

FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA

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II B.A. HISTORY - III SEMESTER
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INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

UNIT I

ORIGIN OF INDIAN NATIONALISM - BIRTH OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS - MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS

Nationalism is a sentiment- of unity among a set of- people occupying a particular territory, born out of common factors such as language, religion polity, economy and administrative system. The Indian developed the concept of nationalism only during the British rule. In the later half of the 19th century, India is a land of many creeds, colours and castes. India is a epitome of the world. Politically too, It was never united. It was the outcome of a large number of factors and the most Important among them was British Imperialism. It brought about the unification of the country and enabled the people to think as one nation. The rise of Indian national movement led to the establishment of India Independence.

Causes for the rise of Indian National Movement

Impact of Western Education and Philosophy

The impact of western education and philosophy had a tremendous impact on nationalism. It provided the best means of understanding and developing close contact with one another among them. The ideas of liberty equality, democracy, self-government and socialism began to spread rapidly due to the English language. The English was made the medium of instruction of education in 1835.

Socio-Religious Movement

The development of the various socio-religious movements of the nineteenth century prepared the ground for the growth of national movement and watered the plant of patriotism. The religious and social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Keshab Chandra Sen, Debendra Nath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mrs. Annie Besant created sense of

pride among the Indians and revived the glory of ancient India. They praised past Indian culture and civilization and thus have the message of love to their motherland and to the people of India. Swami Dayanand was the first who used the word Swaraj and declared Hindi as the national language of India.

Economic Exploitation by the British

The British imported the raw materials from India at a cheap price and sold the finished products in India at much higher prices, Moreover, there was no custom duty on British goods while a heavy duty was Imposed on goods exported from India. This policy resulted in the ruin of cottage and village industries in India. Due to Industrial Revolution, the British industry became technologically advanced In the world. The Indian Industry based on primitive technique could not complete with it. Soon India was reduced to the position of one of die large consumers of foreign products. Again the revenue policy of the British destroyed Indian agriculture. Thus, economic exploitation brought about a great misery In India. There was a lot of discontent and unrest among the people against the British rule.

Development of means of Communication and Transport

Railways, telegraph, wireless, postal services, construction of roads and canals facilitated communication among the people. All these brought them nearer to each other and provided the facility to organize the national movement on all India basis.

Development of Indian Press and Literature

The press is an Important force in society. It keeps people informed of the development in other parts of the world. It is also a means to mobilise public opinion on national issues. The first newspaper In' India was the "Bengal Gazette", published in I 780. A large number of newspapers were published in different regional languages of India. In 1875, there were 498 newspapers in the country. All these newspapers were mostly anti-British and gave publicity of racial arrogance, economic exploitation and personal misbehaviour of the British towards Indians. It created anti-British feelings among common people of India and united them against a common

oppressor. Prominent papers like, “Indian Mirror”, “Bombay Samachar”, “The Hindu Patriot”, “The Amrit Baiar Patrika”, “The Hindu⁸”, “The Kesari” and “The Bengali” were quite popular. They played an important role in rousing the national consciousness among the people.

Indian literature also played an important role in developing the political consciousness and the feeling of nationalism among the people. The writings of Rabindra Nath Tagore appealed to the people of India to work for the glory of their country. Rabindra Nath Tagore and D.L Row produced a number of national poems and songs. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee wrote his novel, Anand Math and the national song ‘Bande Mataram (Hail to the Mother) has rightly been called, “The Bible of Modern Bengalee Patriotism. It remained as the national anthem from 1905 to 1947. Among other prominent writers, Madhusudan Dutt wrote in Bengali, Bhartendu Harish Chandra in Hindi, Narmad in Gujarati, Chiplumkar in Marathi and Bharati in Tamil. Dinabandhu Mitra through his Nila Darpan (Mirror of Indigo) depicted the miserable plight of the indigo planters of Bengal. Hem Chandra Banerjee through his writings provoked the people to assert their legitimate rights against the Britishers. Similarly Bhartendu Harish Chandra highlighted the miserable condition of the people of India in his drama, Bharat Durdasa. In the South, Subramanya Bharati tried to promote patriotism, national solidarity and devotion for the country through his poems. The writings of the Indian patriots brought about a revolution in the minds of the Indians and helped in promoting their patriotic feelings.

Contact with foreign countries

Indians came in contact not only with Britain but with other foreign countries as well. A wave of nationalism and liberalism was prevalent in Europe in the 19th century. The Indian students in European Universities started to think India’s independence. The defeat of Russia by Japan revived the faith of the Asians in their strength. The Russian Revolution of 1917 inspired the national movements of every country on economic grounds. The First World War provided the facility of Industrial Development in India. Besides this, the writings of Western thinkers, such as

Macaulay, Burke, Mill and Herbert Spencer also encouraged the feeling of independence, nationalism and liberalism among the minds of the Indians. Thus, the contact with foreign countries inspired Indian nationalism in several ways.

Administration of Lord Lytton

The policies of Lord Lytton accelerated the nationalist movement. The Afghan war during the period of Lord Lytton adversely affected the economic resources of India. He held a magnificent Durbar at Delhi to declare Queen Victoria as the Empress of India at a time when larger part of India was in the grip of famine and epidemic. He passed the Vernacular Press Act, 1878 which curbed the liberty of the Indian press. The Arms Act of 1878 prevented the Indians from keeping the arms. The maximum age limit for the I.C.S. examination was reduced from 21 years to 19 years. It made impossible for the Indians to compete for it. The anti-Indian policy of Lord Lytton led to the organization of various political associations for carrying on anti-Government propaganda in the country.

The Ilbert Bill Controversy, 1883 - 1884

The Ilbert Bill was passed during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. It empowered the Indian judges to try Europeans as well. It was opposed by the British residents in India. They organized a systematic movement against the Bill both in England and India. Therefore, Lord Ripon was forced to change the Bill. This made the Indians unhappy. They realised that justice could not be expected from the Englishmen. It clearly showed the policy of racial discrimination of the British. It taught a good lesson to the Indians to organise a movement.

Foundation of the Congress, 1885 A.D.

The Indian National Congress is generally called as, 'the soul of the national movement'. It was a symbol of national unity, an expression of nationalism, it was founded in 1885. It prepared the platform for an organized national movement. Now Indian forgot their differences of caste, community and religion and began to work unitedly for the independence of the country. Hence the historians considered the

history of the Congress as the history of the Indian National Movement.

The abusive behaviour of the British against the Indians

The revolt of 1857 left permanent bitterness between the British and the Indians. Disrespect, to Indians, beating of Indian servants and cultivators and disrespect to their women became common events. These happenings were given wide publicity by Indian newspapers. They inflamed the feelings of the Indians against the British which helped the growth of national consciousness.

Expansion of British Empire

The expansion of British empire In India helped for the rise of nationalism. People of different parts of India came into contact, with one another. This led to the political unity among the people. Not only that die began to contact with western countries. India was united politically and administratively under the British rule. One rule, one set of laws and the transfer of administrative officers from one place to another all over India provided the concept of one citizenship and one nation among the Indians. Indians from different parts of the country chalked out a common plan to overthrow the British rule in the country.

Indian National Congress

Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 by Allan Octavian Hume, a retired civil servant. He held the post of Secretary to the Government of India from 1870 to 1879. At Etawah, In Bengal he started five schools and hospitals. He is said to be the Father of Indian National Congress. He started a vernacular newspaper, "The People's Friend" in 1859 for creating national awakening among the people of India. Due to his critical opinions of the British policy in India, he was forced to resign in 1882. He was very much moved by the miserable conditions of the Indian people. In 1879, he prepared a scheme for providing relief to die poor In the South. Hume awakened the soul of India from the age long sleep of submission and fatalism. After

his retirement, while addressing the graduates of the University of Calcutta, Hume stressed the need for an all-India organization for the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India. He was instrumental in the birth of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress was an organization of educated Indians to remove their grievances and suggest remedies. Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy of India hoped that such an organization would be helpful in preventing the outbreak of armed resistance against British rule. So he favoured it. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay on December. 28, 1885 in the famous hall of Gokaldas, Tejpal, and Sanskrit College It was presided by W.C. Banerjee, a leading banister of Calcutta.

Surendra Nath Banerjee was a great orator. He was the first Indian “o qualify himself for the Indian Civil Service by appearing in the open competitive examination in London. But later he was dismissed from service. Hence in 1876, he started Indian Association against the British Government for the redress of the wrongs done to the Indians. He was one of the original founders of the Indian National Congress. He was elected twice the President of the Congress in 1895 and 1902. He became a minister under Dyarchy in Bengal. He was knighted by the British Government and thus he came to be known as Sir Surendra Nath Banerji. His autobiography entitled, “A Nation in the Making”. Seventy-two delegates from all over India attended the first session of the Congress. W.C. Banerji was elected as the first President of the Congress and A.O. Hume was the first General Secretary of the organization. A.O. Hume held this post till 1907. The congress followed the principles of “Pray, petition and protest”. It used to pass resolution and petition in order to press the Government to give reforms. This policy was nicknamed as “Political mendicancy”, begging for political concessions. They published a journal called “India” from London.

The chief objects of the Congress were to promote the personal intimacy and friendship among all the earnest workers in the country. Secondly, it was to eradicate the prejudices of race, creed and province. Thirdly, it was to act as a link between England and India. Fourthly, it was to keep authoritative record of the nature Indians about important matters of India and lastly it aimed at the reforms in political, social

and scientific fields. In 1889, a branch of the congress was started in England.

The history of the Congress was divided into three periods, Period of Moderates, 1885-1905, Period of Extremists, 1905-1919 and Gandhi an Era 1919-1947, The Congress was an all-India Institution and had the support and co-operation of the Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Sikhs, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans'. W.C. Banerjee, the first president of the Congress was an Indian Christian. Dadabhai Naoroji became the next President of the Congress in 1886 in the Calcutta session. He was a Parsee. The third President of congress was Badruddin Tayyabji in the Madras session in 1887. He was a Muslim. The fourth and fifth Presidents George Mool and William Wedderburn were Britishers.

Period of Moderates, 1885-1905 A.D.

Congress was dominated by the moderates for the period of first twenty years. Prominent among them were A.O. Hume, Dadabai Naoroji, Gopala Krishna Gohale, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta, Ramesh Chandra Datt, Anand Mohan Ghose, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Motilal Ghosh, Madan Mohan Malavia and Subramaniya Iyer. Most of these leaders believed in constitutional agitation. The leader of the Moderates was G.K. Gokhale. Gopala Krishna Gokhale started his career as a teacher of history and economics at Ferguson College, Poona till 1902. He was a follower of Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade. [Ranade was a great scholar, thinker, patriot and social reformer. He founded the Deccan Educational Society. It started a school at Poona which later developed into the Ferguson College. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya described Ranade as the power behind the Indian National Congress. He believed that political progress was not possible without social progress. His important books were "Essays on Indian Economies", "Essays on Religious and Social Reforms" and "Rise of the Mahratta Power".] Gokhale went to England in 1897 to give evidence before the Wilby Commission on Indian expenditure. Gokhale was elected as the President of the Indian National Congress in 1905. He founded the Servants of India Society at Poona in 1905. It trained the social workers for the service of the people. He pleaded for the abolition of India Council. As a member of the

Royal Commission on the Public Services, he pleaded for the Indianisation of services. He introduced a bill in the Imperial Legislative Council (1911) for the Introduction of compulsory and primary education. Tilak called him “the diamond of India”, “Jewel of Maharashtra” and the “Prince of Drakers”, Gandhiji once compared Tilak to the Himalayas and Gokhale to the holy river Ganges.

