

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN INDIA

MODULE 1 – EMERGANCE OF NATIONALISM

Factors responsible for the growth of Indian Nationalism

The British conquest of India was followed by the establishment of a centralized government which brought about political and administrative unification. In the pre-colonial India the people were not socially and economically integrated in the absence of a unified national economy and efficient and extensive means of communication. Common subjection, common institutions, common laws began to unite India in a common bond. In the words of Edwyn Bevan, "the British Raj was like a steel-frame which held the injured body of India together till the gradual process of internal growth had joined the dislocated bones, knit up the torn fibers and enabled the patient to regain inner coherence and unity". Thus establishment of political unity, uniform system of administration, uniform reign of law and a uniform currency system generated the idea of India as a nation.

1 Development of Means of Communication and Transport

Administrative convenience, military defense and economic exploitation were the factors that urged the British government to have planned development of modern means of transport. The British constructed a modern postal system and electric telegraph all over the country. In the words of Edwin Arnold, "Railways may do for India what dynasties have never done what the genius of Akbar the Magnificent could not affect by government, not the cruelty of Tipu Sahib by violence, they have made India a nation." The modern means of communications and transport enabled people living in different parts of the country to maintain regular contacts with one another which provided them not only a sense of unity but also the facility to organize an all-India movement.

2 Impact of Western Education

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the British rule to the growth of India nationalism was the introduction of western education in India. It brought about a profound intellectual transformation in India. Western education brought the Indians into touch with the works of great European thinkers and writers like Milton, Thomas Paine, Burke, J.S. Mill, Spencer, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau and Mazzini and helped them imbibe the ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity, democracy and national freedom. The pioneers of Indian nationalism were moved by the aspirations for self-government, for political

power and representative institutions. The study of English language not only helped build up a democratic and national outlook, it also did a great service to the cause of Indian nationalism by providing a medium of communication for the educated Indians throughout India to exchange views on a national scale. It cut across personal barriers and served as a lingua franca. Educated Indians began to meet and discuss common problems through the medium of English and to meet on a common platform to devise plans for independence of the country

3 Economic Exploitation of India

The British economic policy in India led to impoverishment of the country. The main object of British policies was a systematic destruction of traditional Indian economy. The Indian reaction to the discriminatory economic policy of the British government was the rise of economic nationalism in India. India became a supplier of raw materials to the British industries, a market for the sale of British goods and a place for investment of British capital. Indian economy was sacrificed for British economic interests. Economic exploitation by the British was increasing India's poverty. The British Indian administration was extremely costly. Systematic attempts were made to destroy the indigenous industries of India to make room for manufactured goods from England. Gradually the people realized that it was a drain of wealth from India which made India poor. As all classes suffered economically because of the British rule, they realized the necessity of uprooting the British rule from India.

It gave a great impetus to the spirit of nationalism. Socio-Religious Reform Movements The socio-religious reform movements also known as the Indian Renaissance were the first expression of national awakening. They represented attempts to revise the old religion in the spirit of the new principles of nationalism and democracy. To quote or Zacharias; "The Indian national movement was a part of the Indian Renaissance of India which manifested in the form of a general reform movement and produced striking religious and social reforms long before it issued in a movement for political emancipation." The Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Theosophical Society in their own respective ways, revived the glory of ancient India, generated faith in Indian culture and religion and tried to strengthen them by removing the evils. Similarly revivalism among the Muslims was provided by the Wahabi Movement on the one side and by the personality of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on the other. These movements breathed a new life into the degenerated Hindu and Muslim communities. They created self-confidence and inculcated a sense of self-respect which in its turn brought dissatisfaction against the British rule. They preached love for India and everything Indian. It promoted pa-Indian feelings and spirit of nationalism.

4 Emergence of Modern Press and Nationalist Literature

Indian press played an equally important role in building and developing Indian nationalism. It is through press that the Indian nationalists spread the message of patriotism and modern economic, social and political ideas among the people. The Indian press has played a notable role in mobilising public opinion, organizing political movements and promoting nationalism. Despite government restrictions news papers like the Indian mirror, Amrit Bazar Patrika, the Pioneer, The Hindu, the Maratha, Keshari, Bombay Samachar, Samachar Darpan, Andhra Prakasika etc. became a powerful instrument of political education for the middle class and stimulated the growth of national feeling by making public the grievances of the people and also by exposing the failings and deficiencies of the foreign rule. B.B. Majumdar has rightly remarked, "Western education and the Indian press were the two of the most important agencies destined to infuse into the people of India the spirit of national unity and to inspire them to achieve independence without bloodshed." Nationalist literature in the form of novels, essays and patriotic poetry played an important role in creating national consciousness. Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath Tagore, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, Subramanyam Bharati and Altaf Hussain Hali were some of the writers who infused the spirit of patriotism in the minds of the common people.

5 Denial of Higher Jobs to deserving Indians

The charter Act of 1833 laid down that fitness was to be the criterion of eligibility for jobs. It was again reiterated in the Queen's proclamation of 1858. But deliberate attempts were made by the British to debar Indians from higher posts specially the Indian Civil Service. S.N. Banerjee, Aurobindo Ghosh etc. were denied entry into Indian Civil Service on flimsy grounds. In 1877 the entrance age to ICS was reduced from 21 to 19 just to reduce the prospects of Indian candidates from the Indian Civil Service. This decision led to a countrywide agitation and marked the beginning of the unity of action and solidarity of purpose. S.N. Banerjee started an all-India campaign for restoring the entrance age of 21 and for simultaneous ICS examination in India. It helped the educated Indians to unite for promoting their interests.

6 Reactionary Regime of Lytton and the Ilbert Bill Controversy

The regime of Lord Lytton as Governor General (1876-80) was full of reactionary measures. Lytton held an Imperial Durbar at Delhi in 1877 to announce Queen Victoria as the Empress of India at a time when a large part of the country was in the grip of a severe famine. He put on the statute book two obnoxious measures the vernacular press Act and the Indian Arms Act. While the press Act intended to restrict the freedom of the vernacular press, the Arms Act aimed to disarm the Indian people. Another

discriminatory measure was the reducing of the import cotton duties by five percent to appease the Lancashire mill-owners. Then he reduced the entrance age to ICS from 21 to 19 which antagonized the educated Indians. The Ilbert Bill controversy during the period of Lord Ripon exposed the racial bitterness of the British and united the Indians. Ripon tried to abolish judicial disqualification based on race

FORMATION OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS – 1885

The movement for India's independence began with the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Before the birth of the National Congress, a number of organizations were formed. But most of them had limited objectives and their influence remained confined to their respective regions. In order to draw the attention of the British public opinion towards the welfare of the Indians in **1866, Dadabhai Naroji** established **East Indian Association in London**. **Mahadeva Govinda Ranade** formed the **Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1881** and also the **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in 1867** for social reforms and national awakening. In **1885, the Bombay Presidency Association** was formed under the leadership of persons like **Feroz Shall Mehta, Badruddin Tayabji** etc. with the aim of awakening national consciousness. However, among all these organizations, the **Indian Association** established under the leadership of **Surendra Natli Banerjee** and **Anand Mohan Bose**, actively attempted to form a strong public opinion against the unjust policies of the British Government. It opposed the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. It also opposed the reduction of the qualifying age for appearing in the Indian Civil Service Examination from twenty-one to nineteen.

It organized a number of peasant demonstrations demanding reduction of the rate of revenue. With a view of bringing representatives from all over India to a common platform, the Indian Association organized All-India National Conferences twice in 1883 and 1885. But the Indian public opinion could be organized and articulated only with the formation of Indian National Congress as a national forum. **Allan Octavian Hume**, a retired I.C.S. officer was instrumental in the formation of Indian National Congress. He wrote an open letter to the students of Calcutta university asking at least fifty among them to be ready for making sacrifices for the cause of the motherland. Mr. Hume met Lord Dufferin, the then Governor-General of India and decided to form an association which might function on the model of the opposition party of Britain. This association could be consulted by the British Government to assess the Indian public opinion on various issues of national interest. Moreover, this all India forum would work as a '**safety valve**' for the escape of great forces generated due to the British rule in India.

Hume invited eminent Indians from different parts of the country to meet at Poona from 25th to 28th December 1885. But the venue of the meeting was shifted to Bombay as Poona became infected with Cholera. The first session of the All India Congress began on 28th December 1885 at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College. Eminent barrister of Calcutta, **Mr. Woomesh Chandra Banerjee** presided over it. Seventy two invited delegates from different parts of India assembled in this first session. Mr. Hume was elected as the first general secretary of the Indian National Congress. Nine resolutions were passed in this first session. Though Indian National Congress made a very humble beginning, yet it gradually developed into a powerful organization. With its birth, the struggle for India's liberation was started in an organized manner. Mahatma Gandhi subsequently 'made it a mass organization from a class organization of few urban educated middle class people.

Aims and Objectives:

The initial aims and objectives of the congress, were **1.** To flourish solidarity and friendship amongst the people of India. **2.** To eradicate all the prevailing cast, creed, race or province related prejudices from the country. **3.** To strengthen the feelings of National unity. **4.** Consideration of the opinions of educated classes on the issues related to the problems of society. **5.** To formulate guidelines for future plan of action in the public interest. It gave representation to the people of different parts of India belonging to different walks of life. National Congress attempted to fulfill their hope and aspirations. India could be liberated from the British colonial rule by starting a non-violent movement under the banner of National Congress.

SURAT SPLIT [MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS]

The Congress split into two parts-**Moderates and Extremists** in the year **1907** at the Surat Session of Congress, which was also popularly known as '**Surat Split**'. Moderates believed in Liberalism and Moderate Politics. They believed that the British rulers were merely unaware of the plight of the Indian masses and that once they were made aware the British authorities would do their utmost to improve the lives of the local populace. The Extremist leaders firmly believed that the British had no interest of the Indian people in mind. It was evident from the lackluster response from the authorities during a plague or famine. Moderates wanted greater autonomy and self-rule while still under the nominal rule of the British crown. Extremists wanted completed independence from British rule. Moderates gave importance to Prayer, Petition, Persuasion, and Philanthropy. Their demands were constitutional, and so was their agitation. Their methods were regarded as 'Passive Resistance'. Extremists were radical in terms of their approach, and believed in militant methods including but not limited to the assassination of key

personnel. **Dadabai Naoroji, A.O. Hume, W C Banerjee** were moderates and **Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal** were extremists.

MODERATES- IDEOLOGIES AND PROGRAMMES

The moderate political activity involved constitutional agitation within the confines of law and showed a slow but orderly political progress. The Moderates believed that the British basically wanted to be just to the Indians but were not aware of the real conditions. Therefore, if public opinion could be created in the country and public demands be presented to the Government through resolutions, petitions, meetings, etc., the authorities would concede these demands gradually. To achieve these ends, they worked on a two-pronged methodology one, create a strong public opinion to arouse consciousness and national spirit and then educate and unite people on common political questions; and two, persuade the British Government and British public opinion to introduce reforms in India on the lines laid out by the nationalists.

For this purpose, a British committee of the Indian National Congress was established in London in 1899 which had India as its organ. Dadabhai Naoroji spent a substantial portion of his life and income campaigning for India's case abroad. In 1890, it was decided to hold a session of the Indian National Congress in London in 1892, but owing to the British elections of 1891 the proposal was postponed and never revived later. The Moderate leaders believed that political connections with Britain were in India's interest at that stage of history and that the time was not ripe for a direct challenge to the British rule. Therefore, it was considered to be appropriate to try and transform the colonial rule to approximate to a national rule.

Contributions of Moderate Nationalists:

Economic Critique of British Imperialism:

The early nationalists, led by Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, Dinshaw Wacha and others, carefully analysed the political economy of British rule in India, and put forward the "drain theory" to explain British exploitation of India. They opposed the transformation of a basically self-sufficient Indian economy into a colonial economy (i.e., a supplier of raw materials and food stuff, an importer of finished goods and a field of investment for British capital). Thus, the Moderates were able to create an all-India public opinion that British rule in India was the major

cause of India's poverty and economic backwardness. To mitigate the deprivation characterising Indian life, the early nationalists demanded severance of India's economic subservience to Britain and development of an independent economy through involvement of Indian capital and enterprise. The early nationalists demanded reduction in land revenue, abolition of salt tax, improvement in working conditions of plantation labour, reduction in military expenditure, and encouragement to modern industry through tariff protection and direct government aid.

Constitutional Reforms and Propaganda in Legislature:

Legislative councils in India had no real official power till 1920. Yet, work done in them by the nationalists helped the growth of the national movement. The Imperial Legislative Council constituted by the Indian Councils Act (1861) was an impotent body designed to disguise official measures as having been passed by a representative body. Indian members were few in number—thirty years from 1862 to 1892 only forty-five Indians were nominated to it, most of them “being wealthy, landed and with loyalist interests. Only a handful of political figures and independent intellectuals such as Syed Ahmed Khan, Kristodas Pal, V.N. Mandlik, K.L. Nulkar and Rashbehari Ghosh were nominated.

Campaign for General Administrative Reforms:

(i) Indianisation of government service on the economic grounds that British civil servants expected very high emolu merits while inclusion of Indians would be more economical; on political grounds that, since salaries of British bureaucrats were remitted back home and pensions paid in England, this amounted to economic drain; and on moral grounds that Indians were being discriminated against by being kept away from positions of trust and responsibility. (ii) Separation of judicial from executive functions. (iii) Criticism of an oppressive and tyrannical bureaucracy and an expensive and time-consuming judicial system. (iv) Criticism of an aggressive foreign policy which resulted in annexation of Burma, attack on Afghanistan and suppression of tribals in the North-West. (v) Increase in expenditure on welfare (i.e., health, sanitation), education—especially elementary and technical—irrigation works and improvement of agriculture, agricultural banks for cultivators, etc. (vi) Better treatment for Indian labour abroad in other British colonies, who faced oppression and racial discrimination there.

Defence of Civil Rights:

These rights included the right to speech, thought, association and a free press. Through an incessant campaign, the nationalists were able to spread modern democratic ideas, and soon the defence of civil rights became an integral part of the freedom struggle. It was due to the increased consciousness that there was a great public outrage at the arrest of Tilak and several other leaders and journalists in 1897 and at the arrest and deportation of the Natu brothers without a trial.

An Evaluation of the Early Nationalists:(i) They represented the most progressive forces of the time.(ii) They were able to create a wide national awakening of all Indians having common interests and the need to rally around a common programme against a common enemy, and above all, the feeling of belonging to one nation. (iii) They trained people in political work and popularised modern ideas.(iv) They exposed the basically exploitative character of colonial rule, thus undermining its moral foundations.(v) Their political work was based on hard realities, and not on shallow sentiments, religion, etc.(vi) They were able to establish the basic political truth that India should be ruled in the interest of Indians.(vii) They created a solid base for a more vigorous, militant, mass-based national movement in the following years.(viii) However, they failed to widen their democratic base and the scope of their demands.

MODULE 2 – EXTRIMIST PHASE

RISE OF EXTREMISM

The political orientation of Extremist originated within the Congress from the anti- partition Bengal agitation. When the British Government refused to annual the partition of Bengal in face of mass protests of the people of Bengal arousing sympathy of the Indian people that disillusioned many young leaders, came to known as Neo-Nationalists or Extremists. The important extremist leaders were Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh. They were called extremist because they believed that success could be achieved only through bold means.

Reason for the Rise of Extremism

The failure of the Moderates to win any notable success other than the expansion of the legislative councils by the Indian Councils Act (1892).The famine and plague of 1896-97 was not eye opening for the exploitative policy for British which degraded the economic condition of peopleColour discrimination Indians in South Africa.The Russo-Japanese war of 1904 – 05 events play important role in national awakening.

METHOD AND PROGRAMMES

The extremist goal was ‘swaraj’. This, at that time, either meant complete autonomy and freedom from British control, or a total Indian control over the administration but not necessarily a break away from Britain’s imperial reign.This was in contrast to the moderates’ demand of only an increase in the share of Indians in the administration and military upper echelons.The extremist leaders involved wider sections of people in the movement. They involved lower-middle-class people also.They did not stick to constitutional methods to protest and demand. They resorted to boycotts, strikes, etc. They also burned foreign-made goods.They believed in confrontation rather than persuasion.The Swadeshi movement gathered momentum in India because of the extremists’ support. This led to the establishment of Indian banks, mills, factories, etc.They were strongly against British imperialistic policies in India.They took pride in Indian culture

and history. They looked at the ancient scriptures for inspiration and courage. They believed in sacrificing everything including life for the cause of the motherland. They opposed westernisation of Indian society by the British. Tilak famously said, "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it." They were very vocal in their opposition to the British rule, unlike the moderates who had faith in British justice. They tried to instil self-respect and patriotism in the people by invoking past heroes like Ashoka, Shivaji, Maharana Pratap and Rani Laxmibai. They did not believe in loyalty to the British Crown. Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal (the first three called Lal-Bal-Pal leading the extremist cause in Punjab, Bombay and Bengal respectively.) Other leaders included Aurobindo Ghosh, Rajnarayan Bose, A K Dutt, V O C Pillai. The government attacked the extremist leaders vigorously. Laws were passed to check their activities and influence. The following laws were passed between 1907 and 1911: Seditious Meetings Act, 1907; Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908; Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908; and the Indian Press Act, 1910. Tilak was sentenced and served in prison in Mandalay (Burma) for writing in support of revolutionaries who were involved in the killing of two British women (their original target was a British magistrate).

