountbatten cabled to England that this plan was cancelled.

June 3 Plan: June 3, 1947

By the month of June, Congress had given consent to the partition of the country. On June 3, 1947, Prime Minister Atlee announced the Partition Plan or June 3 Plan in the House of Commons. The plan laid down the following provisions.

1. The provincial legislative Assemblies of Bengal and Punjab would meet in two parts separately, one representing Muslim majority districts and another representing the Hindu Majority districts to decide by the vote on partition.
2. In case of Sind and Baluchistan, the provincial assemblies would take the decision.
3. In case of NWFP, the decision had to be taken on the base of referendum.
4. A referendum was to be organized in Sylhet region of Assam which was Muslim majority.
5. The Paramount of the princely states will not be transferred to either of India or Pakistan. So, they would in theory become sovereign when India is partitioned.

Congress accepted the plan. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan called the Congress treacherous which has thrown the Khudai Khidmatgars to wolves. The partition became reality soon. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan rejected the referendum but the voting was done in favor of Pakistan.

Partition Council

Before the Partition Council, a Partition Committee was formed which was chaired by Lord Mountbatten and its members were Vallabh Bhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Liaqat Ali Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar. Later this committee was replaced by a Partition Council. In this council, Congress was represented by Sardar Patel

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and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, with C. Rajgopalachari as alternate member. Muslim league was represented by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar as alternate member. Please note that even after 15 August 1947, this partition council was in existence, but the composition was changed as 2 members from each dominion. Patel and Dr. Prasad kept representing Indian Domain even at that time.

Indian Independence Act 1947

The Indian Independence Act was based upon the Mountbatten plan of 3rd June 1947 and was passed by the British parliament on July 5, 1947. It received royal assent on July 18, 1947.

Salient features:

1. It provided for two dominion states : India and Pakistan
2. The boundaries between the two dominion states were to be determined by a Boundary Commission which was headed by Sir Cyril Radcliff.
3. It provided for partition of Punjab & Bengal and separate boundary commissions to demarcate the boundaries between them.
4. Pakistan was to comprise the West Punjab, East Bengal, Territories of the Sind, North West frontier provinces, Sylhet divisions of Assam, Bhawalpur, Khairpur, Baluchistan and 8 other princely states of Baluchistan.
5. The authority of the British Crown over the princely states ceased and they were free to join either India or Pakistan or remain independent.
6. Both the dominions of India and Pakistan were to have Governor Generals to be appointed by the British King. The act also provided for a common Governor general if both of them agreed.
7. The constituent assemblies of both the states were free to make constitutions of their respective countries.
8. For the time being till the constitution was made, both of them would be governed in accordance with the Government of India act 1935.
9. Any modification or omission could be done by the Governor General.
10. British Government would not continue any control on any dominion.
11. The Governor general was invested with adequate powers until March 1948 to issue orders for effective implementation of the provisions of the Indian independence act 1947.
12. Those civil servants who had been appointed before the August 15, 1947, will continue in service with same privileges.

Jinnah left for Karachi on August 7, 1947. Here the Constituent assembly of Pakistan met on August 11, 1947 and elected him the President. 3 days later he was sworn in as Governor General of Pakistan. On the midnight of 14 August and 15 August 1947, India and Pakistan came into existence. The Constituent assembly then appointed Lord Mountbatten as the First Governor General of the Indian Dominion. In the Morning of August 15, 1947, a new cabinet headed by Jawahar Lal Nehru was sworn in. India paid a heavy price, thereafter in the form of thousands of lives that got burnt in the fire of partition.

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