The most important person in the Congress was Dadabai Naoroji, the -rand old man of India, He was the first Indian to be chosen as Professor Elphinstone College, Bombay, as he founded the first Girl’s High School, he was called as the Father of Women Education. He was selected as the president of the congress three times 1886, 1893 and 1906, He gave his views in the famous book entitled, “Poverty and un British rule in India”, In this book, he explained that economic exploitation of the British and over population were responsible for the poverty of India. Dadabhai Naorji was the first in India to become a member of the British Parliament. He pleaded for the conduct of I.C.S. examination simultaneously both in India and England. He was the first Indian member of the Royal Commission. “Swarai’ was the key-note of his Presidential address at the Calcutta session of Congress in 1906. In that session, longress passed a resolution on self government, boycott movement, Swadeshl and National education. He founded the British Indian Society in England.

The Moderates were educated. They livied in the cities. They were unable to realise the real condition of the poor people. Therefore, they failed in attracting the mass. They supported the British Government, because they thought that the Britishers came to India to liberate the disunity and remove the ignorance among the Indians. They believed that the political grievance was only due to the British bureaucracy. The reforms demanded by the moderates were abolition of India Council at London, conducting the I.C.S. examinations both in England and India, reduction of military budget, reduction of salt tax, Imposition of protective tariff, reforms and expansion of legislative councils both at- the centre and the provinces, establishment of technical and industrial school separation of the judiciary and’ the executive, safe-guarding the interests of the Indians abroad, removal of restrictions on press and criticized the Arms Act, the salt tax and excise duties.

The moderates attempted to awaken the political consciousness and national spirit of the Indians and educate and unite them on political questions. The leaders of the congress believed that the British people, Parliament and the administrators' were ignorant of the affairs of India and if they were told about the correct picture of Indian affairs, they would certainly do justice to Indians. Therefore, they also sent, several deputations to Britain and attempted to convert British public opinion in favors of their demands, in the mean time, a severe famine took place In 1896 and there was a heavy toll of life. The people were not in a position to pay taxes. So Tilak started "no-tax campaign". During this movement, two British officers were killed in Poona. Tilak was arrested as he instigated violence. The only achievement of the Moderates was that the Government passed the India Council Act in 1892. It was the direct outcome of the reforms demanded by the moderates. Most of their demands were given one by one in later period. The early nationalists or the so-called Moderates dominated the Congress up to 1916. Within the Congress, a group of people realized the futility of the Ideology and techniques of the moderates and formed a group or parties which were called the Extremists. As the Extremists dominated the congress in 1916, the Moderates detached themselves from the congress and formed a separate party, the Indian Liberal Federation. But the party remained ineffective and insignificant in the politics of the country.

Period of Extremists, 1905-1919 A.D.

An extremist party developed within the congress under the leadership of Bala Gangadhar Tilak, a Maratha Brahmin. The Extremists criticized the Moderates that they failed to gain anything substantial from the government. Tilak also criticized the practice of sending humble petitions to the Government. He appealed to the historic past, organized annual festivals in commemoration of Shivaji and started two newspapers, Marathi paper, Kesari and the Maharatta (English) to propagate his views. He stood for a Hindu revival and opposed westernization. He founded an Anti-Cow Killing Society, For his extremist activities, he was arrested and sent to Mandalay jail in Burma for six years. There he wrote, "Gita Rahasya" and "Arctic Home of the Aryans". He is called, as "The Father of Indian Revolution" for his

revolutionary spirit. He was also a great social reformer. He organized relief measures during floods and earned the name, -"Lokamanya" by the people. He started the Home Rule Movement In 1916. He preached the gospel of "bombs". He was the uncrowned king of Maharashtra. Valentine Chirol, an Englishman called Tilak as, "Father of India's Unrest".

Bipin Chandra Pal (Bengal) and Lala Lajpat Rai (Punjab) were two other well-known radicals. Lala Lajpat Rai was popularly known as Sher-e-Punjab. (The Lion of the Punjab). By his writings and speeches, he stirred the people out of their slumber. He played a leading part in the foundation and growth of the D.A.V. College, Lahore. Before joining politics, he wrote the biographies of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Shivaji, Lord Krishna and Swami Dayanand and the books of "Unhappy India" and "Hindu-Muslim Unity". When the earthquake took place in Kangra in 1905, he did a lot to help the people in distress. Lala Lajpat Rai was deported to Mandalay for his agitation against the increase of water rates by the Punjab Government. There, he wrote the well-known book called, "The Story of My Deportation". In 1914, he went to England and then to America. In England he wrote his books, "The Arya Samaj", "England's Debt in India" and "Young India". He came to India in 1920. He was elected as the President of the Congress of the special session held in Calcutta in 1920. He brought out three papers, Punjabi, Bande Matram (an Urdu daily) and People (an English Weekly). He died as a martyr in 1928 when he demonstrated against the arrival of Simon Commission,

Bipin Chandra Pal was one of the famous trios known as Bal-Pal-Lal (Balgangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai). His great contribution lay in organizing and leading the Extremist wing of the Congress. He was a great orator. He carried the message of boycott, Swadeshi and national education in every nook and corner of the country.

His writings in New India and Bands Matram exercised a great influence on the youth of the country. He was prosecuted for his article, "Aetiology of the Bomb", But he apologised. He opposed the cult of begging and stood for complete Swaraj,

The partition of Bengal (1905) by Lord Curzon gave rise to extremism in politics; Indians thought that it would bring division between the Hindus and the Muslims. They rightly argued that if the partition was necessary for the sake of administrative convenience, then the Hindi speaking Bihar and the Oriya speaking Orissa could be separated from Bengal. The anti-partition of Bengal movement gave birth to the boycott of foreign manufactured goods and Swadeshi Movement (use of Indian made articles) in 1905. Mass meetings were held all over Bengal, shops selling foreign goods were picketed, foreign goods were burnt and social boycott was observed against those people who did not engage themselves in the boycott of foreign goods. At several places, the cobblers refused to mend English shoes, the cooks and servants refused to serve their master using foreign goods, the washermen boycotted washing of foreign clothes, the priests refused to officiate in marriage ceremonies where foreign cloth was used and the students refused to appear in the Examination on the ground that the answer books supplied to them were made of foreign paper.

On October 16, 1905, the day when partition was to be effective, was celebrated as Rakhi-Bandhan day (tying of yellow threads on the arms of each other as the symbol of bond of union between each other). The idea was conceived by Rabindranath Tagore. He composed short verses emphasizing the unity of the Bengalis. On that day, the markets in Calcutta remained closed and the streets were echoed by the singing of Bande Mataram song. The Government did not remain a silent spectator to these happenings. Political leaders were put into prison without trial. The students were debarred from appearing in the examinations and government service. Shouting of Bande Mataram was banned. Newspapers were suppressed. The Muslims were encouraged to oppose the Hindus. The picketers were lathicharged.

The Swadeshi Movement continued up to 1907. Surendra Nath Banerjee toured all over India to get sympathy of the Indians in other provinces towards the movement. The movement gave encouragement to Indian industries.

Many textile mills, soap and match factories, handloom and weaving factories

and national banks were opened. It resulted in the opening of a large number of national schools. The movement awakened the political consciousness of the people at large and gave a new and definite shape to the spirit of nationalism.

Salient features of the Swadeshi Movement

Samitis played an important role to achieve freedom. The new types of Samitis (not local political associations) came into existence to popularize the Boycott and Swadeshi. In course of time, they became local associations for various types of social and economic which included relief work during famine or any natural calamity like earthquake and helping the pilgrims. But laid special stress on peaching Swadeshi through lectures, patriotic songs, and dramatic performances. (called Yatra),organizing Swadeshi schools, promoting indigenous arts and crafts and exhibition thereof in meals, social boycott of persons who used foreign goods and in rare cases establishment of arbitration courts and Panchayat for settling disputes without going to the British courts. Special attention was also paid to the physical culture and moral training of the volunteers of these samities.

The Samitis worked for the growth of indigenous industry and national schools. By that the Boycott became effective in various ways and carried these ideas to remote and inaccessible villages among the masses. A Police Report in 1909 gives a list of different Samitis. The Government banned five principal Samitis in January, 1909. The Samitis served as breeding grounds and training centers for terrorist movements. The Industrial strike of labor union was a special feature of the Swadeshi Movement. The first organized revolutionary secret society in Bengal was Anusilan Samiti. It earned on its activities” partly in public and partly in secret. There were clubs for training youths in all sorts of physical drill and exercises, such as lathi, sword and dagger-play, riding, swimming, and in some cases also boxing. It attracted a large number of young men. The Anusilan Samiti got a large number of recruits and hundreds of branches Were started in different parts of Bengal its Head Office was at Calcutta.

The Extremists stood for absolute autonomy for India, They fixed up their goal as Swaraj. Tilak declared that, “Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it”, the repression by the Government of the anti-partition of Bengal movement and the

Extremists resulted in revolutionary terrorism. They felt that passive resistance would not bring any success and the British should be expelled from India by force. There was a chance of split in the congress in 1906. It was avoided by Dada Bai Naoroji, the then President of the congress.

Muslim League, 1906

The Muslims in India were growing suspicious of the Hindu majority. Moreover the British were alarmed by the wide spreading Influence of the Congress and tried to create a division between Hindus and Muslims. There was a section of the Muslims who regarded the congress as an institution of the Hindus and demanded for the founding of a separate institution for Muslims. The Muslim League was formed on December 13, 1906, during the time of Lord Minto under the leadership of Nawab Slimullah of Dacca and Prince Aga Khan. It was formed to support partition of Bengal and oppose boycott of British goods. Later, the Muslim League was developed by Mohammad AliJinnah. Ultimately, it led to the formation of Pakistan. The first session of the League was held at Karachi in Sind on 29* December 1907. Sind was the first place conquered by Mohammed Bin Qasim. The British sowed the seeds of dissension in the Indian politics by introducing communal electorates by the Act of 1909 or Minto-Morley Reforms. Important aims of the Muslim League were, to send their representative institutions through separate communal electorates and due representation for the Muslims in the local boards. University bodies, Courts, Public services and legislative councils.

Surat Split, 1907

Surat Session was presided by Dr. Rash Behari Chose In 1907, at the Surat session of the congress, there was much difference over the selection of the President. The Extremists suggested that Lata Lajpat Rai who was: released after deportation from Burma should be elected president to mark the country's indignation and protest against the unfair treatment accorded to him by the Government. Moderates chose Rashbehari Chose as their candidate. The Moderates scored a nominal victory. Difference developed over the issue of the visit of the Prince of Wales in January,

1906. Tilak and his followers opposed the Idea of sending the message of welcome to the Prince of Wales. The real trouble started when the moderates- excluded the resolutions on “Boycott” and “National Education” from the programme of the conference. Rowdiness broke out on account of differences between the two parties, particularly on the refusal of the chairman to discuss Swaraj and the police was called in to restore order. The extremists left the Congress. This split weakened the congress. Now object of the congress was to obtain dominion status for India by peaceful means.

Minto-Morley Reforms, 1909

The Surat Split was a turning point in the history of nationalist movement in India. The reforms were undertaken by the Government to appease the Moderates. The Minto-Morely Reforms of 1909 was said to be the direct outcome of the Surat Split. It introduced the communal representation for Muslims. It increased the members of the Imperial Legislative Council and Provincial Legislative Councils. This act did not give Indians adequate representation in running their own administration, besides, the Government also continued the policy of repression towards the Extremists. As a result of Government's policy of repression, Tilak was detained in Mandalay jail (Burma) from 1908 to 1914 without trial for two fiery articles in the “Kesri” in connection with a bomb incident at Muzaffarpur in Bihar.