IMPACT OF EXTREMISM

Bal Gangadhar Tilak organized Ganpati and Shivaji festival to spread the message of boycotting westernization in India. This was a major social reform and had a larger impact on society. The slogan "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it" by Tilak was the talk of society. Goods and national education was boycotted which brought a major change in the economy of the country and gave way to employment and various other opportunities for the Indians. There was a major reform in education across the country as the extremists worked on establishing National universities free from government control.

Partition of Bengal

The partition of Bengal was the most important event during the rule of Lord Curzon. It was carried out mainly for the convenience of administration. Bengal in those days was the biggest province of India extending over 1, 89, 000 square miles with a population of 80 million. It was comprising of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and was under the central of one lieutenant Governor. After Lord Curzon took charge as Governor General of India the discussion over the Partition began due to the following issues:

1. Vastness of Province: The Province was spread over the area of 1, 89, 000 square miles with the population of 80 million, which was too vast to be managed by one lieutenant Governor. He could not make a tour for the whole province due to its vastness once in his tenure.

2. Difference of Language: There was also the difference of Languages and civilization of the natives of West Bengal and East Bengal. The natives of West Bengal considered themselves superior in civilization to the resident of East Bengal. The Condition demanded for the division of Provinces.

3. Need of the time: The division of Bengal was the need of the time to develop trade in East Bengal and to promote the Port of Chittagong, which could be done only by division of the Provinces.

4. Partition: The Partition of Bengal was thus calculated to restore efficiency in the Government and administration on one hand and encouraged local initiatives for progress and development on the other. Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal and formed two new provinces of manageable size – East and West Bengal. East Bengal consisted of Dacca, Mamansingh, Assam, Kaula, Rangpur, and Bogra district, the Dacca was capital of East Bengal constituted a majority regions comes under present Bangladesh, while the Bihar and Orissa constituted a separate province to be called as West Bengal with the capital of Calcutta. East Bengal contained a population of eighteen million Muslims and twelve million Hindus. Whereas West Bengal had a population fifty four million of which 42 million were Hindus.

Annulment of the Partition

When Lord Harding assumed charge as Governor General of India Indians again became active and sent a representation to him for the annulment of partition of Bengal. He recommended the same to the British Prime Minister for Indian Affairs. On the occasion of the visiting His Majesty George V to holding of Durbar at Delhi on 12th December 1911 the partition of Bengal was cancelled. The united Bengal was placed under a Governor and Assam was placed under a Chief Commissioner.

Swadeshi and Boycott movement

— The Swadeshi Movement had its genesis in the anti-partition movement which was started to oppose the British decision to partition Bengal. The Government's decision to partition Bengal had been made public in December 1903. The official

reason given for the decision was that Bengal with a population of 78 million (about a quarter of the population of British India) had become too big to be administered. This was true to some extent, but the real motive behind the partition plan was the British desire to weaken Bengal, the nerve centre of Indian nationalism. This it sought to achieve by putting the Bengalis under two administrations by dividing them (i) on the basis of language (thus reducing the Bengalis to a minority in Bengal itself as in the new proposal Bengal proper was to have 17 million Bengalis and 37 million Hindi and Oriya speakers), and (ii) on the basis of religion, as the western half was to be a Hindu majority area (42 million out of a total 54 million) and the eastern half was to be a Muslim majority area (18 million out of a total of 31 million). Trying to woo the Muslims, Curzon, the viceroy at that time, argued that Dacca could become the capital of the new Muslim majority province, which would provide them with a unity not experienced by them since the days of old Muslim viceroys and kings. Thus, it was clear that the Government was up to its old policy of propping up Muslim communalists to counter the Congress and the national movement.

Formation of Muslim League and its Objectives

The partition of Bengal created a communal divide. On December 30, 1906, Muslim league was formed under the leadership of Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk to the notion to safeguard the rights of Indian Muslims. Initially, it gets great support from the British but when it adopted the notion of Self-rule then they get destitution from them. The Amritsar session of the League, held in 1908, under the presidentship of Sir Syed Ali Imam, demanding a separate electorate for the Muslims, this was conceded to them by his Morley-Minto Reform 1909. Maulana Muhammad Ali started an English Journal 'Comrade' and an Urdu Paper 'Hamdard' to propagate his anti-league views. He also started 'Al-Hilal' which served as a mouthpiece of his Nationalist views.

Factor promoting the Muslim league

British Plan- Dividing Indian on communal lines and adhered separatist attitude in Indian politics. For example- Separate electorate, Played caste politics between non- Brahmins and Brahmins. Lacks of Education- Muslims were isolated from western and technical education. Loss Sovereignty by Muslims- 1857 revolt makes British to think that Muslims are dangerous for their colonial policy. As they were established their rule after dethroning the Mughal rule. Expression of

Religious Colour-Most of the historians and radical nationalists glorified India's one side of our composite culture. Their praises were biased because Shivaji, Rana Pratap etc were praised but they remained silent on Akbar, Sher Shah Suri, Allauddin Khalji, Tipu Sultan etc. Economic backwardness of India- Lack of Industrialisation causes acute unemployment and British attitude towards cottage industry was pathetic. Objectives of the formation of league To promote loyalty of Indian Muslims towards the British government. To protect the political and other rights of the Indian Muslims and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government. To overcome on the feeling of hostility among Muslims towards other communities.

Morley-Minto Reform

Morley-Minto Reform was another name of the Indian Council Act of 1909, which was named after the secretary of state and the Viceroy. It was instituted to placate the moderates. According to this act, the membership of the central and provincial legislative councils was enlarged. However, the number of elected members in these councils was less than half of their total membership. It may also be remembered that the elected members were not elected by the people but by landlords, organizations or traders and industrialists, universities, and local bodies. The British also introduced communal electorates as a part of these reforms. This was meant to create disunity between Hindus and Muslims. Some seats in the councils were reserved for Muslims to be elected by Muslim voters. By this, the British hoped to cut off Muslims from the nationalist movement by treating them apart from the rest of the nation. They told the Muslims that their interests were separate from those of other Indians. To weaken the nationalist movement, the British began to consistently follow a policy of promoting communalism in India. The growth of communalism had serious consequences for the unity of the Indian people and the struggle for freedom. The congress at its 1909 session welcomed the reforms but strongly opposed the reforms the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion. The Morley-Minto reforms did not introduce any significant change in the powers of the councils. They did not mark an advance towards the establishment of a representative government, much less swaraj. In fact, the Secretary of state frankly declared that he had absolutely no intention of introducing a Parliamentary form of Government. The autocratic form of government that had been introduced after the revolt of 1857 remained unchanged even after the Morley-Minto reforms.

Features of the Act

. It considerably increased the size of the legislative councils, both Central and provincial. The number of members in the Central Legislative Council was raised from 16 to 60. The number of members in the provincial legislative councils was not uniform.2. It retained an official majority in the Central Legislative Council but allowed the provincial legislative councils to have a non-official majority.3. It enlarged the deliberative functions of the legislative councils at both levels. For example, members were allowed to ask supplementary questions, move resolutions on the budget, and so on.4. It provided (for the first time) for the association of Indians with the executive councils of the Viceroy and Governors. Satyendra Prasad Sinha became the first Indian to join the Viceroy's Executive Council. He was appointed as the law member.5. It introduced a system of communal representation for Muslims by accepting the concept of a separate electorate'. Under this, the Muslim members were to be elected only by Muslim voters. Thus, the Act 'legalised communalism' and Lord Minto came to be known as the Father of Communal Electorate.6. It also provided for the separate representation of presidency corporations, chambers of commerce, universities, and zamindars.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT-POST FIRST WORLD WAR SCENARIO

After the First World War the Indian National Movement entered into a new phase. With the emergence of Gandhi, the element of mass mobilisation was introduced. Till the coming of independence three major mass movements were launched; Non-Cooperation (1920-22), Civil disobedience (1930-34) and Quit India (1942). Besides these mass movements the revolutionary movement, peasants and working class movements and state people's movements also played a vital role in the struggle for freedom. In this period sufficient emphasis was laid on the socioeconomic content of Swaraj. The Communist Party of India and the Socialist groups within the Congress pointed out towards economic emancipation of the masses along with the importance of the struggle for independence

Impact of First World War on the National Movement.

The First World War (1914-1918) had a great impact on the National Movement in India: a. Resentment among the Indians: The British government declared India as an ally and a belligerent. Indian people and resources were used in this war. It created great resentment among the Indians especially when they were not even consulted before joining the war. b) Anguish among the Muslims: The British

were fighting against the Turkish Empire which was ruled by the Caliph (Khalifa). The Muslims had great respect for the Caliph. The Indian Muslims joined the Caliphate (Khilafat) Movement for the defence of Turkey against the British. c) Peasant's unrest: During the war, the peasant's unrest also grew. These movements helped prepare the ground for mass movement. d) Home Rule Movement: Annie Besant joined the Congress in 1914. In 1916 she along with Bal Gangadhar Tilak started the Home Rule Movement. The Home Rule League demanded selfgovernment to the Indians. e) The Lucknow Pact (1916): In 1916, at the Lucknow Session, the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' were united. Besides; a pact was made between the Congress and the Muslim League to work unitedly for their demands of greater share and power for Indians in the Executive Council and election of members of the Legislative Councils. f) Emergence of Gandhiji: Gandhiji emerged as the leader of the nationalist movement in India during the First World War.

Home rule movement

Many Indian leaders saw clearly that the government was not likely to give any real concessions unless popular pressure was brought to bear upon it. Hence, a real mass political movement was necessary. Some other factors were leading the nationalist movement in the same direction. The World War, involving mutual struggle between the imperialist powers of Europe, destroyed the myth of the racial superiority of the western nations over the Asian peoples. Moreover the War led to increased misery among the poorer classes of Indians, for them the War had meant heavy taxation and soaring price of the daily necessities of life. They were getting ready to join any militant movement of protest. Consequently, the war years were years of intense nationalist political agitation. But this mass agitation could not be carried out under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, which had become, under Moderate leadership, a passive and inert political organisation with no political work among the people to its credit. Therefore, two Home Rule Leagues were started in 1915-16, one under the leadership of Lokamanya Tilak and the other under the leadership of Annie Besant, and S. Subramaniya Iyer. The two Home Rule Leagues carried out intense propaganda all over the country in favour of the demand for the grant of Home Rule or self-government to India after the War, it was during this agitation that Tilak gave the popular slogan: "Home Rule is my birth-right, and I will have it. The two Leagues made rapid progress and the cry of Home Rule resounded throughout the length and breadth of India. The war period also witnessed the

growth of the revolutionary movement. Tilak's activities were confined to Bombay Presidency and the Central province while Annie Besant popularized this movement in the rest of India. The branches of the league were set up all over the country. Tilak made a whirlwind tour of the country in 1916 and in his speeches he said, "Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it". He said that Home Rule through was the only cure of India's political ills and the grievances of the Indians. He preached the idea of Home Rule through his two news papers - the Kesari and the Maratha. Annie Besant also toured the country and created a lot of enthusiasm among the people for the cause of Home Rule. She carried on the propaganda in favour of it in the newspapers named New India and Common Weal. The movement reached its peak in 1917.

The Government got panicky at the activities of the Home Rule Movement and it thought of suppressing it with a heavy hand. The Government made use of Defense of India Act to curb the activities of the agitators. Students were prohibited from attending Home Rule meetings. Tilak was prosecuted for his fiery and exciting speeches and his entry in Punjab and Delhi was banned. Important leaders of the movement including Annie Besant were interned. Various restrictions were imposed on the press by using the Indian Press Act of 1910. But the repressive policy followed by the Government only added fuel to the fire. Strikes, agitation and protest meetings were organized throughout the country. The government realized the seriousness of the demonstrations that broke out in support of the Home Rule League. The Indians seemed to be prepared to pay any price to achieve the Home Rule. Therefore to appease the nationalists, the Secretary of State for India made a declaration on August 20, 1917 announcing the British policy towards India. He said, "The policy of his Majesty's Government was the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of the responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire." As a result the Home Rule Movement died out gradually.

Importance of the Home Rule Movement:

The Home Rule Movement has its own importance in the history of National Movement of India. It was an important milestone in the history of the Indian freedom movement. It transformed the national movement into the peoples' movement as more and more people began to take part in it. It worked as a light house when the political atmosphere in the country was full of disappointment. It put new life in the national movement. It gave definite shape and direction to the

movement for Swaraj. It also influenced the foreign statesmen and several of the American leaders. Many British members also supported the demand for Home Rule to the Indians.

Annie Besant

President of Theosophical Society of India; founded Home Rule League in 1916 and demand self rule in India; became first woman president of Indian National Congress. Annie Besant was a prominent Theosophist, social reformer, political leader, women's rights activist, writer and orator. She was of Irish origin and made India her second home. She fought for the rights of Indian and was the first woman president of Indian National Congress. Annie Besant was born as Annie Wood on October 1, 1847 in a middle-class family in London. She was of Irish origin. Her father died when she was only five. Annie's mother supported the family by running a boarding house for boys at Harrow. As a young woman she traveled widely in Europe and this widened her outlook. Annie Besant was married in 1867 to a clergyman called Frank Besant. But the marriage did not last long. They legally separated in 1873. Annie Besant had two children from the marriage. After her separation Annie began to question not only her long-held religious beliefs but the whole of conventional thinking. She began to write attacks on the Churches and the way they controlled people's lives. In particular she attacked the status of the Church of England as a state-sponsored faith. Annie Besant fought for the causes she thought were right, such as, women's rights, secularism, birth control, Fabian socialism and workers' rights. She became interested in Theosophy as a way of knowing God. Theosophical Society was against discrimination of race, color, gender and preached Universal brotherhood. To serve humanity at large was its supreme goal. It was as a member of Theosophical Society of India that she arrived in India in 1893. She toured the entire country of India. It gave her first hand information about India and middle-class Indians who were affected more by British rule and its system of education. Her long-time interest in education resulted in the founding of the Central Hindu College at Benares (1898). She also became involved in Indian freedom movement. In 1916, she founded Home Rule League which advocated self rule by Indians. She became the President of Indian National Congress in 1917. She was the first woman to hold that post. She started a newspaper, "New India", criticized British rule and was jailed for sedition. After the arrival of Gandhiji on Indian national scene, differences arose between Mahatma Gandhi and Annie Besant. Gradually, she withdrew from active politics.

Ghadar Party

At the beginning of the 20th century, the burgeoning Indian Independence Struggle had led to a rise of nationalist sentiments not just in the Indian subcontinent but also among students and emigres around the world belonging to the same region. Revolutionary intellectuals like Lala Har Dayal (Born on October 14, 1884) and Taraknath Das attempted to organize these students while imparting nationalist ideas. The Ghadar Party, initially named the Pacific Coast Hindustan Association was formed in was formed on 15 July 1913 in the United States under the leadership of Lala Har Dayal, Sant Baba Wasakha Singh Dadehar, Baba Jawala Singh, Santokh Singh and Sohan Singh Bhakna as its president. The Ghadar party found a large support base among Indian expatriates living in the United States, Canada, East Africa and Asia.

Activities of the Ghadar Party

Upon the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, some members of the Ghadar Party arrived in Punjab to foment an armed revolution for the independence of India. They were also successful in smuggling arms and inciting the Indian soldiers in the British Army to mutiny. The resultant uprising, now known as the Ghadar Mutiny was harshly put down by the British with 42 mutineers being executed following the Lahore Conspiracy Case trial. Yet, the Ghadar Party continued their fight against colonialism from 1914 to 1917, with the support of Imperial Germany and the Ottoman Empire as both were part of the Central Powers opposed to the British. Know the difference between Central and Axis Powers by visiting the linked article. The party was built around the weekly paper The Ghadar, which carried the caption on the masthead: Angrezi Raj Ka Dushman (an enemy of the British rule). “Wanted brave soldiers”, the Ghadar declared, “to stir up rebellion in India. Pay-death; Price-martyrdom; Pension-liberty; Field of battle-India. Following the Komagata Maru Incident in 1914, a direct challenge to Canadian anti-Indian immigration laws, several thousand Indians resident in the United States sold their business and homes ready to drive the British from India, bolstering the ranks of the Ghadar Party.

Legacy of the Ghadar Movement.

The Ghadar Movement began to lose steam following the heavy-handed British crackdown. Upon the conclusion of World War I, 1917 the Ghadar Party fractured into a Communist and a Socialist faction. Despite this setback, the Ghadar Part was a source of inspiration for many revolutionaries of the freedom

struggle, the most notable among them being Bhagat Singh. The Ghadar movement can be described as a tale of extreme valour, hard-work, toil which touched the heart of every Indian settled in distant shores. The powerful speeches by its leaders did shape the expatriate opinion against the misrule of British in India. It truly qualifies for a major struggle which aroused the people to fight for freedom and sowed seeds for any other future course of action.

MONTAGUE- CHELMSFORD REFORMS (Act of 1919)

The Home Rule movement and the rise of revolutionary terrorism mainly led the British authority to pacify the rising tide in India. Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India and Montague; the Secretary of Indian Council submitted a proposal in 1918 to the British Parliament. As a result, the Act of 1919 was passed. Accordingly; the number of members of the Council of the Secretary of State (Indian Council) was fixed at 12. Among them 3 were to be Indians and half of its total members were to be chosen from among those who must have resided in India at least for ten years. It limited the powers of the Secretary of States. The Viceroy was empowered to nominate as many members to his Executive Council as he wished. The Councilors were nominated for five years. The Central Legislature consisted of the Council of States and Legislative Assembly. The Upper House or Council of States consisted of 60 members. Among them 33 were to be elected and 27 were to be nominated by the Viceroy. Each province in India was allotted a fixed number of representatives to represent in the Council of States for 5 years. The Legislature Assembly or the Lower House consisted of 144 members out of which 103 were to be elected and the rest of the members were to be nominated. The life of the Legislative Assembly was for 3 years. The franchise of both the Houses was restricted which differed in different provinces. The Viceroy was empowered to summon, prorogue and dissolve the Chambers. The first Speaker was to be nominated by the Viceroy and after that the speakers would be elected. The provincial Legislature consisted of only one House known as the Legislative Council. The number increased now what was a beforehand. The power of the Councils also increased a little. However, the Viceroy had control over the Councils. The communal electorate system was further enhanced. It created provision for 'separate electorates for Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Christians and Europeans. The Act of 1919 introduced Diarchy in the provinces. Accordingly, the Rights of the Central and Provincial Governments were divided in clear-cut terms. The central list included rights over defence, foreign affairs, telegraphs, railways, postal and foreign trade. The provincial list

dealt with the affairs like health, sanitation, education, public work, irrigation, jail, police and justice. The powers which were not included in the state list vested in the hands of the Centre. In case of any conflict between the 'reserved' and 'unreserved' powers of the State (the former included finance, police, revenue and publication of books and the latter included health, sanitation and local-self government). The Governor had its final say. The Diarchy was introduced in 1921 in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, U.P., M.P., Punjab, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. In 1932, it was extended to the North-West Frontier Province. No doubt, the Act of 1919 reformed some of the malaises of the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, and introduced Diarchy. Still it was not free from shortcomings. Limited franchise, no clear-cut division of powers between the Centre and the States, Viceroy's authority over every matter etc. were some of the defects of the Act of 1919 which brought dissatisfaction among the Indians.

MODULE 3 – AGE OF MASS POLITICS

Gandhian Era

The role of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian Freedom Struggle is considered the most significant as he single-handedly spearheaded the movement for Indian independence. The peaceful and non-violent techniques of Mahatma Gandhi formed the basis of freedom struggle against the British yoke. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2nd October 1869. After he came back to India from South Africa, where he worked as a barrister, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who led the Congress party, introduced Mahatma Gandhi to the concerns in India and the struggle of the people. The Indian independence movement came to a head between the years 1918 and 1922. A series of non-violence campaigns of Civil Disobedience Movement were launched by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The focus was to weaken the British government through non cooperation. The protests were mainly against abolition of salt tax, land revenue, reducing military expenses etc. Before returning to India Gandhi went to England. In the meantime, the First World War broke out. In this situation Gandhi considered it his duty to help the British government. He decided to organise an Ambulance Corps of the Indians.

However, after some time due to differences with the British officials, Gandhi dissociated himself from it. He received a Kaiser-i- Hind Gold Medal in the New Year Honours list of 1915. Gandhi reached India on January 9, 1915 and was given a warm welcome for his partial victory in South Africa. In India, the moderate leader Gokhale was his political Guru. He wanted Gandhi to join the Servants of India Society. But Gandhi could not become its member because some members of the society strongly opposed his entry. Gokhale had extracted a promise from Gandhi that he would not express any opinion on political matters for a year. Keeping his vow, Gandhi spent 1915, and most of 1916 touring India and visiting places as far as Sindh and Rangoon, Banaras and Madras. He also visited Rabindranath Tagore's Shantiniketan and the kumbh fair at Hardwar. All this helped Gandhi in the better understanding of his countrymen and the conditions in India. In 1915 Gandhi had set up an Ashram at Ahmedabad on the bank of the Sabarmati. Here Gandhi lived with his close associates who were being trained in the rigorous of moral and emotional life essential for a satyagrahi. At this time Gandhi took very little interest in political matters, and mostly at meetings he spoke on his experiences in South Africa and the ideas he had formulated there. When Annie Besant approached Gandhi to join her in founding a Home Rule League he refused on the ground that he did not wish to embarrass the British government during the war.

In 1915, he attended the Congress session, but avoided speaking on important issues like self government. Gandhi welcomed the unity move of bringing back Tilak and others who were earlier excluded from the Congress. But at the same time Gandhi made it clear that he did not belong to any group. He attended the reunited session of the Congress but refused to speak on issues which would have meant aligning himself with a particular group. He spoke strongly on the indentured labourers recruitment and a resolution was passed for the abolition of this practice.

Gandhian programmes

Satyagraha

M.K.Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869 at Porbander in Gujarat. After getting his legal education in Britain, he went to South Africa to practice law. Imbued with a high sense of justice, he was revolted by the racial injustice, discrimination and degradation to which Indians had to submit in the South African colonies. Indian labourers who had gone to South Africa and the merchants who followed were denied the right to vote. They had to register and pay a poll tax. They could not reside except in prescribed locations which were insanitary and congested. In some of the South African colonies, the Asians, as also the Africans, could not stay out of doors after 9 p.m.; nor could they use public foot paths. Gandhi soon became the leader of the struggle against these conditions and during 1893-1914 was engaged in a heroic though unequal struggle against the racist authorities of south Africa .It was during this long struggle lasting nearly two decades that he evolved the technique of satyagraha based on truth and non violence The ideal satyagrahi was to be truthful and perfectly peaceful, but at the same time he would refuse to submit to what he considered wrong. He would accept suffering willingly in the course of struggle against the wrong –doer. This struggle was to be part of his love of truth. But even while resisting evil, he would love the evil doer. Hatred would be alien to the nature of a true satyagrahi.

He would, more over be utterly fearless. He would never bow down before evil whatever the consequences .In Gandhi's eyes, none was not a weapon of the weak and the cowardly .Only the strong and the brave could practise it. Even violence was preferable to cowardise.In a famous article in his weekly journal, Young India, he wrote in 1920 that "non violence is the law of our species, as violence is the law of the brute", but that "where there is only a choice between cowardice and non violence. I would advise violence .I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour, than that she would, in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour". He once summed up his entire philosophy of life as follows: The only virtues I want to claim is truth and non-violence. I lay no claim to super human powers. I want none'. Another important aspect of Gandhi's outlook was that he would not separate thought and practice, belief and action.

His truth and non-violence were meant for daily living and not merely for high sounding speeches and writings. Gandhiji, moreover, had an immense faith in the capacity of the common people to fight. For example, in 1915, referring to the common people, who fought along with him in South Africa, in the course of his reply to an address of welcome at Madras, he said: you have said that I inspired these great men and women, but I cannot accept that proposition. It was they, the simple-minded folk, who worked away in faith, never expecting the slightest reward, who inspired me, who kept me to the proper level, and who compelled me by their sacrifice, by their great faith, by their great trust in the great God to do the work that I was able to do. Similarly, in 1942, when asked how he expected "to resist the might of the Empire", he replied: "with the might of the dumb millions". Gandhiji returned to India in 1915 at the age 46. He spent an entire year in travelling all over India, understanding Indian conditions and the Indian people and then, in 1916, founded the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad where his friends and followers were to learn and practise the ideas of truth and non-violence. He also set out to experiment with his new method of struggle.

Champanan

Gandhi's first great experiment in satyagraha came in 1917 in Champanan, a district in Bihar. The peasantry on the indigo plantations in the district was excessively oppressed by the European planters. They were compelled to grow indigo on at least 3/20 of their land and to sell it at prices fixed by the planters. Similar conditions had prevailed earlier in Bengal, but as a result of a major uprising 1859-61 the peasants there had won their freedom from the indigo. Having heard of Gandhi's campaigns in South Africa, several peasants of Champanan invited him to come and help them. Accompanied by Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mazhar-ul-Huq, J.B. Kripalani, Narhari Parekh and Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji reached Champanan in 1917 and began to conduct a detailed inquiry into the condition of the peasantry. The infuriated district officials ordered him to leave Champanan, but he defied the order and was willing to face trial and imprisonment. This forced the government to cancel its earlier order and to appoint a committee of inquiry on which Gandhiji served as a member. Ultimately the disabilities from which the peasantry was suffering were reduced and Gandhiji had won his first battle of civil disobedience in India. He had also had a glimpse into the naked poverty in which the peasants of India lived.

Ahmedabad mill strike

In 1918, he intervened in a dispute between the workers and mill owners of Ahmedabad. He advised the workers to go on strike and to demand a 35 percent increase in wages. But he insisted that the workers should not use violence against the employers during the strike. He undertook a fast unto death to strengthen the workers' resolve to

continue the strike. But his fast also put pressure on the mill owners who relented on the fourth day and agreed to give the workers a 35% increase in wages.

Kheda

The Kheda district of Gujarat was on the verge of famine owing to failure of the crops. The yield had been so low that the cultivators, especially the poorer section, were unable to pay the revenue. But the government insisted that the yield had not been so bad and that the cultivators should pay the tax. Gandhi saw the justice of the cause of the cultivators and advised them to offer Satyagraha by not paying their taxes. Many leaders, like Vallabhbhai Patel, Shankarlal Banker, Mahadev Desai and others, took an active part in this struggle. The campaign came to an unexpected end. There had been signs that it might fizzle out, but after four months' struggle there came an honourable settlement. The Government said that if well-to-do cultivators paid up the poorer section would be granted suspension. This was agreed to and the campaign ended. The Kheda Satyagraha marked the beginning of an awakening among the peasants of Gujarat, the beginning of their true political education. In addition it gave to the educated public workers the chance to establish contact with the actual life of the peasants.

Rowlatt Act

During the years 1917 and 1918 Gandhi took little interest in all India issues. He protested against internment of Annie Besant, and also demanded the release of Ali brothers (Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali) who were actively associated with the Khilafat issue. Unlike his political leaders of the time, he did not take active interest in the Reform proposals. But it was the British decision to pass 'Rowlatt Act' which forced him to plunge into national politics in a forceful manner. In 1917 the Government of India had appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Justice Sydney Rowlatt to investigate "revolutionary crime" in the country and to recommend legislation for its suppression. After a review of the situation, the Rowlatt committee proposed a series of changes in the machinery of law to enable the British government to deal effectively with the revolutionary activities. In the light of these recommendations the Government of India drafted two bills and presented them to the Imperial Legislative Council on 6 February 1919. The government maintained that the bills were 'temporary measures' which aimed at preventing 'seditious crimes'. The new bills attempted to make war-time restrictions permanent. They provided trial of offences by a special court consisting of three high court judges. There was no provision of appeal against the decision of this court which could meet in camera and take into consideration evidence not admissible under the Indian Evidence Act.

The bill also proposed to give authority to the government to search a place and arrest a person without a warrant. Detention without a trial for maximum period of two years was also provided in the bills. The bills were regarded by nationalist leaders as an effort to conciliate a section of official and nonofficial white opinion which had resented Montagu's Reform proposals. There was widespread condemnation of the bills in the whole country. Gandhi also launched his campaign against the bills. He said that the proposed powers were out of all proportion to the danger, particularly when the Viceroy possessed emergency powers of legislation by ordinance.

He also stated that they were instruments of distrust and repression, nullifying the proposed reforms. Moreover, he opposed not just the content of the bills, but also the manner in which they were foisted in the country without regard to public opinion. He formed a Satyagraha Sabha on 24th February 1919 in Bombay to protest against the Rowlatt Bills. Its members signed a pledge proclaiming their determination "to refuse civilly to obey these laws (i.e., the Rowlatt Bills) and such other laws as a committee hitherto appointed may think fit and we (members) further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

While launching the Satyagraha agitation against the Rowlatt bills Gandhi said: "It is my firm belief that we shall obtain salvation only through suffering and not by reforms dropping on us from the English—they use brute force, we soul force." Despite strong opposition in the whole country the government remained firm. The Council passed one of the bills, though all the nonofficial members voted against it. The Viceroy gave assent to the bill on March 21, 1919. A group of liberals like Sir D.E. Wacha, Surendranath Banerjee, T.B. Sapru and Srinivas Sastri opposed Gandhi's move of starting Satyagraha. Their reason for opposing the Satyagraha was that it would hamper the Reforms.

Some of them also felt that the ordinary citizen would find it difficult to civilly disobey the Act. Annie Besant also condemned the Satyagraha on the grounds that there was nothing in the Act to resist civilly, and that to break laws at the dictate of others was 'exceedingly dangerous. But the younger and radical elements of Annie Besant's Home Rule League supported Gandhi: They formed the main cadre of Satyagraha movement in different parts of the country. In organising this Satyagraha, Gandhi was also assisted by certain Pan-Islamic Leaders, particularly Abdul Bari of Firangi Mah. Ulema group at Lucknow, and some radical members of the Muslim League. M.A. Jinnah also opposed the Rowlatt Bill vehemently and warned the Government of the dangerous consequences if the government persisted in clamping on the people of India the "lawless law". Gandhi inaugurated his Satyagraha by calling upon the countrymen to observe a day of 'hartal' when business should be suspended and people should fast and pray as a protest against the Rowlatt Act.

The date for the 'hartal' was fixed for 30th March but it was changed to April 6th. The success of hartal varied considerably between regions and between towns and the countryside. In Delhi a hartal was observed on 30th March and ten people were killed in police firing. Almost in all major towns of the country, the hartal was observed on the 6th April and the people responded enthusiastically. Gandhi described the hartal a 'magnificent success. Gandhi intensified the agitation on 7th April by advising the satyagrahis to disobey the laws dealing with prohibited literature and the registration of newspapers. These particular laws were selected because disobedience was possible for an individual without leading to violence. Four books including Hind Swaraj of Gandhi, which were prohibited by Bombay Government in 1910 were chosen for sale as an action of defiance against the government. Gandhi left Bombay on the 8th to promote the Satyagraha agitation in Delhi and Punjab.

But, as his entry in Punjab was considered dangerous by the government, so Gandhi was removed from the train in which he was travelling at Palwal near Delhi and was taken back to Bombay. The news of Gandhi's arrest precipitated the crisis. The situation became tense in Bombay and violence broke out in Ahmedabad and Virangam. In Ahmedabad the government enforced martial law. The Punjab region as a whole and Amritsar, in particular, witnessed the worst scenes of violence. In Amritsar, the news of Gandhi's arrest coincided with the arrest of two local leaders Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal on 10th April. This led to mob violence and government buildings were set on fire, five Englishmen were murdered, and a woman, assaulted. The civil authority lost its control of the city.

On 13th April, General Dyer ordered his troops to fire on a peaceful unarmed crowd assembled at Jallianwala Bagh. Most of the people were not aware of the ban on meetings, and they were shot without the slightest warning by General Dyer who later on said that it was no longer a question of . merely dispersing the crowd, but one of 'producing a moral effect.' According to official figures. 379 persons were killed but the unofficial accounts gave much higher figures, almost three times of the official figures. The martial law was immediately enforced in Punjab also on the 13 April

Khilafat Movement

During the First World War, Turkey joined the central powers against Britain. The sympathy of Indian Muslims, who regarded the Sultan of Turkey as their spiritual leader or Khalifa, was naturally with Turkey. After the war with defeat of Turkey, the Allied powers removed the Khalifa from power in Turkey which aggrieved the Indian Muslims against the British Government. Hence the Muslims started the Khilafat movement in India for the resumption of Khalifa's position.