Terrorist activities, 1907-1916

The repression by the government of the anti-partition of Bengal movement and the Extremists resulted in revolutionary terrorism. The methods of the terrorists were entirely different from those of the Extremists and the Moderates. They were inspired by an intense love for the motherland and to get freedom quickly from the hands of the foreigners by violent means. The extremists formed secret societies for this purpose. They manufactured bombs and other arms, engaged in murders of officials, propagated revolutionary ideas through newspapers, books and pamphlets and made dacoities to collect money for their purpose. There were cases of rioting, arson and murder in different parts of the country. The revolutionary activities of the Indians

continued till the end of the World War I. Tilak began to associate himself more and more with the terroristic activities after Surat Split. Tilak was arrested in Bombay on June 24, 1908 on charges relating to the publication in the Kesari of seditious articles. He was tried and found guilty. He was given a sentence of transportation for six years at Mandalay. In the extreme south, the Swadesi Steam Navigation Company of V.O. Chithambaram Pilla carried on the trade between Tuticorin and Colombo; it was a private shipping company. It could not compete with the British Shipping Company. Hence it failed. Patriotic feelings were inflamed in the course of the Swedish company's struggle for survival and a British official was shot dead.

The Government of Lord Minto took a series of drastic measures to suppress them. The Seditious Meetings Act (1907), the Public Meetings Act, the Indian Press Act (1910), the Explosive Substances Act (1908), the Newspaper Act (1908) (refusing permission for holding certain meetings or addressing them) and the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1908) were passed. By the Criminal Law Amendment Act, a special form of trial for the terrorist offences was followed. Many terrorist leaders were deported from India. Several circulars and ordinances abrogating the rights of free speech and free criticism were issued. Processions, meetings and demonstrations were banned. Students and citizens were prohibited from taking part in politics. Press prosecutions were witnessed everywhere. The Yugantar, the Sandhya and the Bande Matram were suppressed. Police raid, house searches, confiscations and espionage became the order of the day.

Revolutionary societies modelled upon Russia and Italian secret societies for executing acts of terrorism came into existence. Cult of Bomb was openly preached through - Yugantara by B.K. Ghosh, the brother of Aurobindo Ghosh and Bhupendra Math Dutta, the brother of Swarni Vivekanand. A train carrying the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was blown up. Revolutionary activities led by V. Sarvarkar and S.K. Verma were vigorously propagating against the atrocities of the British government in India. In 1911, due to great opposition, the partition of Bengal was cancelled by King George V of England at the time of his Delhi visit during Lord Hardinge's visit. The capital was transferred from Calcutta to New Delhi. The revolutionary

movement was extremely active in Bengal and Punjab during 1913-1916. A Ghadar Party was organized under Har Dayal, a revolutionary from Punjab in 1915 at San Francisco in U.S.A. He was assisted by Ram Chandra and Barkatufia. The party also published weekly paper, the Ghadar (rebellion) in commemoration of the Mutiny of 1857. The Ghadar party highlighted the point that Indians were not respected in the world abroad because they were to free. Due to the complaints made by the British representative, the U.S. authorities compelled Hardayal to leave United States. With the outbreak of World War Hardayal and other Indians abroad moved to Germany and set up the Indian Independence Committee at Berlin, it sent explosives to Indian Revolutionaries and even organise an invasion of British India to liberate the country.

Tilak was released in 1914 and he led the people to swara). The moderate leaders, Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale died in 1915. Through the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant, the extremists re-entered into the congress in 1916 at the Lucknow session of the congress and at its Calcutta session in 1917- where Mrs. Annie Besant was elected as the President of the congress and it declared Home Rule as its goal. The moderates supported the government of India in its war efforts. The reason-was that they would be givers responsible government after the war. The extremists realized that they would get something only by intensifying the national movement. It resulted in the formation of two Home Rule Leagues in 1915-1916. One under the leadership of Tilak in Bombay and another under Mrs. Annie Besant and S. Subramaniya Ayer in Madras. The two Leagues very soon merged themselves into one and It propagated the demand for the Home Rule or self-government to India after the war. The emergence of Mahatma Gandhi, the messiah of peace and love and the message of truth and non-violence gave a terrible blow to this movement of violent extremists.

UNIT II

HOME RULE MOVEMENT - JALLIAN WALLAH BAGH TRAGEDY - THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT.

Home Rule Movement, 1916

Mrs. Annie Besant and B.C. Tilak formed the Home Rule Leagues in 1916. The ultimate aim was self-government. They wanted to work with in the British to change India society sufficiently for self-government; it demanded equal status for the Indians in army, defense forces and other high positions. The original name of Mrs. Annie Besant was Miss Wood. She was born in 1847. When she was hardly five, her father died and she had to face many difficulties in her childhood. She was married to a clergyman in 1867. But soon differences arose between husband and wife and ultimately she was forced to leave her husband's house. Her association with Mr. Bradlaugh, Mrs. Annie Besant stowed herself to be a great organizer, a writer and a great thinker. She fought successfully for the cause of the English girls who were working in the match factories.

Mrs. Annie Besant came to India in 1893 as a member of the Theosophical Society. For about twenty years, she confined her activities in India to religious, social and educational fields. She was responsible for the revival of Hinduism through social reforms and education. She wrote several books on Hinduism and translated the BagawatGita into English. She condemned early marriage and forced widowhood in Hindu society. She stood for equality for woman in India. She started the Central Hindu High School and College at Banaras which later on developed into the Banaras Hindu University. Mrs. Annie Besant frequently visited England as the President of Theosophical Society. During her visit, she was impressed by the Home Rule Movement carried on by Redmond in favor of Ireland, she entered the political field in 1914 and started a weekly, "the common wheel" which later changed into a daily paper. New India published from Madras. She founded Home Rule League in 1916. She was supported by Bala Gangadhar Tilak in her campaign. She explained the Home Rule to work as an auxiliary to the Indian National Congress.

Mrs. Annie wanted to bring a union between the Moderates and Extremists which would give strength to her Home Rule. Due to her efforts, the Extremists re-joined the congress in 1916. She was selected as the President of the Indian National Congress in 1917 in the Calcutta session. Mrs. Besant was in favor of Swadeshi. She was opposed to the boycott of British goods. Her fiery speeches did a lot for the national awakening in the country. Tilak worked for the Home Rule League in Maharashtra and Central Provinces, in July, 1916, a case was registered against Tilak for his seditious speeches, Mrs. Besant's "Mew India" was closed on 15th June 1917 and the Government took action against her two co-workers, G.S. Arundale and B.P. Wadia. A Joint-meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of Muslim League was held in July 1917, which greatly praised the work done by the Home Rule league condemned the attitude of the Government, it also made a representation to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, pleading for grant of self-government gradually. She did not approve the Non-Cooperation Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi and consequently she left the congress. In spite of that, she continued to fight for the cause of India's freedom till her death, 1933. The branches of Theosophical society were established at Kanpur, Allahabad, Ahmedabad and Calcutta.

Lucknow Pact 1916

The Indian Muslims were not happy with the war of Britain against Turkey. Advantage of the anti-British feelings among the Muslims, were made both by the League and the Congress to settle their differences with a view to work jointly against the Government. In 1916, the Congress and the Muslim League held their annual sessions at Lucknow where the Lucknow Pact was signed. The Congress accepted the demands of the Muslim League, Weightage (giving larger representation to Muslims in Legislative Councils as compared to their population in respective provinces), Communal Veto (no bill would be as law unless the majority of the representatives of the affected community agreed for it) and the Communal Electorate System. The Lucknow Pact was an important step towards Hindu-Muslim unity at that time. But later it paved the way for communalism.

Montagu's Declaration, 1917

The British Government felt that some sort of constitutional reforms were necessary in India after the First World War. Moreover during the First World War, the Turks defeated the British army in 1916. Hence the English wanted to get the support of the Indian in the war. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India Issued the August Declaration in 1917. By that he promised to give responsible government to the Indians after the war. He requested the Indians to help them during the war. Indians agreed to it. They offered 160 million pounds for was finance. About 30,000 Indian soldiers Said down their lives during the world war. The First World War came to an end in 1918. On the basis of Montagu's Declaration and to further satisfy the Indians the act of 1919 was passed. As Chelmsford, the then Viceroy of India and Montagu, Secretary of State for India joined together to bring reforms, the act-of 1919 was called as Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919

The Act of 1919 marked the beginning of parliamentary form of government in India. Departments or provincial Governments were run both by the ministers and the official members in the provinces. This arrangement was known as "Dyarchy" or "Double rule". Indians were dissatisfied with the Act of 1919. Since it did not give sufficient power to run their own administration.

Rowlatt Act 1919

The Act of 1919 disappointed the Indians and they started agitation against the act. The Government of India had persuaded ail possible measures to suppress the Extremists and particularly the terrorists. Hence the Government of India set up a committee in 1917 under Justice Rowlatt of the King's Bench to report the nature and extent of the revolutionary movement and to suggest ways of dealing with it. The report of Rowlatt was published In 1918 and on its recommendations, the Rowlatt Act was passed in 1919. This act gave an extra-ordinary power to the Government in dealing with the freedom fighters. It authorised the Government to imprison any

person without trial and conviction in a court of law. This infuriated Gandhiji.

Gandhiji appealed to the nation to observe national hartal against the Black Laws. The Rowlett act brought Gandhiji to the national political arena. He declared on February 24, 1919 to lead a campaign of Satyagraha if the act was passed. He formed a Satyagraha Sabha. The members took a pledge to disobey the Black act non-violently. Gandhiji inaugurated the Satyagraha Movement by fixing March 30, 1919 as a day of hartal (stoppage of work), fasting, prayer and penance, meetings and processions all over the country to condemn the Act. The date was subsequently changed to April 6th, 1919. News of the change of date did not reach the north in time and demonstrations were held in Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar. The demonstrators clashed with the police who opened fire. Violence and loss of life in demonstrations shocked Gandhiji. He started to go to the trouble spots in the north. Hence he was arrested at Delhi railway station and sent to Bombay. He undertook the editing of two new weeklies, the Young India in English and Nava Jivan in Gujarati for the purpose of educating his countrymen in the technique of Satyagraha.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, 1919

The arrest of Gandhi and the ban on his entry into Punjab increased tension in Amritsar. The Congress leaders of Punjab, Kitchlew and Satyapal were arrested and deported and the military was called to suppress the riot. Brigadier-General, Dyer arrived from Jullundar and at once prohibited all public meetings. To protest against the Rowlatt Act, forceful recruitment of soldiers and heavy tax collections, the people held a meeting in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on April 13, 1919 at 4.P.M. Without any prior intimation, General Dyer surrounded the park with troops. He shot down to death 379 people within a few minutes and thousands were wounded. Violence therefore erupted in Punjab and Government declared martial law. This incident is called as Jallianwala Bagh Massacre or Punjab Massacre. Or Amritsar Massacre. This incident rose the national feelings among the people of India. The reign of terror of Dyer was approved -by the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, Michael O'Dwyer and his government and Dyer was promoted to a higher rank in the Afghan war that

followed. Though he was retired the Indian government granted pension continuously. Dyer was referred to as a saviour of British rule in India in the House of Lords. Twenty years after his retirement, he fell a victim to an Indian assassin's bullet (Lakram Chand).