A Khilafat Committee was formed under the leadership of Mahammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Maulana Azad and Hasrat Mohini to organise a country-wide agitation. The main object

of Khilafat Movement was to force the British Government to change its attitude towards Turkey and to restore the Sultan. October 17, 1919 was observed as Khilafat Day, when the Hindus alongwith Muslims in fasting observed hartal on that day. An All India Khilafat Conference was held at Delhi on November 23, 1919 with Gandhi as its president. The Conference resolved to withdraw all cooperation from the Government, if the Khalifat demands were not met. Congress leaders, like Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, viewed the Khalifat Movement as an opportunity to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity against British. A joint Hindu- Muslim deputation met the Viceroy on the Khalifat issue, but it failed to yeild any result.

The central Khalifat Commettee met at Allahabad from 1st to 3rd June, 1920 which was attended by a number of congress leaders. In this meeting a programme of Non-Cooperation towards the Government was declared. It was to include boycott of titles, can offered by the Government, boycott of civil services, army and police and non-payment of taxes to the Government. Gandhi insisted that unless the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were undone, there was to be non-cooperation with the Government

Non-Cooperation Movement

Non-Cooperation was a movement of passive resistance against British rule, which was initiated by Mahatma Gandhi. To resist the dominance of the British Government and advance the Indian nationalist cause, the non-cooperation movement was a non-violent movement that prevailed nationwide by Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This movement took place from September 1920 to February 1922 and initiated Gandhi era in the Independence Movement of India. The Rowlatt Act, Jaliwanwala Bagh massacre and Martial Law in Punjab caused the native people not to trust the British Government anymore. The Montagu- Chelmsford Report with its diarchy could satisfy a few only. Until then Gandhi believed the justice and fair-play of the British Government, but after this incidences he felt that Non-cooperation with the Government in a non-violent way must be started. In the meantime the Muslims in India also revolted against the harsh terms of the Treaty of severes between Allies and Turkey and they started Khilafat movement.

Gandhi also decided to stand beside them. Gandhiji's idea of winning over Muslim support also helped in Non-Cooperation Movement of India. Gandhi had given a notice to the Viceroy in his letter of 22nd June in which he had affirmed the right recognized `from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules`. After the notice had expired the Non-Cooperation movement was launched formally on 1st August of 1920. At the Calcutta Session on September, 1920 the program of the movement was stated. The programs of Non-cooperation involved the surrender of titles and offices and resignation from the nominated posts in the government body. It included not attending Government duties,

Durbars and other functions, withdrawing children from government schools and colleges and establishment of national schools and colleges. The people of India were instructed to boycott the British courts and establish the private judicial courts. The Indians should use Swadeshi cloth and boycott the foreign clothes and other things. Gandhiji strictly advised the Non-Cooperators to observe truth and non-violence. The decision taken in Calcutta Session was supported in the Nagpur Session of the Congress on December; 1920.

The decision was also taken for the betterment of the party organization. Any adult man or woman could take Congress membership for 4 annas as subscription. This adoption of new rules gave a new energy to the Non-Cooperation movement and from January of 1921 the movement gained a new momentum. Gandhi along with Ali Brothers went to a nationwide tour during which he addressed the Indians in hundreds of meetings. In the first month of the movement, about nine thousand students left schools and colleges and joined the national institutions. During this period about eight hundred national institutions were established all over the country.

The educational boycott was most successful in Bengal under the leadership of Chitta Ranjan Das and Subhas Chandra Bose. In Punjab also the educational boycott was extensive under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai. The other active areas were Bombay, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Uttar Pradesh. The movement also affected Madras. The boycott of lawcourts by the lawyers was not as successful as the educational boycott was. The leading lawyers like, Motilal Nehru, CR Das, Mr Jayakar, V Patel, Asaf Ali Khan, S Kitchlew and many others gave up their lucrative practices and many followed their path inspired by their sacrifice. Bengal again led in this matter and Andhra, UP, Karnataka and Punjab followed the state.

However the most successful item of the Non-Cooperation was the boycott of foreign clothes. It took such an extensive form that value of import of the foreign clothes reduced from hundred and two crores in 1920-21 to fifty-seven crores in 1921-22. Although some of the veteran political leaders like the Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant opposed Gandhiji's plan but the younger generation supported him fully. Muslim leaders like Maulana Azad, Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Abbas Tyabji, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali also supported him. In the month of July 1921, the Government had to face a new challenge. Mohammad Ali and other leaders believed that it was `religiously unlawful for the Muslims to continue in the British army` and they were arrested for their view. Gandhi and other Congress leaders supported Mahammad Ali and issued a manifesto.

The next dramatic event was visit of Prince of Wales on 17th November, 1921. The day on which Prince boarded on Bombay Port the day was observed as a `Hartal Divas` all

over India. The Prince was greeted with empty streets and closed shops wherever he went. The Non-Cooperators gained more and more energy at their success and became more aggressive. The congress volunteer corps turned into a powerful parallel police. They used to march in formation and dressed in uniform. Congress had already granted permission to the Provincial Congress Committees to sanction total disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The Non-Co operational movement had other effects also which are not very direct.

In UP it became difficult to distinguish between a Non Co operational meeting and a peasant meeting. In Malabar and Kerala the Muslim tenants roused against their landlords. In Assam the labors of tea-plantation went with strike. In Punjab the Akali Movement was considered as a part of Non-Cooperation movement. The Non-Cooperation movement particularly strengthened in Bengal. The movement was not only seen in Kolkata but it also agitated the rural Bengal and an elemental awakening was observed. The movement reached a climax after the Gurkha assault on coolies on the river port of Chandpur (20-21st May). The whole Eastern Bengal was under the lash of the movement under the leadership of JM Sengupta. The other example was the Anti-Union Board agitation in Midnapur led by Birendranath Sashmal. As the Non-Cooperation movement proceeded the woman of India, especially from Bengal wanted to take active part in the protest movement.

The women nationalists were assembled under the Mahila Karma Samaj or the Ladies organization Board of the Pradesh Congress Committee of Bengal. The ladies members of that organization arranged meeting and circularized the spirit of Non-Cooperation. Women volunteers were enlisted to take part in the movement. The ladies from many respected families led them. CR Das's wife Basanti Devi and sister Urmila Devi, JM Sengupta's wife Nellie Sengupta, Mohini Devi, Labanya Prabha Chanda played significant role in this movement. Picketing of foreign wine and cloth shops and selling of Khaddar in the streets were the point of attention of this movement. The Government proclaimed Sections 108 and 144 of the code of criminal procedure at various centers of agitation. The Congress Volunteer Corpse was declared illegal. By December 1921 More than thirty thousand people were arrested from all over the India. Except Gandhiji, most of the prominent leaders were inside jail. In mid-December Malaviya initiated a negotiation, which was futile. The conditions were like that it offered sacrifice of Khilafat leaders, which Gandhiji could never accept. At that time Gandhiji was also under a pressure from the higher leaders of Congress to start the mass civil disobedience. Gandhiji gave an ultimatum to the Government but the British Government paid no attention to it.

In response, Gandhiji initiated a civil disobedience movement in Bardoli Taluqa of Surat district of Gujrat. Unfortunately at this time the **tragedy of Chauri Chaura** occurred that change the course of the movement, where a mob of three thousand people

killed twenty-five policemen and one inspector. Gandhi was in support of complete nonviolence and this incident was too much for him to bear. He ordered to suspend the movement at once. Thus, on February 12th, 1922 the Non-Cooperation movement totally stopped. There were limitations in achievements of Non-Cooperation Movement as it apparently failed to achieve its object of securing the Khilafat and changing the misdeeds of Punjab. The Swaraj could not be achieved in a year as it was promised. The retreat of the February 1922 was only temporary. The movement slowed down gradually. The part of Battle was over but the war continued.

Swaraj Party

Swaraj Party was established to fight the mighty force of British head-on. Mahatma Gandhi was released from jail in 1924. He and his close followers, such as Chakravarti Rajagopalachari and Rajendra Prasad, occupied themselves with the constructive programme, such as hand-spinning on the charkha, uplift of the harijans or members of the depressed class. But not all the congressmen were willing to abandon political action. In 1922 a group had formed around Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das that wished to enter the government's legislative councils and wreck them from within.

They were opposed by the 'no-changers' who insisted that the 1920 programme, which called for the boycott of council elections, should not be altered. At the Gaya congress in December 1922, matters came to a head. The 'no-changers' prevailed, but early the next year the 'pro-changers' formed their own party. This party was at first known as the congress-Khilafat Swaraj Party and later simply the swarajya or swaraj party. The new councils were inaugurated in 1921. The non-congress parties which had entered them had not been successful in influencing government policy. And eventually diarchy proved to be a failure. Provincial minister could not act effectively even in 'transferred' subjects because the new safeguards made the governors more autocratic even than before. Only the Montford reform showed that the British were still unwilling to grant responsible government.

Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru decided that the way to combat this situation was to enter the provincial legislative councils. Central legislative assembly carries out a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction, with a view to make government through the assembly and councils impossible would force the British to grant real reforms. In a special session of congress held in Delhi in September 1923, a compromise between no-changers and pro-changers was reached. The former would continue with the constructive programme, whereas the latter could contest the upcoming elections. Gandhiji gave his blessings to this arrangement. Although they had little time for campaigning, the swarajists did well in the elections. They became the largest party in the central assembly and the dominant party in two provinces.

For the next few years swarajist politicians obstructed official business in the assembly and the councils as well. But there were positive gains too. In 1925 the swarajist leader Vithalbhai Patel was elected president of the central legislative assembly. C. R. Das, who had refused to form a ministry in Bengal, was elected mayor of Calcutta (now Kolkata). In this position `Deshbandhu` did much valuable service for his countrymen. The tragic death of C. R. Das in 1925 removed a great patriot from the scene at a critical moment. The Swaraj Party, which had already begun to break up, disintegrated quickly.

As usual, the people of discord were religion. Communal minded Muslims isolated themselves, while the so-called social activist began to cooperate with the government with a desire to safeguard Hindu interests. By March end the swarajists day in the sun had ended. Block in their attempt to effect change; they walked out of the legislative assembly. It has become a history in and out of India.

Gandhian Constructive Programmes

Mahatma Gandhi was the modern emancipator of caste system of Hindu society. In his writings in `Young India` and `Harijan` stressed on the problems of untouchability and its removal from its roots. To him, Bhagavad-Gita has never taught that a Chandal was in any inferior than a Brahmin. According to Mahatma Gandhi, the Hindu scripture like Upanishad, Bhagavat Gita, Smritis and other writings were not consistent with truth and Non-violence or other fundamental and universal principle of ethics. We are all the songs of same God.

To him, there was only one Varna in India i.e. the Shudras. He desired that all the Hindus voluntarily call themselves Shudras. Gandhi called them (untouchables) as `Harijans` which literally meaning is son of the God. For the upliftment of Harijans he founded the "Harijan Sevak Sangh". To abolish the disparities between caste Hindus and untouchables was its main function. The Sangh is truly based on welfare of the society. Gandhi experienced social discrimination for the first time when he was in South Africa where he engaged himself against the discriminatory attitude of the South African Government against Indians. The problems were akin to that of untouchability as migrants were treated as inferior to the local population which enjoyed numerous basic rights legally not available to Indians. It was then that Gandhi realized the extent of the impact of social discrimination on the underprivileged sections of the society including untouchables. He thought it was necessary to reconstruct the life of the nation. This was only possible through alleviating the social status of untouchables. He always considered untouchability as a cruel and inhuman institution.

It violated human dignity. He did not believe that the imperial ambitions of Britain were alone responsible for our slavery but it was the negligence of our national duty which was primarily responsible for it. As he always thought untouchability an evil in Hinduism, he had no hesitation in Hinduism itself. Removal of untouchability was the responsibility of the caste-Hindus towards Hinduism. Gandhi called upon the Harijans to magnify their own faults so that they looked as big as mountains and they make regular attempts to overcome them.

He said to untouchables, "Never believe that since others have the same faults we need not mind our own. No matter what others do, it is your dharma to overcome the feelings which you find in yourselves." In the process of regeneration of the nation, Gandhi waged an incessant war. He said, "If we are children of the same God how can there be any rank among us." According to him, there was only one Varna, in India, the Sudras. He desired that all the Hindus voluntarily call themselves Sudras.

He criticized those who would claim superiority over fellowmen. He thought there was no such thing as inherited superiority. He was happy and felt satisfied to call himself a scavenger, a spinner, a weaver, and a laborer. He was troubled to see the appalling plight of untouchables in different regions of the country. Its eradication greatly agitated his mind and he devised ways and means from time to time, through his speeches and writings.

Gandhi called Harijans as men of God and felt that all the religions of the world consider God pre-eminently as the Friend of the Friendless, Help of the Helpless, and Protector of the Weak. He questioned that in India who could be more friendless, helpless, or weaker than the 40 million or more Hindus of India who were classified as "untouchables."

Therefore, if there were people who could be fitly described as men of God, they were surely these helpless, friendless, and despised people. He said that if India became free with untouchability intact, the untouchables would become worse under that Swaraj than they were before the freedom for the simple reason that the weakness and failings would then be buttressed up by the accession of power.

Mahatma Gandhi used newspapers including Harijan and Young India to propagate his anti-untouchability views. In his writings he stressed the problem of untouchability and its removal from its roots. He felt that Hinduism, in reality, did not permit untouchability. The Bhagavad Gita never taught that an untouchable was in any way inferior to a Brahman. A Brahman was no more a Brahman, once he became insolvent and considered himself, a superior being. Gandhi felt that untouchability would not be removed by the force of even law. It could only be removed, when the majority of Hindus felt that it was a crime against God and man and were ashamed of it. The aid of law had to be invoked when it came in the way of reform, i.e., opening of a temple. He

described the social position of untouchables as follows: "Socially they are lepers. Economically they are worse than slaves. Religiously they are denied entrance to places we miscall 'houses of God'".

Gandhi never stopped fighting against untouchability. He considered it a blot on Hinduism. He said that a religion that established the worship of the cow could not in all probability countenance or warrant a cruel and inhuman boycott of human beings. Hindus would never deserve freedom, nor get it if they allowed their noble religion to be disgraced by the retention of the taint of untouchability. He found Harijan Sevak Sangh in 1932. G.D. Birla was its president and Thakkar Bapa its Secretary. He always preached among the Harijans, the importance of cleanliness, abstention from carrion-eating and intoxicating drinks and drugs, requirement of taking education themselves and giving it to their children, also abstention from eating the leftovers from caste Hindus' plates. Gandhi, therefore, was concerned with the issues of Dalits no less than any other leader. His heart went out to them and he worked very hard and sincerely for their upliftment. The fact that he had many other tasks on hand did not stop him from taking up their cause and he devoted considerable time and energy to bring an end to untouchability.

Working class movements

In spite of the obstacles, the Communist Movement gained momentum. In 1927 in Bombay and the Punjab the Workers' and Peasants' parties were formed. These parties attempted to propagate their ideology and programme through the use of press: The Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party brought out a Marathi weekly, entitled Kranti (Revolution). The Punjab Workers' and Peasants' Party brought out an Urdu weekly, called Mihnatkash (Worker). A Workers' and Peasants' party was also formed at Meerut in a conference, held in October 1928. This conference was attended by the British Communist, Philip Spratt. The conference passed resolutions, demanding: national independence, abolition of princely order, recognition of workers' right to form trade unions, abolition of Zamindari, land for the landless peasants, establishment of agricultural banks, eight-hour working day, and minimum wages for industrial workers. In December 1928, an all-India conference of workers' and peasants' parties was held at Calcutta under the president Sohan Singh Josh. Here three major decisions were taken:

- i) This Conference formed an Executive Committee, comprising leading Communists.
- ii) The Conference emphasized the international character of the Communist movement and the need for the Communist Party of India to affiliate with the Communist International. This Conference asked the Communists to carry on their movement independently instead of identifying themselves with "the so-called bourgeois

leadership of the Congress" In the meantime the Communist influence over the Trade Union Organisations by leading the strikes. The Communists played a prominent role in the Railway Workshop strikes of February and September 1927 at Kharagpur. Their influence spread over the Bombay Textile Mill workers. From April to October 1928 the workers of Bombay carried on massive strikes, protesting against the wage-cut strikes, the Communist Girni Kamgar Union played the most prominent role. As a tremendous increase in the strength of this Trade Union in 1928. By December its strength went up to 54,000 members, while the Bombay Textile Labour by the veteran liberal trade unionist N.M. Joshi had only 6,749 members. The strikes in industries assuming proportions in 1928. During that year 31.5 million working days were lost of the strikes. The Government held the Communists responsible in industries. The Government, therefore, planned measures for curbing them. In January 1929, the Viceroy Lord Irwin declared in his speech before the Central Legislative Assembly: "The disquieting spread of Communist doctrines causing anxiety". On 13 April 1929 the Viceroy proclaimed the ordinance for the purpose of deporting the subversive elements. Simultaneously the Trade Disputes Act was passed. This Act introduced tribunals for settling workers' problems and practically banned such strikes which "coerced" or caused hardship to the people. A few individuals being moved by the miserable condition of the workers tried to improve their working conditions. For example in Bengal Sasipada Bandyopadhyay, a radical Brahmo, founded the working men's club. He also published a journal, the Bharat Sramjibi (Indian worker) in 1874, and organised night schools to spread education among the jute mill workers. But he did not form a trade union. Similarly in Bombay, N.M. Lokhande, started the weekly Dinabandhu in 1880 and founded the Bombay Mill-Hands Association in 1890

This Association, though not a trade union, put forward the demands of : reduction in working hours, a weekly holiday and, compensation for injuries suffered by the workers during work at the factories. J. B.P. Wadia, a close associate of Annie Besant formed the Madras Labour Union in April, 1918. This was the first trade union in India. In Ahmedabad, a centre of cotton textile industry, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi led a strike of the workers in 1918. Referring to the conditions of the worker Gandhi wrote in his autobiography (The Story of My Experiments with Truth) that "wages were low, and the labourers had long been agitating for an increment". Gandhi requested the mill-owners to refer the matter to arbitration but they refused. Gandhi then advised the labourers to go on a strike. The strike continued for 21 days. Gandhi began a fast but, after three days a settlement was reached. In 1920 Gandhi formed the Majur Mahajan which advocated peaceful relations between the workers and their employers, arbitration and social service. Trade unionism was slowly gaining ground through the efforts mentioned above. In 1919-20 there was a wave of strikes in many industrial centres such as Kanpur, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Jamshedpur and Ahmedabad. Thousands of workers took part in these strikes. It was against this background that

the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was formed in Bombay in 1920. Lala Lajpat Rai presided over the inaugural session which was attended by prominent nationalist leaders and trade unionists like Motilal Nehru, Annie Besant, C.F. Andrews, B.P. Wadia and N.M. Joshi. The All India Trade Union Congress was the central organisation of the Indian workers. Although strikes became frequent in the 1920s, growth of trade unionism among the workers was slow. The Royal Commission on Labour gives two reasons for it: i) Differences of language and community were factors that stood in the way of workers' unity. In the Bengal Jute mills, for instance, the majority of the workers came from Bihar and U.P.; and Bengali workers were in a minority. ii) The jobbers and the employers were opposed to the growth of trade unions. In 1929, only 51 unions with 190,436 members were affiliated to AITUC. But the majority of the workers were not yet organized in trade unions. The fear of dismissal from jobs also kept the workers away from the trade unions.

Simon Commission

The Indian Statutory Commission was a group of seven British Members of Parliament that had been dispatched to India in 1927 to study constitutional reform. The Commission was named Simon Commission, following the name of the chairperson of the Commission Sir John Simon. The Government of India Act 1919 had introduced the system of dyarchy to govern the provinces of British India. However, the Indian public demanded for revision of the difficult dyarchy form of government. Moreover the Government of India Act 1919 itself stated that a commission would be appointed after ten years to investigate the progress of the governance scheme and suggest new steps for reform. In the late 1920, the Conservative government, which was in power in Britain feared imminent electoral defeat at the hands of the Labour Party. They also feared the effects of the consequent transference of control of India to such an inexperienced body. Hence, in November of 1927, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin appointed seven MPs (including Chairman Simon) to constitute the commission. The Simon Commission of 1919 was entrusted with the charge to look into the state of Indian constitutional affairs. The growth of the education and the development of the representative institution in British India were the significant responsibilities vested with the Simon commission. The Simon commission was to give report as to whether or what extent the principle of responsible government could be established in India. The Simon commission was also asked to enquire the fact that how far it was desirable to establish Second Chambers of the local legislature. During the enquiry, the Simon commissions did not however taken into accounts the relation of the British Government with the Indian states and found the British Government extremely constitutional.

The Simon Commission created extreme dissatisfaction throughout the whole India. This was so because no Indian Members were included in the Commission. The Simon Commission was an all-White Composition. Lords Birkenhead justified the exclusion of the Indians members from the Simon Commission. He opined that since the Commission was composed by the Parliament, it was necessary that the members of the Commission should be from the parliament. The Simon Commission created enough disaffection all over the country and everywhere it was hailed with black flags. A general hartal was observed throughout the Country on the day the commission landed in India. In such circumstance, the Central Assembly was invited to form a joint Committee to co-operate with the commission. But however it refused to do so. As a whole, Simon Commission in India was a complete failure.

The Nehru Report

It had the primary motive of assigning Dominion status to India within the British Commonwealth.

The major components of the Nehru Report are:

1. Bill of Rights
2. Assigning Equal rights to men and women as citizens
3. Formation of a federal form of government with residuary powers in the hands of Centre
4. Proposal for the creation of Supreme Court

Background

- When the Simon Commission came to India in 1928, it was vehemently opposed by Indians especially the Congress Party for the lack of a single Indian in the Commission.
- So, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead challenged the Indian leaders to draft a constitution for India, implicitly implying that Indians were not capable of finding a common path and drafting a constitution.
- The political leaders accepted this challenge and an All Party Conference was held and a committee appointed with the task of drafting a constitution.
- This committee was headed by Motilal Nehru with Jawaharlal Nehru as the Secretary. Other members were Ali Imam, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mangal Singh, M S Aney, Subhas Chandra Bose, Shuaib Qureshi and G R Pradhan.
- The draft constitution prepared by the committee was called the Nehru Committee Report or Nehru Report. The report was submitted at the Lucknow session of the all-party conference on August 28, 1928.
- This was the first major attempt by Indians to draft a constitution for themselves.

Read about Indian National Congress Sessions & their Presidents in the linked article.

Recommendations of the report

- Dominion status for India (like Canada, Australia, etc.) within the British Commonwealth. (This point was a bone of contention with the younger set of leaders including Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose who favoured complete independence.)
- Nineteen fundamental rights including the right to vote for men and women above 21 years of age, unless disqualified.
- Equal rights for men and women as citizens.
- No state religion.
- No separate electorates for any community. It did provide for reservation of minority seats. It provided for reservation for seats for Muslims at the centre and in provinces where they were in a minority and not in Bengal and Punjab. Similarly, it provided for reservation for non-Muslims in the NWFP.
- A federal form of government with residual powers with the centre. There would be a bicameral legislature at the centre. The ministry would be responsible to the legislature.
- Governor-General to be the constitutional head of India. He would be appointed by the British monarch.
- A proposal for the creation of a Supreme Court.
- The provinces would be created along linguistic lines.
- The language of the country would be Indian, written either in Devanagari (Sanskrit/Hindi), Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Bengali, Marathi or Gujarati in character. Usage of English to be permitted.

Working Class Movement and the Formation of AITUC

The trade union movement in India forms a study of the working class, their demands, response of their owners and redressal measures of the government. In spite of the drain of wealth from India and British apathetic attitude, the factories grew on this soil. The cotton mills in Bombay, the jute mills and tea industry grew up. The poor Indian mass got employment in these factories as workers. Low wages, long working hours, unhygienic conditions, exploitation at the hands of native and foreign capitalists made their condition more miserable.

The first Factory Act of 1881 and the Acts of 1891, 1909, 1911 etc. could not end the plights of the working class people. The Russian Revolution of 1917 exerted tremendous influence over the working class people of the world. By the efforts of the leaders like N.M. Joshi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Joseph, the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was established in 1920. Nationalist leaders like C.R. Das and V. V. Giri also joined their hands with this union.

With the emergence of socialistic and communist ideas, the left wing within the Indian National Congress became active and leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also presided over the sessions of AITUC. With the recognition of the trade unions by the Trade Union Act of 1926, the trade union movements in India gained momentum. The fourth Congress of the Communist International sent a message to the AITUC to overthrow capitalism and imperialism. The left wing within the AITUC also became very active. The revolutionary of Muscovite group wanted to affiliate the AITUC with the Red Labour Union framed at Moscow. In the power struggle, the liberal leader N.M. Joshi left the AITUC and formed another organisation named 'Indian Trade Union Federation'. Under the Leftist direction, the AITUC launched vigorous programmes against the capitalist class. It foreshadowed a socialist State in India with socialisation and nationalisation of the means of production.

It organised meetings for protecting the freedom of speech, association, participation in national struggle etc. The Communist Party also flared up the flame. Though the government passed several Acts to satisfy the workers, still they carried on their programmes of strike and protest. The trade union activities were so rampant that in 1928 Viceroy Lord Irwin arrested the prominent leaders and brought them to Meerut for trial. After trial, S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Joglekar, Spratt etc. were given transportation or rigorous imprisonment. It aroused worldwide sympathy for the union leaders. However, it hurled a terrible blow on the trade union activities in India.

Now the Leftists and Rightists joined their hands and defended the case. During the Non-Cooperation Movement, the British Government suppressed the trade union leaders with iron hand. The Socialist Party formed in 1934 wanted to cement coherence between the moderate and the radical trade unions. During the popular governments between 1937-1938 the trade unions increased to 296. During Quit India Movement, the Trade Union Movement went on as usual. The nationalist leaders failed to capture the AITUC but the Communists had their hold over it. After independence, the trade unions are performing their rule as usual.

Trade union movements

Particularly the WPP [Workers and peasants party] of Bombay was successful in mobilising trade union work. It built unions amongst printing press, municipal and dock workers. It gained influence amongst the workers of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. During 1928 the WPP led a general strike in Bombay, which lasted for months. At the time of the strike, the Girni Kamgar Union was founded. Anti-Simon struggle During the protests against the Simon Commission, the WPP played a major role in organising manifestations in Calcutta and Bombay. In Bombay it also mobilised 'hartal' (general strike) in protest against the Simon Commission

.1928 Bengal party conference

The WPP of Bengal held its third conference in Bhatpara, in March 1928. After the conference the executive of the party published the conference documents in a book titled *A Call for Action*. In the book an argument is presented that national independence was not possible as long as capitalists dominated the freedom struggle. British intelligence sources claimed that Philip Spratt had been the author of the book.

Formation of WPPs in Punjab and UP

At a conference in Lyallpur in September 1928 the Punjab Kirti Kisan Party (Workers and Peasants Party of Punjab) was formed by the *Kirti* group. Chabil Das, a Lahore propagandist of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, was elected president of the party. In October 1928 two WPPs were formed in the United Provinces. One of them was the Bundelkhand Workers and Peasants Party, with N.L. Kadam as its secretary and headquartered in Jhansi. The party held its founding conference in Jhansi on October 28-October 29, 1928. Jhavwala from Bombay presided over the conference. The other was the U.P. Peasants and Workers Party which was founded at a conference in Meerut. P.C. Joshi was elected president and Dharamvir Singh was elected general secretary. The Meerut conference was attended by Philip Spratt, Muzaffar Ahmed and Kedar Nath Sahgol.

All India WPP conference

In late November 1928 the WPP of Bengal executive committee met with Philip Spratt and Muzaffar Ahmed. They decided to appoint Sohan Singh Josh of the Punjab Kirti Kisan Party to chair the All India Workers and Peasants Conference, to be held in Calcutta in December. The provincial WPPs attended All India Workers and Peasants Conference in Calcutta on December 22-December 24, 1928, at which the All India Workers and Peasants Party was formed. A 16-member national executive was elected. The Bengal, Bombay, Punjab and United Provinces were allocated four seats each in the national executive. Out of these 16, ten were either identified as CPI members or as 'communists'. R.S. Nimbkar was the general secretary of the party. The conference discussed an affiliation of the party with the League against Imperialism. Spratt and Ahmed urged the conference to approve the affiliation of the party to the League. The conference decision to postpone a decision on the issue to a later occasion.

Meerut Conspiracy case

On March 20, 1929, arrests against WPP, CPI and other labour leaders were made in several parts of India, in what became known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Most of the WPP leadership was now put behind bars. The trial proceedings were to last for four years, thus outliving the WPP. Tengdi, the WPP of Bombay president, died whilst the trial was still going on. S.S. Mirajkar stated in his defense that: "It has already been pointed out to the Court that the Workers' and Peasants' Party was a party inaugurated with a view to establish national independence through revolution." Abdul Majid on his behalf stated that: "If there is any resemblance between the Communist Party and the Workers' and Peasants' Party is that the immediate programme of the former and the ultimate programme of the latter is one and the same ... As both are revolutionary bodies it is necessary that their national revolutionary programme should resemble each other."

REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISTS

BHAGAT SINGH

The name Bhagat Singh has become a synonym of revolution. He was one of the great revolutionaries who made supreme sacrifice for the nation. Thousands of young people sacrificed their lives in the altar of India's liberation struggle but the name Bhagat Singh has a special place in the history of our independence. No other young revolutionary of India got much empathy in the minds of the people of India like Bhagat Singh. Still he is an inspiration source for the patriotic people of our motherland. It is important today to study the contributions of Bhagat Singh and his comrades when our country is again falling under the grip of imperialism and its designs.

Unfortunately Bhagat Singh did not have much place in the history textbooks. There was a concerted effort to underestimate the contributions of revolutionaries who sacrificed everything for the liberation of our motherland. Bhagat Singh came from a family of patriots and freedom fighters. His uncle, Ajit Singh was a pioneer in opposing the Colonization Act 1905 and had to remain in exile till the country gained independence. His father also was an active participant in the struggle for the liberation of the country from the colonial rule. While as a student Bhagat Singh came under the influence of the revolutionaries. The October revolution led by Lenin attracted Bhagat Singh and he started to collect and read the literatures about socialism and socialist revolution. The years of the twenties in general and those of 1928-30 in particular were of great significance in the history of India's freedom struggle.

Due to the failure of first non-cooperation movement, the revolutionaries of that period were frustrated and started to think about some alternative action plan. The formation of

the Hindustan Republican Association, the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha (All India Youth League) all happened during this period. Bhagat Singh and his comrades were imbued with the ideas of revolution and socialism. The manifesto of HRA says "The immediate object of the revolutionary party in the domain of politics is to establish a federal republic of the United States of India by an organized and armed revolution. The basic principle of this republic shall be universal suffrage and the abolition of all system, which makes the exploitation of man by man possible. In this republic the electors shall have the right to recall their representatives if so desired, otherwise the democracy shall be a mockery". India could not think about such ideas even after sixty years of independence! The protest against the visit of Simon Commission turned into violence. Lala Lajpat Rai died due to police lathi charge. The country witnessed unprecedented protest rallies. Bhagat Singh and his associates threw bombs in Central Assembly. A few days' later bombs exploded in the Central Assembly they were arrested. The trial began in 1929 July. The farcical trial ended in October 1930 awarded death sentence to Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev.

The charge was conspiracy to overthrow the British rule and murder of a British official. They accepted the verdict with raising slogans. A few days before the execution Bhagat Singh wrote a letter to the British authorities demanding that as he and his two condemned comrades were prisoners of war, they should not be hanged but that the sentence should be executed by a firing squad of the British army. This was the unconquerable spirit and stuff of which Bhagat Singh was made. The conduct of Bhagat Singh and his comrades during their historic trial at Lahore created new precedents of revolutionary behaviour. They were making use of the British courts as a forum to address the people, broadcast their revolutionary views and ideology.

This was something different from the nationalist tradition set by Mahatma Gandhi. They appeared everyday in the nationalist press and every activity of theirs was watched by lakhs of people. Their revolutionary declarations were also denied publicly but this did not restrain them. Intent upon every aspect of British Court, justice and jail administration, they fought against every humiliating restriction, every discriminatory rule and demanded proper status for freedom fighters in jail. They refused to be treated as common criminals and demanded treatment in consonance with dignity and prestige of the freedom struggle. During the trial days Bhagat Singh and his comrades were asked to refrain from raising revolutionary slogans in the court. But they continued to shout 'Inqilab Zindabad'. They were beaten and handcuffed in the court; they were assaulted with lathis till they bled profusely and fell unconscious.