Rabindra Nath Tagore surrendered his title of "Sir" and Shankar Ram Nagar resigned from the membership of viceroy's council. Gandhiji suspended the satyagraha movement on April, 1919 due to violence in Punjab and Bengal. He declared his "Satyagraha campaign a Himalayan miscalculation", because he had committed the mistake of entrusting nonviolence to the people who were not trained for it. After the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, Gandhiji took up the leadership of the Indian National Congress.

Gandhian Era, 1919-1947 A.D,

Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869 at Porbandar in Gujarat. He took his law degree in England. In 1893, he went to South Africa in connection with a case. There he saw the poor conditions of the Indians. He started non-violent Satyagraha against the South African Government. He and his followers were arrested. Finally he got success in this struggle, in 1915, he returned to India. He used non-violent Satyagraha for the benefit of the peasants in Bihar and Gujarat. There also he got success. Gandhiji joined the Indian politics at the instance of Gokhale, Gandhiji used to explain his programmes for strengthening India by pointing to the five fingers of his hand, exhorting the people to practise five virtues - spinning, removal of untouchability, sobriety (non-consumption of alcohol or opium), Hindu-Muslim amity and equality for women. The five virtues were to be achieved through non-violent methods. Gandhiji took the leadership of the Indian National Congress in 1919 after the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.

Khilafat Movement 1919

The Indian Muslims regarded the Caliph and Sultan of Turkey as the spiritual head of Islam. The British Government imposed harsh terms in Turkey after the

World war by the- Treaty of Severes (1919). It deprived many of its territories and rights, its army and navy were reduced. It had to pay of huge war Indemnity. This was resented by the Indian Muslims, Under the leadership of Ail brothers (Muhammad All and Shaukat All) and Maulana Abdul Kafam Aiad, they started the Khilafat Movement for the preservation of the office of Khilafat and a better treatment for Turkey. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to get. The support of the Muslims in the freedom struggle. He viewed the Khilafat agitation as a golden opportunity for bringing the Hindus and Muslims together on the national front. Hence Gandhiji attended the first Khilafat conference at Delhi, 23rd November, 1919 and gave his whole-hearted support to the Khilafat movement. In the Khilafat conference, Gandhiji announced the non-Gooperatfon Movement. The congress adopted the Khilafat Movement as a part of the non-cooperation movement. This led to the active participation of the Muslims in large numbers in the non-cooperation movement. There was unrest among industrial labourers due to Khilafat Movement. This movement increased the Hindu-Muslim unity. However, later, the office of Caliphate was abolished in 1924 in Turkey itself by ustapha Kamal Pasha. Turkey was declared as a secular republic. The Khalifa movement thus disappeared.

UNIT III

NON - CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT - SWARAJIST PARTY - SIMON COMMISSION - NEHRU REPORT

Non co-operation movement, 1920

The congress decided to launch the Satyagraha movement in India for achieving Swaraj and Gandhiji was entrusted with the work. Gandhiji placed a few demands before the Government on behalf of the Congress. The Government should express its regret on the happenings in Punjab, particularly in Amritsar. The British government should adopt a lenient attitude towards Turkey. Some new schemes of reforms should be placed before the Indian people who take India nearer to its gol of 'Swaraj'. In case these demands were not fulfilled, he threatened the Government to start the non-cooperation movement. The Government paid no attention towards these

demands. Therefore Mahatma Gandhi started the all, non-violent and non-cooperation movement against the Government August, 1920.

Gandhiji appealed to the Indians not to co-operate with the in any way and not to render service of any form to the government. It envisaged the surrender of titles, boycott of the legislative bodies, courts, the foreign goods and the Government's educational institutions. Besides these, there was the Constructive programme of communal unity, abolition of untouchability, prohibition, swadeshi, hand-spinning and encouragement of khadi, national education and the emancipation of women. Gandhiji toured the whole of India to spread the message of this struggle.

Gandhiji returned the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal awarded to him by the Government for his services during the First World War. Many distinguished persons like C.R.Das, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and Rajendra Prasad gave up their legal practice and joined the movement. The people avoided law courts. Regional Panchayats took the place of local courts. Many students gave up studies in Government schools and colleges. National institutions like Gujarat Vidyapith, the Bihar Vidyapith, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, Kashi Vidyapith and the Bengal National University were established. The Jamia Millia at Aligarh and Delhi and many others were founded all over the country. The Swadeshi became popular; khadi became a symbol of freedom. A bonfire of foreign goods followed. They picketed in front of liquor shops. The Tilak Swaraja Fund was started to finance the non-cooperation movement and within six months over a crore of rupees were subscribed. Women even surrendered their jewellery. The Khilafat Committee and the Congress advised the people not to serve the government which degraded India socially, politically, and economically. The visit of the Prince of Wales was boycotted. A complete hartal was observed in Bombay on 17th November, 1921, the day of his arrival at Bombay.

Lord Reading was the then viceroy of India at that time. He used all methods to suppress the movement. The language of lathi was used by the Government to deal with the peaceful Satyagrahs, But, certain violent incidents were committed' by the

people. The-worst happened at Chauri Chaura, a police station, 15 miles from Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh on February 5th, 1922. There the police opened fire on a mob of peasants; the infuriated mob attacked the policemen. They took shelter in the thana (police-post). The mob burnt the thana which resulted In the death of twenty-two policemen inside the building. Gandhiji immediately suspended the non-cooperation movement in 1922. The congress leaders criticized Gandhiji for that. Government took advantage of the changed situation and arrested Gandhiji. When he was brought to the- court of Ahmedabad, C.N Broom Field, the District Sessions judge of Ahmedabad stood up and showed respect to Gandhiji eventhough he was brought on allegation. On charges of treason, Gandhiji was sentenced to a six year imprisonment in Yeravada jail, Poena. Since then, he was called the Mahatma. Gandhiji was released from jail by the Government in February, 1924 due to his illness. Gandhiji's principle of non-violence began to spread to western countries. French philosopher, Romain Rolland honoured him by writing his biography.

Swarajya Party, 1923-1925 A.D.

The suspension of Non-Cooperation movement by Gandhiji was not approved by the national leaders like Motilal Nehru, Chitranjan Das (C.R.Das), N.C. Kelkar and others. These leaders favoured the idea of entering the legislative bodies in order to obstruct and destroy the system from within. C.R. Das or Chittaranjan Das was popularly known as Deshbandhu. He played an important role in the national struggle for freedom. He started his life as a lawyer. He attracted the public attention in 1908 after the Alipore Bomb conspiracy case. He was associated with the publication of a Bengali monthly, 'Narayan' and a paper, "Forward". In the Congress Session of Gaya in 1922, the resolution of entering in the Legislative Assemblies was not accepted. Hence C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru founded the Congress Khilafat Swaraj Party. Its aim was to enter the legislatures and fight the British Government from within and to win swaraj. They prepared themselves for the coming elections to be held in 1923. The swarajists very soon gained immense popularity.

Gandhiji was released from prison in February 1923 due to ill health. He advised compromise between the two groups. Therefore, both groups reached an understanding. The Swarajists agreed to remain in the Congress and adhere to the principle of non-co-operation. A special session of the Congress was held at Delhi in September, 1925. It accepted the resolution of entering the Legislative Assemblies. Thus the Swaraj party/ In fact remained a party within the fold of the Congress- The Swarajists desired to take the non-co-operation from streets to the Legislative Councils. In the election of 1923, the Swarajists gained tremendous success. At the Centre, the Swarajists captured 48 seats out of 145 seats in the Central Assembly. However, they could not force the Government to accept their demand by opposing the policies of the Government. Lord Reading; the then Governor-General of India offered a proposal for a Round Table Conference in order to draft the constitution of India. But his proposal was rejected. The Swarajist Party in Bengal forced two of his ministers to resign in Bengal and it refused to participate in the festival organised by the Governor-General and Governors. Many times, they staged a walk out to show resentment against the attitude of the Government.

The Muddiman Committee was appointed in 1924 to report on the functioning of the reforms of 1919 by the Government. The majority of the members simply favoured some minor changes in the scheme while the minority of the members rejected it and suggested to propose a new scheme of reforms. The Government put up the report of the majority before the Assembly. The Swarajists criticized it bitterly and succeeded in passing an amendment to it. In 1924, the Swarajists accepted seats on the Steel Protection Committee. In 1925, Moti Lal Nehru accepted membership of the Sken Committee. It was appointed to find out the possibility of indianizing the army, in the same year, V.J. Patel, member of the Swarajya Party was elected as the Speaker of the Central Assembly. The death of C.R. Das in 1925 weakened the Swaraj' Party. In the election of 1926, the Swarajists lost heavily and the party lost its importance. Finally most of the Swarajists came back to the Congress-fold and its programme. The Swarajists, thus failed to gain something concrete.

Simon Commission, 1927

Section 84(a) of the Government of India Act, 1919 provided that the appointment of a Statutory commission at the expiry of ten years after passing the act of 1919. It enquired into the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions in British India and to report in what extent the responsible government would be established. But the Swarajists successfully impressed on the Government, the need for an early revision of the Act of 1919. In view of the pressure from the Swarajists, the Government decided to appoint a Royal-Commission In 1927, headed by Sir John Simon, an eminent lawyer of England. The Simon Commission consisted of seven members of the British Parliament, with Sir John Simon as Its chairman. It was a White commission. Not a single Indian was included in it. The exclusion of the Indians from the commission was greatly resented by the Indian National Congress. Leaders of all Indian political parties decided to boycott the commission. When the commission landed in Bombay on February 7, 1928, it was greeted with a country-wide hartal. Wherever the commission went, it was welcomed with black flags and the slogans of "Go back Simon".

The Government tried to suppress the protest movement. Processions and the meetings of the people were banned. Lala Lajpat Raj at Lahore was mercilessly beaten by the police while leading a procession in Punjab and died after few weeks. His death was avenged by Sardar Bhagat Singh who shot down dead the police officer, Mr. Saunders who was responsible for lathi-blows on Lala Lajpat Raj. A bomb was thrown by Bhagat Singh and B.K. Datt in the Central Legislative Assembly on April 8, 1929. Bhagat Singh was given death sentence; in U.P. leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Govind Ballabh Pant were beaten. Simon Commission visited India twice. To inquire into the working of the growth of education of India, a committee was formed under the Chairmanship of Mr. Hartog. The Committee gave its recommendations concerning the system of education in India. Simon Commission appointed another committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Harcourt Butler, it reported on the relations of British India with native states. Simon Commission

published its report on May, 1930. On the basis of the recommendations of it, the Government of India Act, 1935 was passed.

The main recommendations of the commission were that Dyarchy would be abolished in the provinces and the entire provincial administration should be entrusted to ministers. However, the governors had to retain certain special powers. At the centre, it recommended the federal government including in the native states. The Executive was to remain free from the control of the legislatures. The commission recommended that the franchise should be extended and the legislatures be enlarged, it suggested the separation of Burma from India and Sindh from Bombay, it also suggested the Indian political parties should draw a constitution together. P.E. Roberts says, "The Report will stand out as one of the greatest of Indian State Papers".

Nehru Report, 1928

The Indians condemned the appointment of Simon Commission. Hence Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India appealed the Indian leaders to draft a constitution of India acceptable to all. All parties' conference met at Delhi in February and March, 1928 to discuss the question of a constitution for India on the basis of full responsible Government under the Chairmanship of Dr. M.A. Ansari. The conference consisted of the representative of all political parties, concerned organizations and elected members of central and provincial legislatures. The conference appointed a small committee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru. Jawaharlal Nehru was the Secretary of the Committee. The other members of the committee were Sir Imam Ali and Shahib Qureshi representing the Muslims, M.S. Aney and M.R. Jayakar representing the Hindu Mahasabha, G.R. Pradhan representing the non-Brahmins, Sardar Mangal Singh representing the Sikhs, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru representing the Liberal Party and N.N. Joshi representing the Labour party and Subhas Chandra Bose. The report submitted by the committee is known as the Nehru Report, it was submitted on August 10, 1928.