Bhagat Singh and his comrades succeeded in completely exposing the anti-Indian and arbitrary character of British justice in India and the barbarities of the British Indian jails. This was the aim of their fight for which they prepared to undergo all the tortures. They turned their trial into a public trial of the British government. In a joint

statement before the trial court, Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutt explained why they threw the bombs in the Central Assembly. They said their purpose was not to harm anyone but to expose the dependent character of the Legislative assembly which was being paraded by the British as a Parliament create the belief that India was being democratically governed.

The statement further says 'A radical change, therefore, is necessary and it is the duty of those who realize this to reorganize society on a socialistic basis. Unless this thing is done and exploitation of man by man and nation by nations is brought to an end, sufferings and carnage with which humanity is threatened cannot be prevented. All talk of ending war and ushering in an era of universal peace is undisguised hypocrisy'. In the statement they explained about their concept about revolution.

They said that "By revolution, we mean the ultimate establishment of an order of the society which may not be threatened by such breakdown and in which the sovereignty of the proletariat should be recognized and a world federation should redeem humanity from the bondage of capitalism and the misery of imperial wars" Bhagat Singh symbolized his struggle in the slogan he raised after he threw a bomb in the Legislative Assembly of Delhi- "Long Live revolution" (Inquilab Zindabad), a slogan totally unfamiliar at that time to the Indian people.

Bhagat Singh was not content with slogans. He embodied the indomitable courage, the death-defying spirit, the capacity to sacrifice everything and unflinching courage in the face of torture. In 1930 July Bhagat Singh told some of his fellow comrades in jail said, "This is the highest award for patriotism and I am proud that I am going to get it. They think that by destroying my terrestrial body they will be safe in this country. They are wrong. They may kill me, but they cannot kill my ideas. They can crush my body, but they will not be able to crush my spirit. My ideas will haunt the British like a curse till they are forced to run away from here. But this is one side of the picture. The other side is equally bright. Bhagat Singh dead will be more dangerous to the British enslavers than Bhagat Singh alive.

After I am hanged, the fragrances of my revolutionary ideas will permeate the atmosphere of this beautiful land of ours. It will intoxicate the youth and make him mad for freedom and revolution and that will bring the doom of the British imperialist nearer. This is my firm conviction. I am anxiously waiting for the day when I will receive the highest award for my services to the country and my love for my people". Now this is the duty of the present day youth to fulfill the dreams and aspirations of Shaheed-e-Azam Bhagat Singh by organizing revolutionary movement against neo imperialism and neo colonialism. In this context the three slogans rose by Bhagat Singh and his comrades Long live revolution, long live proletariat and own with imperialism - are still relevant.

Surya Sen (1894-1934)

Surya Sen (March 22, 1894 – January 12, 1934) (also known as Masterda Surya Sen) was a prominent Bengali freedom fighter, an Indian independence activist and the chief architect of anti-British freedom movement in Chittagong, Bengal (now in Bangladesh). He was born on 22 March 1894 in Chittagong district now in Bangladesh. He participated in nationwide non-cooperation movement as a revolutionary. He was arrested in February 1933 by British and was hanged on 12 January 1934. The Government of India released a commemorative stamp on him in 1977. Bangladesh issued a commemorative stamp on him in 1999.

Early life

His father's name was Ramaniranjan. A resident of Noapara in Chittagong, he was a teacher by profession. He was initiated into revolutionary ideas in 1916 by one of his teachers while he was a student of Intermediate Class in the Chittagong College and joined the renowned revolutionary group Anushilan. But when he went to Behrampur College for BA course, came to know about Jugantar and became more inspired with their ideas. On his return to Chittagong in 1918, he organized Jugantar there.

All revolutionary groups were using Indian National Congress as a umbrella to work. Consequently in 1929, Surya Sen became the president of the Chittagong district committee of the Indian National Congress. He continued to organize the hardline patriotic organisations and first became a teacher of the National school in Nandankanan and then joined the Umatara School at Chandanpura. Hence, he was known as Mastarda (teacher brother). By 1923 Surya Sen spread the revolutionary organization in different parts of Chittagong district. Aware of the limited equipment and other resources of the freedom fighters, he was convinced of the need for secret guerrilla warfare against the colonial Government. One of his early successful undertakings was a broad day robbery at the treasury office of the Bengal Assam Railway at Chittagong on December 23, 1923.

Chittagong armoury raid and its aftermath.

His major success in the anti-British revolutionary violence was the Chittagong Armoury Raid on April 18, 1930. Subsequent to the raid, he marched to the Jalalabad hills along with his fellow revolutionaries. After the battle with the British troops on April 22, he escaped from there. Surya Sen, being constantly followed up by the police, had to hide at the house of Sabitri Devi, a widow, near Patiya. A police and military force under Captain Cameron surrounded the house on 13 June 1932. Cameron was shot dead while ascending the staircase and Surya Sen along

with Pritilata Waddedar and Kalpana Datta escaped to safety. Surya Sen was always in hiding, moving from one place to another. Sometimes he used to take a job as a workman; sometimes he would take a job as a farmer, or milkman, or priest, houseworker or even as a pious Muslim.

This is how he used to avoid being captured. Either because of money, or out of jealousy, or because of both, Netra Sen told the British Government that Surya Sen was at his house. As a result, the police came and captured him on February 16, 1933. This is how India's supreme hero was arrested. But before Netra Sen was able to get his 10,000-rupee reward he was killed by the revolutionaries. This is how it happened. Netra Sen's wife was all for Surya Sen, and she was horrified by her husband's deed. She felt mortified by her husband's betrayal of Surya Sen. One evening she was serving her husband food when a great admirer of Surya Sen came into the house. He was carrying a very big knife, which is called a "daa".

With one stroke of the daa he chopped off the head of Netra Sen in the presence of his wife. Then slowly and stealthily he went away. When the police arrived to investigate, they asked Netra Sen's wife if she had seen who the murderer was. She said, "I saw with my own eyes, but my heart will not permit me to tell you his name. I am sorry. I feel miserable that I was the wife of such a treacherous man, such an undivine man as Netra Sen. My husband betrayed the greatest hero of Chittagong.

My husband betrayed a great son of Mother India. My husband cast a slur on the face of India. Therefore; I cannot tell the name of the person who took his life. He has definitely done the right thing. You can do anything with me. You can punish me, you can even kill me, but I shall never tell the name of the person who killed my husband. Our Master-da will be hanged, I know, but his name will forever be synonymous with India's immortal freedom-cry. Everybody loves him. Everybody adores him. I, too, love him and adore him, for he is the brightest sun in the firmament of Chittagong. Surya means sun and he is truly ours. "Tarakeswar Dastidar, the new president of the Chittagong Branch Jugantar Party, made a preparation to rescue Surya Sen from the Chittagong Jail. But the plot was unearthed and consequently frustrated. Tarakeswar and Kalpana along with others were arrested. Special tribunals tried Surya Sen, Tarakeswar Dastidar, and Kalpana Datta in 1933. Surya Sen along with his Tarekeshwar Dastidar was hanged by the British ruler on January 12, 1934. Before the death sentence Surya Sen was brutally tortured. It was reported that the British executioners broke all his teeth with hammer and plucked all nails and broke all limbs and joints. He was dragged to the rope unconscious. After his death his dead body was not given any funeral. The prison authority, it was found later, put his dead body in a metallic cage and dumped into the Bay of Bengal. His last letter to his friends, written on 11 January, stated, "Death is knocking at my door. My mind is flying away towards eternity ... At such a pleasant, at such a grave, at such a solemn moment, what shall I leave behind you? Only one thing

that is my dream, a golden dream-the dream of Free India.... Never forget the 18th of April, 1930, the day of the eastern Rebellion in Chittagong... Write in red letters in the core of your hearts the names of the patriots who have sacrificed their lives at the altar of India's freedom

Hindustan Socialist Republican Association

Hindustan Socialist Republican Association before 1928 was known as the Hindustan Republican Association. It is reckoned as one amongst the Indian independence associations during the time of freedom struggle. Bhagat Singh, Yogendra Shukla and Chandrasekar Azad were the key functionaries of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. The group is also considered one of the first socialist organisations in India. HSRA was invigorated by the ideologies of the Bolsheviks involvement in the Russian Revolution of 1917. Hindustan Socialist Republican Association was first launched during a meeting in Bholachang village, Brahamabaria subdivision, East Bengal. Praiseworthy freedomfighters like- Pratul Ganguly, Narendra Mohan Sen and Sachindra Nath Sanyal were present at the meeting.

The association was formed as an outgrowth of the Anushilan Samiti. The party was established with the aim to organise armed revolution in order to end the colonial rule and establish a Federal Republic of the United States of India. The name Hindustan Socialist Republican Association was implicative after a similar revolutionary body in Ireland. During that period Gandhiji had declared to cancel the Non-cooperation movement after the Chauri Chaura incident. This decision of his created a lot of rancour amongst the youngsters. Some of them had jeopardised their careers for the movement. As HSRA was a revolutionary group, they attempted to loot a train. They were informed that the train was transferring government money. On 9th August 1925, the revolutionists ransacked the train. This now famous incident is known as the Kakori train robbery.

As a result of the Kakori train robbery case, Ashfaqullah Khan, Ramprasad Bismil, Roshan Singh, Rajendra Lahiri were hanged to death. It was an important setback for the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. Hindustan Socialist Republican Association was aiming to create a Federal Republic of the United States of India. But later they changed their focus towards creating an India based on the Socialist ideals of Lenin and Marx. Bhagat Singh declared this at the Ferozshah Kotla Ruins in Delhi on 9th September 1928. Afterwards, the association was renamed Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, from Hindustan Republican Association. HSRA in non-violent protest advancement against the Simon Commission at Lahore decided to support Lala Lajpat Rai. But in the protest procession, the police plunged into a mass lathi charge and the wounds imposed on Lalaji proved life-threatening to him. This incident was witnessed by Bhagat Singh and he swore to take revenge

.It was decided by Hindustan Socialist Republican Association that the attempt would be taken against J.A Scott, who had ordered the unlawful lathi-charge. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Chander Shekhar Azad and Jai Gopal were given the charge to execute the plan. It was designed that Jai Gopal would signal Bhagat Singh and Rajguru when J.A Scott would come out of his office. At the appointed time, on 17th December 1928 at Lahore, a British official J. P. Saunders, the A.S.P., a young man of 21 but a probationer stepped out of his office. Raj Guru swooped on the British official with a pistol at Jai Gopal's signal. The bullet perforated through his neck and almost killed him. Bhagat Singh also rushed and pounced on him and fired four or five shots. J.P. Saunders died on the spot. Incidentally it was a terrible miscalculation on the part of Jai Gopal.

He failed to differentiate between Scott and Saunders. Chanan Singh- a head constable came forth to chase Bhagat Singh and Raj Guru, but Chandra Shekhar Azad shot Chanan down. The next day, Hindustan Socialist Republican Association came forward in public and in their proclamation said, "Inquilab Zindabad (Long Live Revolution). We don't enjoy killing an individual, but this individual was ruthless, mean and part and parcel of an unjust system. It is necessary to destroy such a system. This man has been killed; because he was a cog in the wheel of British rule. This government is the worst of all governments." Another significant action carried out by the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association was the Assembly Bomb Case.

The association adjudicated to burst a blank bomb in the Central Assembly in Delhi, in order to express opposition against the tyrannical legislation and arouse public opinion. Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt offered to carry out the bombing and get arrested. The ideology behind the bombing was 'to make the deaf government hear the voices of its oppressed people'. Bhagat Singh also believed that 'the only way to successfully convey his message to the public of India was to propaganda from Court'. He believed that since all statements were registered in Court and then promulgated, they could benefit support for their crusade.

On April 8th 1929 when Vitthal Bhai Patel, President of the Central Assembly, moved up to give his ruling on failing to get an authority from the government that the bill would not be imposed retrospectively, a bomb was detonated near the empty treasure benches, followed by another bomb explosion. Panic predominated everywhere. Nobody got killed as it was not thought of. The hall got filled with smoke. Bhagat Singh and BK Dutt started crying out "Long Live Revolution, Down with Imperialism" as the smoke cleared. They also threw red leaflets on the floor, which began with the slogan of a French revolutionary "It needs a loud voice for a deaf to hear". On April 15th 1929, police raided the bomb factory of HSRA. As a result Kishori Lal, Sukhdev and Jai Gopal were arrested. The Assembly Bomb Case trial was started following this raid.

On 23rd March 1931 Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged. The great nationalist Baikuntha Shukla was also hanged for murdering Phanindranath Ghosh who had become a government approver which later on led to the hanging of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru. Baikuntha Shukla joined the freedom struggle at a young age and took active part in the `Salt Satyagraha` of 1930. He was also associated with revolutionary organisations like the Hindustan Seva Dal and Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were executed in 1931, as a result of their trial in the `Lahore conspiracy case`. Their death penalty gave birth to tremendous agitation throughout the country. Phanindranath Ghosh was a key figure of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association.

By turning into an approver, he betrayed the cause of the party. Baikuntha Shukla was given the charge to execute Phanindranath Ghosh as an act of ideological revenge. He completed it in a successful manner on 9th November 1932. As a result Baikuntha Shukla was arrested and tried for murder. On May 14th 1934; Baikunth was convicted and hanged in Gaya Central Jail only at a young age of 28. Another key revolutionary of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, Chandrasekar Azad was killed on 27th February 1931 in a gunfight with the police.

With the death of Chandrasekar Azad and the hanging of its popular activists, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru, the fate of the association was yet indecipherable. Hindustan Socialist Republican Association was always in the forefront of revolutionary movements in the northern parts of India. The association consisted of younger generations of U.P, Bihar, Punjab, Bengal and Maharashtra. The group possessed ideals, which were directly opposite to Mahatma Gandhi's Congress.

MODULE 4- TOWARDS FREEDOM

Civil Disobedience Movement

Civil Disobedience Movement, launched under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, in 1930, was one of the most significant phases of Indian freedom struggle. The Simon Commission, which was formed in November 1927 by the British Government to chart and conclude a Constitution for India, included members of the British Parliament only. As a result, the Commission was boycotted by every section of the Indian social and political platforms as an 'All-White Commission'. The opposition to the Simon Commission in Bengal was noteworthy. In disapproval against the Commission, a 'Hartal' or Strike was observed on 3rd of February, 1928 in various parts of the region. Widespread demonstrations were held in Kolkata on 19th of February, 1928, the day of Simon's arrival to the city. Further, on 1st of March, 1928, meetings were held simultaneously in all 32 wards of the city, spurring people to restore the movement for boycott of British goods.

Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on 5th of May, 1930, just days before his projected raid on the Dharasana Salt Works. The Dandi March and the resultant Dharasana Satyagraha drew worldwide attention to the Civil Disobedience Movement through widespread newspaper coverage. It continued for almost a year, ending with the release of Mahatma Gandhi from jail and after the discussions at the Second Round Table Conference with Viceroy Lord Irwin. The crusade had a significant effect on changing British attitudes toward Indian independence and caused huge numbers of Indians to aggressively join the fight for the first time. The Salt March to Dandi and the flogging of hundreds of non-violent protesters in Dharasana, marked the efficient use of civil disobedience as a method for fighting social and political injustice.

On 8th of April 1929, members of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association attacked the assembly chamber of the Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi. In response, Lord Irwin published a Public Safety Bill. Moreover, on 31st of October, Lord Irwin announced that the natural constitutional progress of India was the attainment of Dominion Status. The Congress Party indicated its willingness to cooperate in formulating a Dominion constitution. In November, measures were accepted in such a way that Congress rejected the declaration. On 23rd of December, Lord Irwin met with Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Tej Bahadur Sapru in New Delhi. Erwin however, could not arrive at an agreement for framing a constitution under Dominion Status. At the ensuing 1930 annual meeting of the Congress Party held at Lahore, the Congress declared itself for independence rather than Dominion Status and authorised a campaign of Civil Disobedience.

Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement came out as a march to Dandi, in objection to the tax on salt. Gandhi reached Dandi on April 6th, and explicitly violated the salt law. On 18th of April, around one hundred revolutionaries attacked police and railway armouries at Chittagong. Mahatma Gandhi condemned the raid, which had made a deep impression throughout India. On 5th of May, the Government of India had Gandhi arrested and lodged at Yervada Jail near Pune. Following the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, the British faced the full programme of Civil Disobedience as composed of Indian raids on salt depots, refusal to pay taxes in chosen areas, spirit and avoidance of business with all British firms, disobedience of forest laws and boycott of foreign cloth. On 30th of June, the Government of India outlawed the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress Working Committee.