The Nehru report was presented to All India Parties Conference held at Lucknow from 28th to 31st August, 1928. The report proposed Dominion Status for India

Responsible Governments were to be introduced both at the centre and the provinces. The Government at the Centre was to be a Federal one including those of the native states. The Parliament at the centre was to consist, of two houses while the provincial legislatures were to have single houses. Fundamental rights were to be incorporated in the constitution. Joint electorates were proposed throughout India. A committee of defence was proposed at the centre. The conference was in favour of dominion status. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subash Chandra Bose expressed their unwillingness to accept the Dominion Status since their demand was complete independence. The Nehru Report by recommending joint electorates gave a rude shock to the hopes of the Muslims. They stood for separate electorates and complete independence. Apart from the Muslims, some sections of the Sikhs, Christians and Depressed classes also did not fully approve the Nehru Report. The Congress however accepted the Nehru Report. In the Calcutta Session of the Congress in December, 1928, they decided that the Nehru Report should be placed before the British Government for its acceptance by December, 31, 1929.

Jinnah's Fourteen Points, 1929

The Nehru Report was criticized by the Muslims on the ground that there was no provision for separate electorate. Therefore Jinnah put forward his Fourteen Points in the meeting of All India Muslim League in Delhi in March, 1929 as a minimum Muslim demand for any political settlement. Jinnah's Fourteen Points were, future Constitution to be federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces and uniform measure of autonomy for all provinces. All legislatures to be constituted on the principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province. 1/3 representation to Muslims in Central Legislature. Representation of communal groups to be by separate electorates. Any territorial redistribution not to affect Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North West Frontier Province. All communities should be guaranteed complete religious freedom. No bill or resolution to be passed in any legislatures if 2/4 of members of a particular community object to such a bill or resolution. Sind to be separated from Bombay presidency. Reforms in NWF province and Baluchistan as in other provinces. Adequate share for Muslims in public services.

Adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the promotion of Muslim education, language, and religion and Muslim charitable institutions. No cabinet with 1/3 Muslim ministers. No change in the constitution of the Central Legislature without the concurrence of the states continuing the India federation. The draft resolution incorporating these fourteen points was placed before the Muslim League session in Delhi In March, 1929. Jinnah in his Presidential address appealed to the various Muslim groups to take a “united decision” on the future constitution of the government of India.

Lahore Session, 1929

The Labour party headed by Ramsay Mac Donald comes to power in England. He invited the Viceroy, Lord Irwin to London for consultation. After returning to India, Lord Irwin issued a statement on 31st October, 1929. By that, he gave assurance of Dominion status. Mr. Churchill described Dominion Status for India “as a crime”. The Liberals also did not favour the proposal of granting Dominion Status to India. Since the Labour Party did not have absolute majority in the House of Commons, it dropped the idea of granting dominion status to India. Under these circumstances, the congress met In Lahore on 29th December 1929. Jawaharlal Nehru was elected its President. The Congress declared Pooma Swaraj as its goal at mid-night on December 31, 1929 on the banks of the river Ravi, The Nehru Report was finally dropped by the Congress.

It also decided to celebrate 26th January as Independence day every year. Nehru hoisted the tri-colour flag of Indian Independence. The Congress authorized Gandhiji to launch a programme of Civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes with the ultimate object of attaining Pooma Swaraj or complete independence. A resolution was moved by Gandhiji. It demanded the reduction of land tax, impose custom duty on foreign cloth, release all political prisoners, abolition of salt tax and prohibition of the liquor. As the Government ignored the demands of the Congress, (Lord Irwin, the viceroy) Gandhiji stated Civil Disobedient Movement in 1930.

UNIT IV
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT - DANDI MARCH - ROUND
TABLE CONFERENCES - GANDHI - IRWIN FACT

Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930-1934

Gandhiji read Thoreau's essay on "Civil Disobedience" relating to his refusal to support the American Government because of slavery and Mexican war. It inspired Gandhiji to follow the civil Disobedience Movement in India.

Dandi March, 1930

Gandhiji started Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 by violating salt tax. Tax was levied on salt and the British Government banned the production of salt by individuals. On March 12, 1930 Gandhiji started from Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmadabad. Seventy-eight followers accompanied him to the sea coast at Dandi, a distance of 241 miles in twenty-four days. All along the way people flocked in thousands to seek the blessings of Gandhiji. On the way, Gandhiji preached the message of non-violence and non-cooperation. Gandhiji reached Dandi on 5th April.

The next day, he made salt from sea water as a symbolic act of law-breaking. The march came to be known as Dandi March. Gandhiji described his march as "the war against the Salt Tax". Subhash Bose compared the Salt March to Napoleon's March to Paris on his return from Elba. Motilal Nehru compared it to the historic march of Ram Chandra to Lanka. Mr. Brailsford, an English journalist described the Dandi March as "the kindergarten state of revolution" and ridiculed the idea that, "the king Emperor can be unseated by boiling sea water in a kettle".

Gandhiji called upon the people to celebrate the week from 6th April to 13th April as the National Week and defy the salt laws and picket liquor shops, opium dens and foreign cloth dealers' shops. He also appealed to the people to leave the Government schools, colleges and services. The movement to break the laws of the government spread rapidly. Lakhs of Indians were involved in it. Mostly the activities of the Satyagrahis were processions, holding of meeting, picketing, boycotting of

foreign goods, distributing leaflets among the people, saluting the congress-flag, withholding of land revenue, manufacturing of salt, celebrating national weeks and special 'days' like the "All India Prisoner's Day and Peshawar Day. Women joined the movement in large numbers. All of them were arrested and Imprisoned, in the North-West Frontier Province, agitation was carded on by Khan Abdul' Gaffar Khan, leader of the Red Shirt Movement, (better known as Frontier Gandhi)

Satyagrahis under the leadership of Sarojini Devi attacked the salt godown at Dharasana. She held protest-marches everywhere and produced salt without paying tax. In Tamil fMadu, Salt Satyagraha was launched by Rajafi. His undertook his famous Vedaranyam .March from Trichi on March 13, 1930. Boycott of foreign textiles was also started on a large scale, many people were wounded and some of them died due to lathi-blows by the police. Sixteen English owned textile mills at Bombay had to be closed. It proved a blessing in disguise to Indian mills. The peasants also carried out no-tax campaign with great zeal. Muslims did not take part in die Civil Disobedience Movement. Jinrsah said, "This movement is not a movement for complete independence of India, but for making the 70 million Muslims of India dependent of Hindu Mahasabha" But the nationalist Muslim leaders like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Maulana Azad and a few others offered full cooperation and suffered at the hands of the government.

The government followed a policy of repression to suppress the movement. The Government resorted to emergency ordinances. The Congress was declared as illegal body. The Press Act of 1910 was strictly enforced and many restrictions were placed on newspapers. Section 144 of the Indian Criminal Procedure Code was promulgated. The measures adopted by the Government to suppress the movement included arrest and imprisonment of leaders, brutal lathy charges and firings in dispersing processions and meetings, confiscation of lands, cattle, utensils and personal belonging, -ill-treatment of women and children, censorship of £ne press, imprisonment without trials, prohibition of meetings and processions and destruction of property. Gandhiji was arrested on May 5, 1930 and Imprisoned in Yervada jail. Hundreds of people were killed and 60,000 people were imprisoned.

First Round Table Conference, 1930

The British Government realized that a policy of repression would not succeed in the long run and so something must be done to win over the Congress. Lord Irwin appealed to the people of India for co-operation. The British Government decided to call the First Round table Conference to discuss future constitutional reforms. The Round Table Conference was convened by the British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald in London from 12th November, 1930 to 19th January, 1931 to deliberate on the Simon Commission Report and the Indian problem. The First Round Table Conference was inaugurated by the king of England on November 12, 1930. Ramsay Macdonald presided over the conference. Eighty-nine delegates of India attended the conference. Out of it, 57 represented the British India, 16 represented the Indian Princely States and the rest 16 represented from the British political parties. The representatives of India were Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Harijans, Landlords and workers. The prominent Indian leaders were Tej Bahadur Sapru, V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, C.Y. Chintamani and B.R. Ambedkar. The Congress could not be represented since all its leaders were in jail.

Prime Minister Macdonald suggested some principles for discussions in the conference. Firstly, a federation was proposed for India. Secondly, provinces were to be given full responsible government with necessary safeguards. Thirdly, partial responsible government with necessary safeguards. Fourthly, partial responsible government was to be introduced at the centre subject to certain reservations. The federal principle, granting of Provincial Autonomy to the provinces and the idea of introducing partial responsibility at the centre also were commanded and welcomed. The communal issue was subjected to a Sort of discussions and difference of opinion. The Muslims stood for separate electorates. The Hindu delegates advocated Joint Electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities. The conference was adjourned on 19th January. 1931 as the details of a scheme of federation could not be worked out on account of the extravagant safeguards demanded by the minorities. At the end of the conference, the Prime Minister in his Valedictory address, he expressed hope that the Congress would abandon civil disobedience and in future to participate in the

deliberations of the conference and help in framing the Indian Constitution. Sahni has rightly remarked, "With Gandhiji and the congress absent, it was like staging Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark". Subhash Chandra Bose remarked that the conference offered India, "two bitter pills Safeguards and Federation. To make the pills eatable,, they were sugar-coated with responsibility".

Gandhi-twin Pact 1931

The Civil Disobedience Movement was going on almost all over the country. The boycott of British goods was in full swing and terroristic activities were rampant in Bengal and the North West Frontier Province, No-tax campaign was going on strongly in Gujarat, the United Provinces and parts of Bengal. The only way to ease the situation and to enable the congress to participate in the Second Round Table Conference was to get the support and goodwill of the congress. Hence Lord Irwin, the Viceroy lifted the ban on the Congress on 26th January, 1931 and ordered an unconditional release of its members.

Lord Irwin negotiated with Gandhiji for fifteen days to discuss political situation and both of them arrived at an understanding and concluded at Delhi the famous Gandhi-Irwin Pact or Delhi Pact in 5th March, 1931. By this pact, the Government agreed to withdraw all ordinances promulgated in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement, to release prisoners who were imprisoned in connection with that movement except those who were guilty of violence, to restore the confiscated property of the Satyagrahis, to permit peaceful picketing of liquor, opium and foreign cloth shops and to permit people living within a certain distance of the sea shore to collect or manufacture salt free of duty. The Congress, on the otherhand agreed to suspend Civil Disobedience Movement, to stop boycott and to participate In the Second Round Table Conference for drafting a constitution on the basis of a) Federation, b) Responsibility and c) Safeguards or reservations in the interest of India for such matters as defence, external affairs, minorities and the finance of India. The congress approved the Gandhi-Irwin Pact held at Karachi in March, 1931. Gandhiji was deputed to be sole. Representative of the Congress to

participate in the Second Round Table Conference.

Second Round Table Conference 1931

Even before the ink was dry on the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the spirit in which it was signed began to disappear. The Government executed Sardar Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and Raj Guru on 23rd March in connection with the Lahore conspiracy case. This created a lot of agitation in the country. Before convening the Second Round Table Conference, a very significant change occurred in British political scene. Labor Government headed by Ramsay Macdonald was tumbled down. A National Government constituted by a coalition between the Liberals and Conservative parties. Sir Samuel Hoare, a staunch conservative, replaced Mr. Wedgwood Benn as the Secretary of State for India. Lord Irwin was replaced by Lord Willington in April 1931 as the Viceroy of India. These changes in the British leadership gave a great setback to Gandhi-Irwin pact. Hence an interview between the Viceroy, Lord Willington and Gandhiji was arranged at Simla. It resulted in a mutual understanding between the two. Gandhiji agreed to attend the Second Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Congress.