Further, on 23rd of July, Lord Irwin facilitated visits to Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru by two Indian Liberals, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mukund Ramrao Jayakar, for the purpose of finding ways to end civil disobedience movement. On 25th of January 1931, Lord Irwin authorised Gandhi's release from prison and withdrew prohibition of illegality against the Congress Working Committee. Between February to March, 1931, Lord Irwin and Gandhi met in a series of talks seeking settlement of the issues originating from the civil disobedience movement. In the agreement reached on 5th of March, Gandhi agreed to discontinue Civil Disobedience as it embraced defiance of the law, non-payment of land revenue, publication of news-sheets, termination of its boycott of British goods and the restraint of aggressive picketing. The Government of India agreed to cancel ordinances opposing the movement, to release Indian prisoners, return fines and property.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact

This pact was signed between Mahatma Gandhi and the then Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin on 5 March 1931.

Salient features of this act were as following:

1. The Congress would participate in the Round Table Conference.
2. The Congress would discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement.
3. The Government would withdraw all ordinances issued to curb the Congress.
4. The Government would withdraw all prosecutions relating to offenses other than violent one.

The Government would release all persons undergoing sentences of imprisonment for their activities in the civil disobedience movement. Salt Satyagraha succeeded in drawing the attention of the world. Millions saw the newsreels showing the march. Time magazine declared Gandhi its 1930 Man of the Year, comparing Gandhi's march to the sea "to defy Britain's salt tax as some New Englanders once defied a British tea tax." Civil disobedience continued until early 1931, when Gandhi was finally released from prison to hold talks with Irwin. It was the first time the two held talks on equal terms, and resulted in the Gandhi–Irwin Pact. The talks would lead to the Second Round Table Conference at the end of 1931. In the March of 1930, Gandhi met with the Viceroy, Lord Irwin and signed an agreement known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The two main clauses of the pact entailed; Congress participation in the Round Table Conference and cessation of The Civil Disobedience Movement. The Government of India released all satyagrahis from prison.

Round Table Conferences

The Simon Commissions in India induced the dissatisfaction throughout India. It met a violent resistance in India and later the British Government organized for the Round Table conferences in order to take into consideration the demands and grievances of the Indians directly. Demands for Swaraj, or self-rule, in India had been growing increasingly strong. By the year 1930, many British politicians believed that India needed to move towards dominion status. As announced by the viceroy on behalf of the Government of England on October 31, 1929, Round Table Conference was convened in London. After lengthy discussions, three basic principles were agreed in the Conference and the British Government was made to accept those principles.

Three basic principles were put forwards in the Round Table Conference. According to the agreement, it was demanded that form of the new government of India was to be an All India federation. The federal government, subject to some reservations would be responsible to the federal Legislature, according to the agreement. The provincial autonomy was also demanded by the Congress in the Round Table Conference. However, Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, made a momentous declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government. According to the view of His Majesty's government it was declared that the responsibility of the government should be placed upon legislatures, Central and Provincial with certain provisions as was considered necessary. The absence of the Congress representations in Round Table conference led to a second session of the Round Table conference, where the Congress representatives would participate. Several efforts were made in that direction by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir M.R. Jayakar, which led to the famous Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which was signed in March 1931.

According to the Poona Pact, all political prisoners were released and the Civil Disobedience Movement was called off. In the second Round Table Conference, Gandhiji was appointed as the representative of the Congress, which was convened from 1st September to 1st December in the year 1931. But the significant issue of the Second Round Table conference was to solve the communal problem, which was not solved. This was because; Mr. Jinnah's inflexibility was secretly supported by the British statesman like the Secretary of State for India; Sir Samuel Hoare. Disappointed by the result of the session of the Second Round Table Conference, Gandhiji returned to India and subsequently arrested on his arrival in the country. Ramsay Macdonald announced that in default of an agreed settlement as regards the respective quanta of representation of different communities, the British Government would have to arbitrate their claims. Subsequently, on August 4, 1932, Macdonald's infamous "Communal Award" came into existence.

The concept of Communal Award was related to the representation of different communities in the provincial legislatures. However the "Communal Award" declared by Ramsay Macdonald was partially modified by the Poona Pact. This was accepted by the Hindu rulers due to Gandhiji, who wanted to prevent a political breach between the so-called caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes. Consequently the third Round Table Conference was again convened in London on November 17th to December 24th in the year 1932. A White paper was issued in the year March 1933. The details of the working basis of the new constitution of India were enumerated in the White Paper. It was declared that according to the new constitution, there would be dyarchy at the Center and the responsible governments in the center. In February 1935, a bill was introduced in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India, which subsequently passed and enacted as the Government of India Act, 1935. Thus the Government of India Act came into existence in the Third Round Table Conference. The Government of India Act drew its materials from the Simon Commission, the report of the All-Parties conference i.e. the Nehru Report, the discussions at the three successive Round Table Conferences, the details enumerated in the White Paper and the reports of the Joint Select Committees.

Poona Pact

The Poona Pact refers to an agreement between Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi signed on 24 September 1932 at Yerwada Central Jail in Pune. It was signed by Pt Madan Mohan Malviya and some Hindu leaders and Dr BR Ambedkar and some Dalit leaders to break the fast unto death undertaken by Gandhi in Yerwada jail to annul Macdonald Award giving separate electorate to Dalits for electing members of state legislative assemblies in British India. There shall be seats reserved for the

Depressed Classes out of general electorate. Seats in the Provincial Legislatures. Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates subject, however, to the following procedure – All members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the single vote and four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary elections shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate. The representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election in the manner provided for in clause above for their representation in the provincial legislatures.

Central Legislature

In the Central Legislature 18 per cent of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes.⁵ The system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislatures as herein-before mentioned shall come to an end after the first ten years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of clause 6 below. The system of representation of Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in clauses (1) and (4) shall continue until determined otherwise by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in this settlement. The Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures of the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated, in the Lothian Committee Report. There shall be no disabilities attached to any one on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any election to local bodies or appointment to the public services. Every endeavor shall be made to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the Public Services. In every province out of the educational grant an adequate sum shall be ear-marked for providing educational facilities to the members of Depressed Classes.

Congress Socialist Party (CSP)

was a socialist caucus within the Indian National Congress. It was founded in 1934 by Congress members who rejected what they saw as the anti-rational mysticism of Gandhi as well as the sectarian attitude of the Communist Party of India towards the Congress. Influenced by Fabianism as well as Marxism-Leninism, the CSP included advocates of armed struggle or sabotage (such as Yusuf Meherally, Jai Prakash Narayan, and Basawon Singh (Sinha) as well as those who insisted

upon *Ahimsa* or *Nonviolent resistance* (such as Acharya Narendra Deva). The CSP advocated decentralized socialism in which co-operatives, trade unions, independent farmers, and local authorities would hold a substantial share of the economic power. As secularists, they hoped to transcend communal divisions through class solidarity. Some, such as Narendra Deva or Basawon Singh (Sinha), advocated a democratic socialism distinct from both Marxism and reformist social democracy. During the Popular Front period, the communists worked within CSP. JP Narayan and Minoo Masani were released from jail in 1934.

JP Narayan convened a meeting in Patna on 17 May 1934, which founded the Bihar Congress Socialist Party. He was a Gandhian Socialist. Narayan became general secretary of the party and Acharya Narendra Deva became president. The Patna meeting gave a call for a socialist conference which would be held in connection to the Congress Annual Conference. At this conference, held in Bombay October 22–23 October 1934, they formed a new All India party, the Congress Socialist Party. Narayan became general secretary of the party, and Masani joint secretary. The conference venue was decorated by Congress flags and a portrait of Karl Marx. In the new party the greeting 'comrade' was used. Masani mobilized the party in Bombay, whereas Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and Puroshottam Trikamdas organized the party in other parts of Maharashtra. Ganga Sharan Singh (Sinha) was among the prominent leaders of the Indian National Congress Party as among the founders of the Congress Socialist Party. The constitution of the CSP defined that the members of CSP were the members of the Provisional Congress Socialist Parties and that they were all required to be members of the Indian National Congress.

Members of communal organizations or political organizations whose goals were incompatible with the ones of CSP, were barred from CSP membership.¹ The Bombay conference raised the slogan of mobilising the masses for a Constituent Assembly. In 1936 the Communists joined CSP, as part of the Popular Front strategy of the ComIntern.^[3] In some states, like Kerala and Orissa, communists came to dominate CSP. In fact communists dominated the entire Congress in Kerala through its hold of CSP at one point. In 1936, the CSP began fraternal relations with the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon. In 1937 the CSP sent Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya on a speaking tour of the island. The CSP had adopted Marxism in 1936 and their third conference in Faizpur they had formulated a thesis that directed the party to work to transform the Indian National Congress into an anti-imperialist front.¹ During the summer of 1938 a meeting took place between the Marxist sector of the Anushilan movement and the CSP. Present in the meeting were Jai Prakash Narayan (leader of CSP), Jogesh Chandra Chatterji, Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri and Keshav Prasad Sharma. The Anushilan marxists then held talks

with Acharya Narendra Deva, a former Anushilan militant. The Anushilan marxists decided to join CSP, but keeping a separate identity within the party.^[5] With them came the Anushilan Samiti, not only the Marxist sector. The non-Marxists (who constituted about a half of the membership of the Samiti), although not ideologically attracted to the CSP, felt loyalty towards the Marxist sector.

Moreover, around 25% of the membership of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association joined the CSP. This group was led by Jogesh Chandra Chatterji. The Anushilan marxists were however soon to be disappointed by developments inside the CSP. The party, at that the time Anushilan marxists had joined it, was not a homogeneous entity. There was the Marxist trend led by J.P. Narayan and Narendra Deva, the Fabian socialist trend led by Minoo Masani and Asoka Mehta and a Gandhian socialist trend led by Ram Manohar Lohia, and Achyut Patwardan. To the Anushilan marxists differences emerged between the ideological stands of the party and its politics in practice. These differences surfaced at the 1939 annual session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri. At Tripuri, in the eyes of the Anushlian marxists, the CSP had failed to consistently defend Subhas Chandra Bose.¹ Jogesh Chandra Chatterji renounced his CSP membership in protest against the action by the party leadership. Soon after the Tripuri session, Bose resigned as Congress president and formed the Forward Bloc. The Forward Bloc was intended to function as a unifying force for all leftwing elements.

The Forward Bloc held its first conference on 22–23 June 1939, and at the same time a Left Consolidation Committee consisting of the Forward Bloc, CPI, CSP, the Kisan Sabha, League of Radical Congressmen, Labour Party and the Anushilan marxists. At this moment, in October 1939, J.P. Narayan tried to stretch out an olive branch to the Anushilan marxists. He proposed the formation of a 'War Council' consisting of himself, Pratul Ganguly, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee and Acharya Narendra Deva. But few days later, at a session of the All India Congress Committee, J.P. Narayan and the other CSP leaders pledged not to start any other movements parallel to those initiated by Gandhi. The Left Consolidation Committee soon fell into pieces, as the CPI, the CSP and the Royists deserted it. The Anushlian marxists left the CSP soon thereafter, forming the Revolutionary Socialist Party. On the occasion of the 1940 Ramgarh Congress Conference CPI released a declaration called *Proletarian Path*, which sought to utilize the weakened state of the British Empire in the time of war and gave a call for general strike, no-tax, no-rent policies and mobilising for an armed revolution uprising.

The National Executive of the CSP assembled at Ramgarh took a decision that all communists were expelled from CSP.^[11] Members of the CSP were particularly active in the Quit India movement of August 1942. Although a socialist, Jawaharlal Nehru did

not join the CSP, which created some rancor among CSP members who saw Nehru as unwilling to put his socialist slogans into action. After independence, the CSP broke away from Congress, under the influence of JP, and Lohia to form the Socialist Party of India.

GROWTH OF PEASANT MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Peasant Movements are a part of social movements against British atrocities in the 18th and 19th centuries of the British Colonial Period. These movements had the sole purpose of restoring the earlier forms of rule and social relations. :

What caused the peasants revolt?

There were various reasons related to agrarian restructuring for peasants to revolt. The reasons are given below:Peasants were evicted from their landsThe rent that the peasants had to pay for their lands was increasedAtrocities by the MoneylendersPeasants' traditional handicrafts were ruinedThe ownership of land was taken away from peasants during Zamindari ruleMassive DebtColonial Economic PoliciesLand Revenue System was not favouring the peasants (Read about the different land revenue systems in the linked article.)

MAJOR PEASANT REVOLTS

1. INDIGO REVOLT

In 1859–60 peasant farmers who grew indigo in the Bengal region of northeastern India rebelled against the British planters who controlled the industry. Their widespread violent rebellion is variously known as the Indigo Revolt, the Indigo Rebellion, the Indigo Riots, the Blue Mutiny, or the Blue Rebellion. Indigo is a plant that yields a rich blue dye. Before man-made blue dyes were created, natural indigo dye was highly valued by cloth makers around the world. By the early 19th century, India supplied the vast majority of the indigo imported into Britain. Much of that indigo was grown by peasants in Bengal (a region now divided between India's West Bengal state and Bangladesh). The Indigo Revolt led to the near collapse of the indigo industry in Bengal.

2. KOL UPRISING

The Kol uprising, Kol rebellion, also known in British Indian records as the Kol mutiny was a revolt of the indigenous Kol people of Chhota Nagpur during 1829-1839 as a reaction to unfair treatment brought on by the systems of land tenure and

administration that had been introduced by British powers in the area. The Kol people were joined by other communities including the Mundas, Oraons, Hos leading to some authors also calling it the Munda uprising. The uprising was a reaction to the appointment of a Political Agent to the Government in South Bihar and recently ceded districts nearby around 1819. This resulted in many people moving into these areas which were the lands of numerous indigenous tribes. These tribes had no rulers and their lands were divided according to families that were bound by "parhas" or conferences. With the application of new land laws, the indigenous Kols were exploited by outsiders moving into the area and taking up agriculture and commercial activities that were alien to tribal culture. Many of the lands of the locals were taken away as securities for un-returned loans. The locals whose languages were unknown to the settlers were physically tortured and mistreated in a number of incidents. Another irritation was the taxation on the movement of products such as salt that were formerly freely moved. Corrupt official practices and lawlessness followed. The masses of common people, of whom the Kols were the largest in number, burnt the houses of the newly settled people in revenge

3. MAPPILA REBELLION, MALABAR

The Moplah Rebellion, also known as the Moplah Riots of 1921 was the culmination of a series of riots by Mappila Muslims of Kerala in the 19th and early 20th centuries against the British and the Hindu landlords in Malabar (Northern Kerala). It was an armed revolt. It was led by Variyamkunnath Kunjahammed Haji. There were a series of clashes between the Mappila peasantry and their landlords, supported by the colonial government, throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. The heavy-handed suppression of the Khilafat Movement by the colonial government was met by resistance in the Eranad and Valluvanad *taluks* of Malabar. In the initial stages, the movement had the support of Mohandas Gandhi and other Indian nationalist leaders, and a number of clashes took place between Khilafat volunteers and other religious communities, but the violence soon spread across the region. The Mappilas attacked and took control of police stations, colonial government offices, courts and government treasuries. Though the crowds who attacked and destroyed the public offices in Eranad, Valluvanad, and Ponnani Taluks were Mappilas, sometimes Nambudiris, Nairs and Thiyyas also acted as leaders in many parts of Valluvanad. British historians, on the other hand, referred to the rebellion as the *Mappila revolt*.

4. SANTHAL REVOLT

The Santhal rebellion (sometimes referred to as the Sonthal rebellion), commonly known as Santhal Hool, was a rebellion in present-day Jharkhand, in

eastern India against both the British colonial authority and zamindari system by the Santhal people. It started on June 30, 1855 and on November 10, 1855 martial law was proclaimed which lasted until January 3, 1856 when martial law was suspended and the movement was brutally ended by troops loyal to the British. The rebellion was led by the four Murmu Brothers - Sidhu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairav.

5. MUNDA REBELLION

Munda Rebellion was a tribal rebellion lead by Birsa Munda in the region south of Ranchi in 1899-1900. The revolt mainly concentrated in the Munda belt of Khunti, Tamar, Sarwada and Bandgaon. It was called the ulgulan, meaning 'Great Tumult', by munda tribals and sought to establish Munda Raj and independence. It ended with suppression by British forces and the death of Bisa Munda.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935

On August 1935, the Government of India passed longest act i.e. *Government of India Act 1935* under the British Act of Parliament. This act also included the *Government of Burma Act 1935*. According to this act, India would become a federation if 50% of Indian states decided to join it. They would then have a large number of representatives in the two houses of the central legislature. However, the provisions with regards to the federation were not implemented. The act made no reference even to granting dominion status, much less independence, to India. With regard to the provinces, the act of 1935 was an improvement on the existing position. It introduced what is known as *provincial autonomy*. The ministers of the provincial governments, according to it, were to be responsible to the legislature. The powers of the legislature were increased. However, in certain matters like the Police, the government had the authority. The right to vote also remained limited. Only about 14% of the population got the right to vote. The appointment of the governor-general and governors, of course, remained in the hands of the British government and they were not responsible to the legislatures. The act never came near the objective that the nationalist movement had been struggling for.