The Second Round Table Conference began in London in 7th September, 1931 and lasted for three months. Mahatma Gandhiji participated in it as a sole representative of the Congress. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also attended the conference in their individual capacities. Sarojini Naidu presented a memorandum to Montague, the Secretary of State for India. She insisted votes for women and sufficient help for health and place for education. Her poems attracted the attention of learned men. Her love for the country and tender feelings for all beautiful things were passionately expressed in these poems, she married Dr. Naidu of Madras. She began to travel all over India to talk on the need for the social freedom of women. She spoke vehemently against the evil practices of child marriage and oppression of women. In 1914, she met Mahatma Gandhiji in London. He drew her into the main stream of the struggle for freedom. She began to attend the meetings of the Indian National Congress. She spoke in the Khilafat Committee meeting and

condemned the Jallian Wala Bagh Massacre in that meeting. She led a party of men and women to Dandi where Gandhiji launched his salt satyagraha. She went 'to Jail for several times. She nursed Gandhiji Whenever he fasted for the country. She was the first woman to hold the distinguished post of the Governor of Uttarpradesh in free India.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya joined the congress in 1886. He was a great Parliamentarian Due to his efforts, Indian Industrial Conference was held at Benaras in 1905 and the meeting of U.P. Industrial Association was convened at Allahabad In 1907. He was also responsible for starting the Prayag Sugar Company. He was elected the President of the Indian National congress twice in 1909 and 1918. He was keenly interested in the industrial advancement of India. He was a member of the Swarajist Party. But he left the same and started a new party called the Nationalist Party when he found that the congress was not safeguarding interests of the Hindus. His greatest contribution was the Banaras Hindu University. For several years, he edited papers like, 'Hindustan' and 'Indian Union'. He started the Hindi weekly entitled 'Abhyudaya'. He was also responsible for bringing the 'Leader', English daily from Allahabad.

Gandhiji had spoken in the Second Round Table conference. He requested to give franchise for the adult, to establish a supreme court, conducting elections and autonomy to the Indians. The British government made an offer of "partly responsible" Government at the Centre. But it could not solve the communal problem. At last, a solution to this problem was left to the discretion of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Prime Minister of England. Gandhiji returned to India empty-handed and much disappointed in 1932 A.D. He was pained to find the changed attitude of the Government. During Gandhiji's absence from India, Gandhi Irwin Pact was violated under the guidance of Lord Wellington. The rule of Governor General's ordinances had commenced in Bengal, North-West Frontier Province and U.P. Leaders like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested. Hence, Gandhiji revived the Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhiji and Patel were arrested on January 4th,

1932. This was followed by more arrests of the congress, leaders. Over one lakh people were arrested and imprisoned. The Congress Party was declared unlawful. Its offices were raided and its records were seized.

Communal Award, 1932 A.D.

The two sessions of the Round Table Conference failed to resolve the communal problem. Ramsay Macdonald, British Prime Minister announced Communal Award on 16th August, 1932. He fixed seats for various communities in the provincial legislatures. Separate electorates were decided upon and the depressed classes were given separate representation. Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians were also given the right of separate electorates. Special seats were allotted to labor, commerce, mining and planters to be filled in by their respective associations. Seats allotted to landholders to be filled by the landlord's constituency. Majority of the Hindus and Sikhs were greatly disappointed by this award. Moreover, it tried to weaken the national unity by creating separate electorates. It widened the existing gulf between the various communities.

Poona Pact 1932

Gandhiji was in yervada jail in Poona when the Award was announced. The separate representation to the depressed classes isolating them from the caste Hindus was resented by Gandhiji. He warned the Government to reconsider its decision. But nobody paid any heed to it. To oppose this, Gandhiji undertook a fast unto death on 20th September, 1932. When Gandhiji's condition deteriorated, some prominent leaders like Rajagopalachari, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Malaviya, M.C. Rajah and Dr. Ambedkar met Gandhiji at Poona for about six days. As a result of their sincere efforts, a compromise formula was evolved. It was accepted by both Gandhiji and Ambedkar. The formula popularly termed as Poona Pact was accepted by the British Government also.

Ambedkar was affectionately known as Babasaheb. Ambedkar was a law minister in India's first cabinet and Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian

constitution. He worked hard for the welfare of the untouchables. For the welfare of the untouchables, Ambedkar started a Marathi fortnightly, the Bahishkrit Bharat in April, 1927 and a weekly, the Janata hi November, 1930. In September, 1927s he started the Samaj Samata Sangh for reaching social equality, Intercast marriage and intercaste dinner formed an important parts of the programme of the organisation. In December, 1927, he held 3 Satyagraha to establish the Civil Right of the untouchables to draw water from a public tank; “Chavdar Tafen” at Mahad, The Hindus claimed the tank as a private property. Ambedkar won the case in Bombay High Court in March, 1937. He launched another Satyagraha to establish the right of the untouchables to enter the famous temple of Kalaram at Nasik in March 1930. After a series of unsuccessful temple satyagrahas, Ambedkar announced on 13th October at Yeola (Nasik), he “would not die a Hindu”. Only two months before his death, on 14th October, 1956, Ambedkar converted to Buddhism at a mass meeting in Nagpur. He himself gave Deeksha to lakhs of followers. Ambedkar wrote many books ‘Castes in India’ (1916) ‘the problem of the Rupee’ (1923). “Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India” (1927), ‘Thoughts on Pakistan’ (1941), “Ranade, Gandhiji and Jinnah” (1943) and “Thoughts on Linguistic States” (1955).

By the Poona Pact, the Depressed Classes (Harijans as called by Gandhiji) were given more seats than provided in the Communal Award. 148 seats were reserved for them in the Provincial Legislature as against 71 seats provided to them by the Communal Award. The election of these seats was to be conducted in two stages. In the first stage, the schedule caste voters were to elect four candidates for each seat reserved for them. In the second stage, both the Hindus and the Harijans were to vote jointly and elect one candidate out of these four persons. In addition to this, the Harijans were given additional vote in the election of candidates from general seats. Thus, the Poona Pact managed to retain Joint Electorates for the Scheduled castes along with their Hindu brethren. This agreement was termed as Poona Pact, it was adopted on September 26, 1932 and on the same day Gandhiji gave up his fast (21 days), it gave great impetus to the movement for the eradication of untouchability. It prevented a political breach between the so called, “Caste Hindus and their Scheduled

Caste Hindus”.

Third Round Table Conference, 1932

The Third Round Table Conference was held In London from 17th November to December 24th, 1932. Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India convened the Third Round Table conference. The congress boycotted it. Only persons loyal to the Government were invited to it. It merely considered die reports of the various sub-committees set up for the Second Round Table Conference and reaffirmed the decisions arrived at by these sub-committees. In 1933, the Government published a White Paper embodying the conclusions of the conferences. It later on formed die nucleus of the Government of India Act, 1935. Gandhi was released and he advised the congress to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement for six weeks. He also asked the Government to release immediately all the political prisoners. But the Government did not release the political prisoners. Therefore, Gandhiji decided to start Individual Satyagraha on 24th July, 1933. But he was again arrested and sent to Yervada jail. On account of his ill-health, Gandhiji was released from jail on 23 rd August 1933. He then devoted his time for the uplift of the depressed people whom he called the “Harijians”, the children of God. Gandhiji stopped the Civil Disobedience Movement in April, 1934. This movement awakened the political consciousness among the Indian masses and it enabled them to take an active part in the struggle for freedom in large numbers. This movement lowered the prestige of British rule in India in the eyes of the world.

The Government of India Act, 1935

The report of the Simon Commission and the proposals of die three Round Table Conferences formed the basis for the Government of India Act of 1935. This Act introduced Provincial autonomy and abolished dyarchy in the provinces. It made the ministers responsible to the legislatures and established a federal Government at the centre. Yet, neither at the centre nor in the provinces was complete responsible government introduced. The Viceroy and the governors were assigned “special responsibilities” to act in their own discretion and to make ordinances. Thus they have

the power to act against the wishes of Indian ministers. "Adult Franchise" was not introduced. Only 14% of the total 'population of India was given the right to vote. The Federal part of the Act was never introduced because the native rulers refused to Join it. The Act of 1935 was far away from the demand of the Congress for Dominion Status and St condemned It as "totally disappointing". Yet the congress decided to participate in the ensuring elections arranged according to the provisions of the Act. Viceroy Linlithgow succeeded after Willington in 1936.

New Ministries 1935-1939

The elections to provincial legislative assemblies and in some provinces for the councils (upper houses) also however took place in 1937. The elections mostly went in favour of the Congress. It obtained clear majorities in eight out of eleven provinces in United Provinces Madras, Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, Assam, Central Provinces and North-West Frontier Provinces and they formed their own governments. The Muslim League formed ministry in Bengal and Sindh. A coalition Government was formed in Punjab (unionists, Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs). The congress Ministries did some commendable work relating to primary education, prohibition of liquors, cottage industries, improvement of the villages and the peasants and entering into temples by the Harijans. The Muslim League demanded that its elected representatives should be admitted in all provincial ministries and the Congress refused to admit any Muslim League into its ministry unless Muslim League conformed to congress principles. This widened the gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League.

A left wing developed within the Congress under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose. He defeated even a nominee of Mahatma Gandhi in the election to the Presidentship of the Congress. When Subhas Chandra Bose was forced to resign by the Moderates, he left the congress and formed his own party, the Forward Bloc in 1938. The Second World War broke out in 1939. British Government involved India in the war without consulting the Indians. The Viceroy assumed emergency powers under the Defence of India Rules. Hence, the congress to show their protest resigned their ministries in eight provinces,

Lahore Session, 1940

The Muslim League and its leader Mohammad Ail Jinnah occupied an important place In Indian public life from 1937 onwards. When the Congress Ministries resigned in 1939, he declared that the end of Congress rule in the provinces should be celebrated on 22nd December, 1939 as a ‘Day of Deliverance every year. Soon after the introduction of provincial Autonomy, jinnah began to preach the theory that the Indian Muslims were a ‘nation’ not a mere community. In an article published in an English journal ‘Time and Tide’ (London) in January, 1940, he observed that “There are two nations in India which must share the governance of their common motherland”. In the Presidential address at the Lahore session of the Muslim League held in March 24, 1940, Jinnah emphasized the differences between Hinduism and Islam and proclaimed that the division of India into two autonomous Sates was the only solution to the Indian problem. The session passed one resolution, demanding Pakistan as a separate homeland for the entire Muslim community. The area claimed by the League for Pakistan was to consist of Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, NWFP (North-West Frontier Province), Delhi Province, some districts in U.P., Bengal, Assam, Hyderabad Deccan, Kashmir and a few districts in Madras. The idea of a separate state was not a discovery of jinnah. In 1930, Sri Muhammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of the Punjab made a proposal for the amalgamation of the Punjab, the NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan in a single autonomous, but not independent state. In 1933, Chaudhuri Rahmat All, a Punjabi student coined the word, ‘Pakistan’ (“Land of the Pure’) Pakistan was to be a Muslim State consisting of the Punjab (indicated by ‘P’), the NWFP or the Afghan territory (indicated by ‘A’), Kashmir (indicated by ‘K’), Sind (indicated by ‘S’) and Baluchistan (indicated by ‘stan’). In 1940, Chaudhuri Rahmat Ail claimed Assam and Hyderabad as integral parts of Pakistan.

August Declaration and individual Satyagraha, 1940

The Muslim League adopted anti-Hindu attitude and advocated partition. Hence die Hindu Mahasabha In its session at Lucknow (July 1940) under the Presidentship of M.S. Aney, opposed partition and wanted Hindu predominance In the

armed forces. The Congress opposed all thinking on communal lines. The Conservative Party, headed by Winston Churchill came in to power in Britain. He was not prepared to relax British control over India. Under such circumstances, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow announced the famous, 'August Offer' in August, 1940, proposing the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council to constitute it as a War Advisory Council for the purpose of associating twenty or more Indians in the task of the prosecution of the Second World War and to get the support of the Indians in the War. "August Offer" promised, to set up a body of representatives of Indian people to frame a new constitution for India after the war. The Congress rejected the 'August offer' as unsatisfactory. The Muslim League rejected the offer. It stood against the idea of a united India as implied in the Viceroy's statement.

Mahatma Gandhiji started a campaign of Individual Satyagraha in October, 1940 to avoid the confusion and bloodshed involved in a mass civil Disobedience Movement. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, a trusted disciple of Gandhiji was selected as the first individual Satyagrahi. He inaugurated the campaign at Paunur on 17th October. The reason was the Congress demand for a National Government was rejected and the freedom of speech against the war effort was denied. Pandit Nehru followed him. Soon there was a nationwide movement of Individual Satyagraha. Acharya Vinoba Bhave started the Bhoodan Movement. 'Bhoodan' is formed of two words, Bhoomi (land) and Dan (donation). In other words, Bhoodan is the voluntary contribution of land from the 'haves' to have-nots'. He collected the free lands from the rich people and distributed among poor. He covered most of the cities in India by walking. His disciple was Jeyapragash Narayan.

The Government felt that a fair offer was rejected by the Indians and took repressive measures. Newspapers which published news of the movement were suppressed and a large number of Congressmen including ex-ministers were put in prison. Jawaharlal Nehru was sentenced to a four-year term for his speeches. On 7th November, a research student at the Gandhiji Ashram, Brahm Dutt Nirmal offered Satyagraha. About 25,000 Indians were arrested and imprisoned. The movement was a simple protest against the way the war was being fought on behalf of India. Though the

movement was non-violent, yet it caused great embarrassment to the government. The Individual Satyagraha continued up to December, 1941.

Expansion of Viceroy's Council 1941

In the midst of the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement, the Viceroy expanded his Executive Council in November, 1941. He appointed five Indians who were non-party men as additional members of his Executive Council. Thus out of thirteen, eight of its members were to be Indians. The Viceroy set up War Advisory Council, consisting of 30 members within the terms of 'August Offer'. The departments of vital importance like Defense, Home and Finance were however kept with the British members. Neither the Congress nor the Muslim League agreed to send their representatives to these councils. On December 7, 1941, Japan entered the Second World war against the allies and posed immediate danger not only to South-East-Asia but to India as well. The Indian government started releasing the Satyagrahls. The Congress on its behalf suspended the Satyagraha movement in December, 1941. But it insisted not to co-operate with the Government unless India was assured of independence after the Second World War.

Cripps Mission, 1942

The British policy towards India underwent a change following quick victories by 'Japan in South East Asia and its capture of Burma. Japan occupied Singapore on 15th February. It disturbed U.S.A., the chief ally of Britain. Its President, Mr. Roosevelt put pressure on Winston Churchill to come to some settlement with Indian leaders. The capture of Rangoon by Japan on 7th, March, 1942 forced Winston Churchill to send Cripps. Mission on March 11th to India to get the support of the Indians. Cripps Mission was headed by Sir Stafford Cripps. He was a member of die War Cabinet and leader of the House of Commons. He was well-versed in Indian politics and had close relations with Gandhiji and Nehru. The Cripp's Mission reached Delhi on March 23, 1942. Soon he met viceroy members of Executive Council, other official advisers and held discussions. With the leaders of Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha representatives of the Princes, Nationalist Muslims and other

political parties, Jinnah and Sir Ffroz Khan Noon, a member of Viceroy's Executive Council sent notes to Mr. Cripps stating that the demand for Pakistan must be accepted. If Britain did anything to sacrifice the interests of Muslims in India, great harm would be done to its war efforts. After his discussions, Cripps made few proposals on behalf of the British Government.

Cripps's Mission announced his proposals on 29th March, 1942. He also appealed to the people of India to accept these proposals. India would be granted Dominion Status and the right to secede from the British Commonwealth of Nations. After the war, a Constituent Assembly would be formed to draw up a constitution. Any native state or province which, did not agree with the new constitution would be free to secede from the Indian Union and form its own government. Except the Defence Department, all other departments were to be entrusted to the Indians, The Indian leaders were invited to co-operate in the war effort of the government. The Congress demanded the immediate replacement of the Viceroy's Council by a Cabinet responsible to the legislature. The Government did not accept this. Hence it rejected the Cripps proposals. Gandhiji called the Cripps plan "a post-dated cheque on a crushing Bank" The Muslim League rejected it because its demand for Pakistan was not clearly accepted in the Cripps' plan. The Hindu Mahasabha, the Sikhs and the Liberals also had rejected the proposals. Cripps Mission was thus a failure. Cripps left India on 12th April, 1942.

UNIT V

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT - INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY – WAVELL PLAN - MOUNT BATTEN PLAN - DAWN OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

The Quit India Movement or the Revolt of 1942

The failure of the Cripps' Mission greatly widened the gulf between the Government and the Congress. The Congress insisted for the transfer of power in the hands of Indians. Soon after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps, the 'Quit India' idea occurred to Mahatma Gandhi. On May 10, 1942, he wrote in the Harijan magazine, "The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes the bait ... The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha in July and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the British from India. The All India Congress Committee ratified this 'Quit India' resolution at its meeting at Bombay on August 8, 1942. The "Quit India" resolution stated that the immediate end of the British rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and for the United Nations. Gandhiji proclaimed, "Every British civil servant, every one of the British Armed Forces and every other British officer necessarily must get out of India". The Quit India Movement or August Revolution slogan was "Do or Die". The Muslim League raised the slogan of "Divide and Quit".

On 9th August, 1942, Mahatma Gandhi, the members of the Congress Working Committee and some other Congress leaders were arrested. The All India Congress Committee and the Provincial Congress Committees were banned. Lord Linlithgow, the then Viceroy of India followed the policy of repression all over India. The sudden arrest of the Congress leaders left the people leaderless. Gandhiji was held captive in the Aga Khan's palace at Poona along with Kasturibai, Mahadev Bhai Desai and others. This action resulted in violent outbreaks in many parts of the country and the government property was greatly damaged. According to official statements, 250 Railway stations, 500 Post Offices were damaged and 150 Police Stations were attacked. Some officials and soldiers were killed and over 900 civilians lost their lives. All over the country, there were hartals and strikes in factories, schools, colleges and

public demonstrations. They cut off telegraph, telephone wire and railway lines. They also burnt the government buildings. Immediately the government used all its machinery to suppress the movement. About 60,000 people were arrested all over the country. There were mob violence, lawlessness, riots and disorder in certain places. Gandhip undertook a fast on February 10, 1943 in jail and broke it at the end of the three weeks. (21 days). Kasturibai died in Jail in February, 1944. Gandhiji suffered from Malaria.

Lord Wavell, the viceroy feared that Gandhiji would not survive. Hence he released him from the jail on May 6, 1944. The battle for the freedom of India was carried on beyond its frontiers by Subhash Chandra Bose, leader of the Indian National Army.

Indian National Army, 1943

Subhash Chandra Bose, popularly addressed as 'Netaji' or leader was a true patriot. Early in life, he was greatly influenced by the teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and later Aurobindo. Bose was born in 1897 at Cuttack in Orissa. His father was a lawyer by profession. Bose studied philosophy in the Presidency College at Calcutta. He went to Cambridge in England for higher education and passed the Indian Civil Service Examination in 1920. He did not like to serve die British people and so he resigned his Government post. After his return in 1920, Bose joined the Indian National Movement. He took active part in the movement regarding the boycott of die Prince of Wales. Due to terrorist activity, he was arrested and imprisoned in Mandalay prison in Burma. Bose rejected Dominion Status for India (Self-Government under die control of British) and was in favour of .complete independence. He was arrested in 1930 during the Civil Disobedience Movement, in 1938; Bose was made the president of the Congress at Haripura. He was re-elected the President of the Congress in 1939 even against the wishes of Gandhiji.

Subash Chandra Bose founded the Forward Bloc In 1938 within the Congress

Party. He took part in the movement regarding the removal of the statue of Lord Cornwallis in Calcutta. After the outbreak of the Second World War, Bose toured India and encouraged the people to drive away the British out of the country. He was taken into custody by the government. Due to ill-health, he was put into house arrest. He escaped to Russia in January, 1941 in the guise of a Pathan through NWFP and Afghanistan and then reached Germany. There Ribbentrop, the right hand man of Hitler welcomed him. Bose was allowed to broadcast anti-British propaganda from Berlin and raise 'Free India' units from Indian prisoners of war in Germany. Then he made contacts with Japan.

Bose became the leader of Indian prisoners captured and released by the Japanese in the Malay Peninsula. He organized them into the Indian National Army of about twenty thousand Indians better known as Azad Hind Fauj in 1943 A.D. This army was a source of inspiration to the masses in India, its slogan was "Jai Hind" (Victory for India) which echoed throughout India. Bose established a Provisional Government of Free India known as Azad Hind at Singapore in 1943. Within a few days Japan, Germany, Italy, Croatia, Burma, Thailand, Nationalist China, the Philippines and Manchuria recognized the Provisional government of free India, Japan handed over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to this provisional government of free India on 7th November, 1943. Netaji hoisted the tricolour flag in Andaman as "a sign of Indian Independence. The soldiers of Indian National Army fought valiantly in Burma against the British on January 7, 1944. In the beginning, Azad Hind Army achieved considerable success, but on account of the beginning of rains, the British army defeated them. Now the Azad Hind Army reached Kohima and surrounded Imphal in Assam for four months. But from there, they had to withdraw. In the mean time, Japan met reverses in South-East Asia. The soldiers and the officers of Indian National Army were forced to surrender and afterwards put on trial by the British Court Martial. In 1945, Bose started re-organising his army in Bangkok and Singapore. On August 18, 1945 Bose died in an air crash in Siam on the way to Tokyo. Thus Subhash Chandra Bose and Azad Hind Army played a historic part in the Indian National Movement.

Rajagopalachari Formula, 1944

Mr. Jinnah insisted on the division of India and the creation of a sovereign Muslim State. Hence Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the veteran Congress leader of Madras, evolved a formula for Congress-League cooperation on the basis of Pakistan. The Formula suggested that the Muslim League should endorse the Congress demand for independence and co-operate with it in the formation of Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period. After the close of the war, a commission should be appointed to demarcate the boundaries of the Muslim dominated districts in the North-West and East of India. The people of these districts, by plebiscite would decide whether they should form a separate State or not. In the event of separation, agreements would be made for defence, communications and other essential matters. These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer of power by Britain to Indian leaders. Gandhiji approached Mr. Jinnah for a settlement on the basis of this formula after his release from Jail on May 6, 1944. Mr. Jinnah rejected this offer. He refused to allow the non-Muslim inhabitants of the Muslim-majority areas to take part in the proposed plebiscite; the right of self-determination. He also refused to provide for joint control over subjects like defence, communications and other essential matters.

Wavell Plan, 1945

Sir Archibald Wavell became the Viceroy on 18th October, 1943 after Lord Linlithgow. He had already played a very prominent part not only as Commander-in-Chief of India but also as a negotiator when Cripps Mission visited India. He placed a new solution before Indian leaders which is popularly known as 'Wavell Plan'. The main feature of the plan was to form an interim government at the centre with equal representation to Caste-Hindus and the Muslims. Except the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, all the members of the Executive Council were to be Indians. All portfolios, except Defence were to be transferred to the Indians. The Executive Council was to work under the framework of the Act of 1935 till a new constitution was framed. The Executive Councillors were to be responsible to the Viceroy and not to the legislature. The plan also implied the appointment of a British High

Commissioner in India. He had to look after the British commercial and other interests in India.

Simla Conference, 1945

The members of the Congress Working Committee were released on June 16, 1945 and a conference of leaders was held at Simla on 29th June, 1945 to select the members for the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Congress, the Muslim League, the Sikhs, the Scheduled castes, Europeans and the Unionist Party of Punjab were invited to attend the conference. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the President of the Congress that time. Maulana Adul Kalam Azad entered politics at the age of 20 and started an Urdu weekly known as the *Al-Hilal* in 1912. He worked zealously during the Non-co-operation Movement and he was arrested. When there was a conflict between the pro-changers and no-changers over the question of Council-entry, Azad brought about a compromise between these groups, by saying that both of them were to fight for India's freedom. He was elected as the President of the Congress many times, during the period of Second World War, he was the President of the Congress. He negotiated with the Cripps Mission. He joined as a Minister of Education in the Interim Government. He was one of the finest interpreters of the Koran. His famous book was 'India Wins Freedom'. No agreement was found possible regarding the composition of the Executive Council. The Congress desired to nominate one Muslim on its behalf to the Executive Council. But Mr. Jinnah demanded that all the Muslim members of the Council must be nominated by the Muslim League. The Congress did not accept this and so Lord Wavell announced the failure of the conference on July, 14.

Cabinet Mission, 1946

The news of Indians' struggle for freedom was spread all over the world. America, Russia and allies of Britain urged Britain to leave India. In the meantime, the general elections were held in England in August, 1945. The Coalition War Ministry of Churchill was succeeded by the Labor Ministry of Clement Attlee. The new British Prime Minister was in favour of giving India independence at the earliest. The General Elections in India gave an overwhelming majority to the Congress. In

April, 1946, Congress formed Ministries in all the provinces having Hindu majority and North Western Frontier provinces. The Muslim League formed Ministry in Bengal and Sindh. In Punjab, a joint Ministry of the Congress, Akalis and the Unionists was formed.

On March 15, 1946, the British government announced to depute a Cabinet Mission to India. The Mission consisting of three cabinet members, Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, and President of the Board of Trade and Mr. A.V. Alexander, first Lord of the Admiralty arrived in India on March 25, 1946. The mission was sent to India to hold discussions with Indian political leaders to set up a Constituent Assembly to prepare the constitution for free India and to bring an understanding among the main political powers for appointing Indian in the Executive Council. After prolonged discussions with Indian leaders at Simla, the Mission announced its plan to settle the political deadlock in India.

The salient features of the Cabinet Mission's Plan were, a Federal government for the whole of India including the native states would be set up and it was to be in charge of defence, foreign affairs and communications. A Constituent Assembly should be formed to frame a constitution for India. An Interim Government, enjoying the support of the major political parties should be formed till transfer of power and the new constitution was launched as early as possible. British paramountcy over the Indian native states would lapse after the transfer of power. The Cabinet Mission rejected the demand of the Muslim League for a separate sovereign state of Pakistan as impracticable.

But it recommended the grant of great autonomy to the provinces and except the three subjects defence, foreign affairs and communications and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces. Moreover, provinces should be free to form separate groups with their own executives and legislatures. The six Hindu-majority Provinces (Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa) would form Group A. The Muslim-majority provinces in the north-west (the Punjab, the NWFP and Sind) would form Group B. Benpi and Assam would form Group C

The Chief Commissioner' Provinces of Delhi, Ajmir-Merwara, Coorg would join Group B. The 'full autonomy' of the provinces and the provision for grouping were meant, to give the League the substance of Pakistan. It was clear that Group B and C would be under the absolute control of the Muslims.

The Constituent Assembly and interim Government, 1946-1947

The Cabinet Mission's Plan was accepted by all parties. Then, elections were held for the Constituent Assembly in July 1946, The Congress enjoyed majority. The 'commanding position of the Congress alarmed Mr. Jirwah. There arose difficulty concerning the formation of the Interim Government. The Congress rejected the idea of Lord Waved to form an interim Government on the basis of parity between the Hindus, including the Scheduled castes and the Muslim League. The attempt of the Muslim League to form the Interim Government excluding the Congress was not acceptable to the government. On 22 July, Lord Waveli put up a new proposal; He proposed the formation of a National Government consisting of 14 members, 6 representing the Congress including the representative of the Scheduled Castes and five representing the Muslim League. The Congress could nominate nationalist Muslims within its quota. The Congress accepted this proposal. But the Muslim League insisted on the Congress-League parity.

On July 29, 1946, the Muslim League decided to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan and also decided to attain Pakistan by direct action. In protest, the Muslim League began the "Direct Action Day" on 17th August, 1946. It resulted in serious Hindu-Muslim riots all over India. In the meantime an Interim Government was set up on September 2, 1946 at the centre with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister at the invitation of Lord Waveli. On October, 1946, the Muslims of two Muslim-majority districts in Bengal (Noakhali and Tipperah) fell upon their Hindu neighbours and committed horrible murders and other unspeakable atrocities. Gandhiji undertook a walking tour through the villages of Naokhali to pacify the people. Riots then broke out in Bihar, U.P and In Bombay and many Muslims suffered. Due to Lord Waveli's continued negotiations with Jinnah, he

agreed to join the Indian Government. As a result five Muslim League nominees joined the Interim Government on October 26, 1946. The five names sent by Jinnah, included Liaquat Alik Khan, I.I. Chundrigar, A.R. Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Jogendra Nath Mandal. The Interim Government could not work on the principle of collective responsibility. Even after joining the Interim Government, the League persisted In Its refusal to join the Constituent Assembly.

The British Government invited the Viceroy and representatives of the Congress, Muslim League and the Sikhs in London to bring- an understanding between the Congress md the League about the working of the constituent Assembly. In that conference, the congress was represented by Pandit Nehru and the League by Mr. Jinnah. After discussions with them, the British Government issued a statement on December 6, 1946 appeasing the League by interpreting the Grouping Formula as desired by it. Even then, the Muslim league boycotted the Constituent Assembly. The first sessions of the Constituent Assembly began at New Delhi on December 9, 1946. The Muslim League did not participate in it. Pandit Nehru moved the main resolution on the declaration of objective and it was adopted on January 22, 1947. This resolution bid down the principle that Indian would be an “Independent Sovereign Republic”. Later on, it became the basis of the Preamble of the Indian constitution. The new Constitution of India was framed under the chairmanship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. He became the first president of Indian Republic in 1950. He wrote many books. The most important book is ‘Divided India’. After his retirement in 1962, he made Sadaqat Ashram as his permanent home. The Chairman of the Drafting committee of the Constituent Assembly was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

Mountbatten Plan

The Muslim League steadily reftised to co-operate with the Congress as it continued to insist on Pakistan. Hence the political situation in the country began to grow worse day by day. On February 20, 1947 Lord Attlee announced in the House of Commons that the British government decided to quit India by the end of June, 1948. Muslim League once again declared “Direct Action” with a view to secure Pakistan.

Riots, murders, arson and looting once again broke out in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP. In NWFP, the Congress leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan started the Red Shirt Movement for gaining an Independent Pathan state. A large number of Hindus and Sikhs were murdered at Rawalpindi.

Admiral the Viscount of Mountbatten succeeded Wavell as Viceroy on 24th March, 1947. He started negotiations with Indian leaders with a view to bring about a solution of the Indian problem agreeable to all political parties. He came to the conclusion that compromise between the League and the Congress could not be possible on the basis of a united India. Therefore, he worked on principles of the partition of India which could be agreed both by the Congress and the League. Both the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the Plan and partition. On 3rd June, 1947, Mountbatten published a statement outlining his solution of India's political problem. It was called as Mountbatten Plan. It laid down detailed principles for the partition of India and a speedy transfer of political power in the form of Dominion Status to India and Pakistan.

The main points of Mountbatten's plan for transfer of power were the Muslim majority provinces would be permitted to form a separate state and set up a new Constituent Assembly for that purpose. As regards Bengal and the Punjab, the Legislative Assemblies would decide whether these provinces were to be partitioned or not. A referendum was to be held in the district of Sylhet in Assam to decide whether that district would remain a part of Assam (in India) or Join East Bengal (in Pakistan). A referendum was also to be held in the NWFP to decide whether that province would join Pakistan or remain in India. Boundary commissions would be set up to fix the frontiers between Hindu and Muslim areas in Punjab and Bengal. The native states were given the option to join either Pakistan or the Indian Union. A bill would be introduced in Parliament at once to give effect to these proposals.

India Independence Act, 1947

The Mountbatten Plan was accepted by the principal political parties in India. It was necessary to give legal effect to the proposal for the partition of India and also to

make provision for the transfer of power.

Therefore, the British Parliament passed the Mountbatten Plan in the form of Indian Independence Act In July, 1947, The Act of 1947 provided for the partition of India and the establishment of two dominions, India and Pakistan. Pakistan was granted independence on August 14, 1947. India was given independence on August 15, 1947. Lord Mountbatten became the first Governor-General of Independent India. He was succeeded by-Mr. Rajagopalachari in 1948. Muhammed All Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pakistan. After his death, he was succeeded by Mr. Nairmuddin in September, 1948. The legislatures of two dominions were given full power to make laws for the Dominions concerned and no Act of the British Parliament would extend to either of them. The British Government was to have no control over the affairs of the dominions, provinces after August 15, 1947.

A Constituent Assembly was formed by each dominion in order to draw a constitution. Till a new constitution was framed by each dominion, all the provinces should be administered in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1935. The British Government was to transfer all the powers to the Constituent Assemblies of the two Dominions. The Governor General was given the power to modify or adopt the Government of India Act of 1935 till March 1948 if it is necessary. The right of the king to veto laws or to reserve laws for his pleasure was given up. The act provided for the termination of the suzerainty of the crown over the Indian states. All treaties, agreements and functions exercisable by His Majesty with regard to states and their rulers were to be lapsed from August 15, 1947. Agreements with the tribes of the North Western Frontier province of India were to be negotiated by the successor dominion. The office of the Secretary of State for India was to be abolished and his work was to be taken over by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs. The title of "Emperor of India" was to be dropped by the British king. Both the dominions were given full powers to join or leave the British Commonwealth nations.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 was a great landmark in the Anglo-

Indian relation. It marked the end of the British rule in India and ushered the dawn of a free India. But unfortunately it divided India into two dominions. Politically, the two states have become rivals rather than allies.

Gandhiji played an important role in the Indian National Movement to achieve independence. Mountbatten hailed Gandhiji as the Architect of India's Independence. But unfortunately Gandhiji was shot down dead on January 30, 1948 by a Hindu fanatic, Nathuram Vinayak Godse at the Birla House prayer meeting. Jawaharlal Nehru the first prime Minister of India paid tributes to the Mahatma Gandhiji in the Parliament said, "The divine lamp of Gandhiji's life will continue to spread light even after centuries".