Features of the Act

1. It provided for the establishment of an All-India Federation consisting of provinces and princely states as units. The Act divided the powers between the Centre and units in terms of three lists—Federal List (for Centre, with 59 items), Provincial List (for provinces, with 54 items) and the Concurrent List (for both, with 36 items). Residuary powers were given to the Viceroy. However, the federation never came into being as the princely states did not join it.

2. It abolished dyarchy in the provinces and introduced 'provincial autonomy' in its place. The provinces were allowed to act as autonomous units of administration in their defined spheres. Moreover, the Act introduced responsible governments in provinces, that is, the governor was required to act with the advice of ministers responsible to the provincial legislature. This came into effect in 1937 and was discontinued in 1939.

3. It provided for the adoption of dyarchy at the Centre. Consequently, the federal subjects were divided into reserved subjects and transferred subjects. However, this provision of the Act did not come into operation at all.

4. It introduced bicameralism in six out of eleven provinces. Thus, the legislatures of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Assam and the United Provinces were made bicameral consisting of a legislative council (upper house) and a legislative assembly (lower house). However, many restrictions were placed on them.

5. It further extended the principle of communal representation by providing separate electorates for depressed classes (scheduled castes), women and labour (workers).

6. It abolished the Council of India, established by the Government of India Act of 1858. The secretary of state for India was provided with a team of advisors.

7. It extended franchise. About 10 per cent of the total population got the voting right.

8. It provided for the establishment of a Reserve Bank of India to control the currency and credit of the country.

9. It provided for the establishment of not only a Federal Public Service Commission but also a Provincial Public Service Commission and Joint Public Service Commission for two or more provinces.

10. It provided for the establishment of a Federal Court, which was set up in 1937.

The main objectivity of the act of 1935 was that the government of India was under the British Crown. So, the authorities and their functions derive from the Crown, in so far as the crown did not itself retain executive functions. His conception, familiar in dominion constitutions, was absent in earlier Acts passed for India. Hence, the act of 1935 served some useful purposes by the experiment of provincial autonomy, thus we can say that the Government of India Act 1935 marks a point of no return in the history of constitutional development in India.

Cripps Mission

Cripps Mission was deputed by British parliament in early 1942 to contain the political crisis obtained in India. The mission was headed by Sir Stafford Cripps, a Cabinet Minister. Cripps, a radical member of the Labour Party and the then Leader of the House of Commons, was known as a strong supporter of Indian national movement. Cripps Mission was prompted by two considerations. First, Gandhi's call for the *Satyagraha* (literally 'insistence on truth', generally rendered 'soul force') movement in October 1940 was designed to embarrass Britain's war efforts by a mass upheaval in India and needed to be ended in the British interest. Secondly, the fall of Singapore (15 February 1942), Rangoon (8 March), and the Andamans (23 March) to the Japanese was threatening the entire fabric of British colonial empire. In the face of these crises, the British felt obliged to make some gestures to win over Indian public support. The Cripps offer reiterated the intention of the British government to set up an Indian Union within the British Commonwealth as soon as possible after the war, and proposed specific steps towards that end. A constituent assembly would be elected by the provincial legislatures acting as an Electoral College. This body would then negotiate a treaty with the British government. The future right of secession from the Commonwealth was explicitly stated. The Indian states would be free to join, and in any case their treaty arrangements would be revised to meet the new situation.

The offer dominated Indian politics for the rest of the war. Although the British official circles claimed that the Cripps offer marked a great advance for its frankness and precision, it was plagued throughout, and ultimately torpedoed, by numerous ambiguities and misunderstandings. The Congress was very critical of the clauses regarding nomination of the states' representatives by the rulers and the provincial option. Jawaharlal Nehru had desperately sought a settlement largely because of his desire to mobilise Indian support in the anti-fascist war, while most Congress working Committee members and Gandhi himself had been apathetic. This embittered Congress-British relations and things were then rapidly moving towards a total confrontation in the form of quit India movement. But Cripps blamed the Congress for the failure of the Plan, while the Congress held the British government responsible for it. A chance of establishing a united independent India was thus lost.

Quit India – Do or Die

Mahatma Gandhi again became active in the political arena after the outburst of World War II in 1939. On August 8, 1942 Gandhi gave the call for Quit India Movement or Bharat Chhodo Andolan. Soon after the arrest of Gandhi, disorders broke out

immediately throughout the country and many violent demonstrations took place. Quit India became the most powerful movement in the freedom struggle. Thousands of freedom fighters were killed or injured by police gunfire, and hundreds of thousands were arrested. He called on all Congressmen and Indians to maintain discipline via non-violence and Karo Ya Maro (Do or Die) in order to achieve ultimate freedom. On 9th of August, 1942, Mahatma Gandhi and the entire Congress Working Committee were arrested in Mumbai. In view of his deteriorating health, he was released from the jail in May 1944 because the British did not want him to die in prison and enrage the nation. The cruel restraint of the Quit India movement brought order to India by the end of 1943 although the movement had modest success in its aim. After the British gave clear signs of transferring power to the Indians, Gandhi called off the fight and all the prisoners were released.

Subash Chandra Bose and His 'Mission'

Subhas Chandra Bose was the most dynamic leader of India's struggle for independence. He is more familiar with his name Netaji. His contribution towards India's freedom struggle was of a revolutionary. Subhas Chandra Bose was born on 23rd Jan, 1897 in Cuttack, Orissa, India. From his childhood he was a bright student and was a topper in the matriculation examination from the whole of Kolkata province. He graduated from the Scottish Church College in Kolkata with a First Class degree in Philosophy. Influenced by the teachings of Swami Vivekananda, he was known for his patriotic zeal as a student. He went to England to fulfill his parents' desire to appear in the Indian Civil Services. He stood fourth in order of merit. But he left civil Service's apprenticeship and joined India's freedom struggle. During his service with the Indian National Congress, he was greatly influenced by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Sri Aurobindo. He did not agree with Gandhiji's methods of achieving Independence through non-violence. He believed that the only way of achieving Independence was by shedding blood. He therefore returned to Kolkata to work under Chittaranjan Das, the Bengali freedom fighter and co-founder of the Swaraj Party. He was imprisoned for his revolutionary activities on various occasions. In 1921, Bose organized a boycott of the celebrations to mark the visit of the Prince of Wales to India for which he was imprisoned for the first time. Bose was elected to the post of Chief Executive Officer of the newly constituted Calcutta Corporation in April 1924.

That same year in October, Bose was arrested on suspicion of terrorism. At first, he was kept in Alipur Jail and later he was exiled to Mandalay in Burma. Bose was once again arrested on January, 1930. After his release from jail on September 25, he was elected as the Mayor of the City of Kolkata. Netaji was imprisoned eleven times by the British over a span of 20 years either in India or in Rangoon. During the mid 1930s he

was exiled by the British from India to Europe where he championed India's cause and aspiration for self-rule before gatherings and conferences. Throughout his stay in Europe from 1933 to 1936, he met several European leaders and thinkers. He travelled extensively in India and in Europe before stating his political opposition to Gandhi. Subhash Chandra Bose married Emilie Schenkl, an Austrian born national, who was his secretary, in 1937 in Germany. Bose wrote many letters to Schenkl of which many have been published in the book "Letters to Emilie Schenkl", edited by Sisir Kumar Bose and Sugata Bose. Subhas Chandra Bose became the president of the Haripura Indian National Congress against the wishes of Gandhiji in 1938. He was elected as the president for two consecutive terms. Expressing his disagreement with Bose, Gandhi commented "Subhas' victory is my defeat". Gandhi's continued opposition led to Netaji's resignation from the Working Committee.

He was left with no alternative but to form an independent party, the "All India Forward Bloc". In his call to freedom, Subhas Chandra Bose encouraged full participation of the Indian Masses to strive for independence. Bose initiated the concept of the "National Planning Committee" in 1938. His correspondence reveals that despite his clear dislike for British subjugation, he was deeply impressed by their methodical and systematic approach and their steadfastly disciplinarian outlook towards life. The contrast between Gandhi and Bose is captured with reasonable measure in a saying attributable to him "If people slap you once, slap them twice". Having failed to persuade Gandhi for the mass civil disobedience to protest against Viceroy Lord Linlithgow's decision to declare war on India's behalf without consulting the Congress leadership, he organized mass protests in Kolkata. The disobedience was calling for the 'Holwell Monument' commemorating the Black Hole of Kolkata. He was thrown in Jail and was released only after a seven-day hunger strike. Bose's house in Kolkata was kept under surveillance by the British. With two pending court cases, he felt that the British would not let him leave the country before the end of the war. This set the scene for Bose's escape to Germany, via Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. In Germany he instituted the Special Bureau for India under Adam von Trott zu Solz, broadcasting on the German-sponsored Azad Hind Radio. Here he founded the "Free India Centre" in Berlin, and created the Indian Legion consisting of some 4500 soldiers who were the Indian prisoners of war. The soldiers had previously fought for the British in North Africa prior to their capture by Axis forces.

Indian National Army [INA]

The Indian National Army was an armed force formed by Indian nationalists in 1942 in Southeast Asia during World War II. The aim of the army was to secure Indian independence with Japanese assistance. Initially composed of Indian prisoners

of war captured by Japan in the Malayan campaign and at Singapore, it later drew volunteers from Indian expatriate population in Malaya and Burma. The INA was also at the forefront of women's equality, and the formation of a women's regiment, the Rani of Jhansi Regiment was formed as an all-volunteer women's unit to fight the British Raj as well as provide medical services to the INA. Initially formed in 1942 immediately after the fall of Singapore under Mohan Singh, the First INA collapsed in December that year before it was revived under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose in 1943 and proclaimed the army of Bose's *Arzi Hukumat-e-Azad Hind* (the Provisional Government of Free India).

This second INA fought along with the Imperial Japanese Army against the British and Commonwealth forces in the campaigns in Burma, Imphal and Kohima, and later, against the successful Burma Campaign of the Allies. The end of the war saw a large number of the troops repatriated to India where some faced trial for treason and became a galvanizing point of the Indian Independence movement. The legacy of the INA is controversial given its associations with Imperial Japan and the other Axis powers, the course of Japanese occupations in Burma, Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia, as well as Japanese war crimes and the alleged complicity of the troops of the INA in these. However the INA contributed to independence for India, as after the war, the trials of captured INA officers in India provoked massive public outcries in support of their efforts to fight for Indian independence against the Raj, eventually triggering the Bombay mutiny in the British Indian forces. These events are accepted by historians to have played a crucial role in hastening the end of British rule. Japan and Southeast Asia were major refuges for Indian nationalists living in exile before the start of World War II. Japan had sent intelligence missions, notably under Major Iwaichi Fujiwara, into South Asia even before the start of the war to garner support from the Malayan Sultans, overseas Chinese, the Burmese resistance and the Indian movement.

These missions were successful in establishing contacts with Indian nationalists in exile in Thailand and Malaya, supporting the establishment and organization of the Indian Independence League (IIL). On 15 February 1943, the Army itself was put under the command of Lt. Col. M.Z. Kiani. A policy forming body was formed with the Director of the Military Bureau, Lt. Col. Bhonsle, in charge and clearly placed under the authority of the IIL. Under Bhonsle served Lt. Col. Shah Nawaz Khan as Chief of General Staff, Major P.K. Sahgal as Military Secretary, Major Habib ur Rahman as commandant of the Officers' Training School and Lt. Col. A.C. Chatterji (later Major A.D. Jahangir) as head of enlightenment and culture. On 4 July 1943, two days after reaching Singapore, Subhas Chandra Bose assumed the leadership of the IIL and the INA in a ceremony at Cathay Building. Bose's influence was notable.

His appeal not only re-invigorated the fledgling INA, which previously consisted mainly of POWs, his appeals also touched a chord with the Indian expatriates in South Asia as local civilians, without caste, creed and religion- ranging from barristers, traders to plantation workers, including Khudabadi Sindhi Swarankar working as shop keepers – had no military experience joined the INA, doubled its troop strength. An Officers' Training School for INA officers, led by Habib ur Rahman, and the Azad School for the civilian volunteers were set up to provide training to the recruits. A youth wing of the INA, composed of 45 Young Indians personally chosen by Bose and affectionately known as the Tokyo Boys, were also sent to Japan's Imperial Military Academy to train as fighter pilots. Also, possibly the first time in Asia, and even the only time outside the Soviet Union, a women's regiment, the Rani of Jhansi regiment was raised as a combat force

The Royal Indian Navy Mutiny (RIN Mutiny)

The Royal Indian Navy Mutiny or the Bombay Mutiny was the revolt of the Indian sailors. The sailors who belonged to the Royal Indian Navy on board ship and shore establishments at Bombay harbour went for a strike and organised a mutiny on 18th February 1946. The whole mutiny involved 78 ships, 20 shore establishments and 20,000 sailors. This revolt subsequently came to be known as the RIN revolt. It started as a protest against their general conditions. The immediate reason for the outbreak of the mutiny was their pay and food. In addition to that there were more elementary matters such as racist behaviour by Royal Navy personnel towards Indian sailors, and disciplinary measures taken against the sailors who demonstrated nationalist sympathy. The R.I.N revolt started electing a Naval Central Strike committee, Signalman M.S Khan and Telegraphist Madan Singh were elected as the President and Vice-President respectively. The Royal Indian Navy Mutiny was widely supported by the Indian population. The one day strike spread to other cities from Bombay and the Royal Indian Air Force and local police forces also joined this mutiny. Furthermore, in Madras and Pune, the British garrisons had to face revolts within the ranks of the Indian Army. The mutinying ships hoisted three flags which were tied together those of the Congress, Muslim League, and the Red Flag of the Communist Party of India (CPI).

The flag signified the unity and demarginalisation of communal issues among the mutineers. The Royal Indian Navy Mutiny was called off following a meeting between the President of the Naval Central Strike Committee (NCSC), M. S. Khan, and Vallabhai Patel of the Congress. Vallabhai Patel was sent to Bombay to settle the crisis. Thus; Patel put forth a statement calling on the strikers to end their action. Mohammed Ali Jinnah on behalf of the Muslim League also supported the statement of Patel. As a result, the strike ended and in spite of assurances of the good

services there were widespread arrests of the Congress and the Muslim League. Furthermore, there were incidents of courts martial and large scale dismissals from the service. However, after independence none of the dismissed returned into either of the Indian or Pakistani navies.

COMMUNAL POLITICS –JINNAH- TWO NATION THEORY

The Muslim league was in the year 1906 which coloured the subsequent history of the national movement and had a far reaching effect in Hindu Muslim relations. It was the first organised expression of the communal separatism in the country. The encouragement from the British government fostered the separatism, the British civilians like Colvin and Hunter exhorted for a fair deal to the Muslims and to check the growth of national feeling. The British policy of the divide and rule encouraged the communal and separatist tendencies in Indian politics. As per this intention, they came out as a champion of the Muslims and to win over the side of Muslim zamindars, landlords and the newly educated. The role of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was notable in the rise of Muslim separatist tendency, the ideologies and writings of the Khan towards the end popularised the tendencies and the preachings of the political interest to complete obedience to British rule. When Indian National Congress was founded, he opposed it and also began to preach that since the Hindus formed the larger part of the Indian population, they would dominate the Muslims in the case of withdrawal of the British rule. Relative backwardness of the Indian Muslims in education, industry also contributed to the separatist tendency. When the educated Muslims found the very rare opportunities for them, they developed a kind of resentment against the Hindus. The extremist policies, programmes and the speeches and writings of some militant nationalists had a strong religious and Hindu tinge.

They emphasised and identified Indian culture and Indian nation with the Hindu religion, and ignored the elements of composite culture. The absence of a central political organisation to safeguard the Muslim interest against the preponderance of the Congress was keenly felt by the Muslim leaders. The Viceroy at Simla, in August 1906 demanded that the legislative representation of the Muslim should be by the separate electorate and representation should be higher than their percentage in population. The formation of the league produced far reaching consequences in the political history of India. It created the cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims. In 1908 the annual session of the Muslim League opposed the Congress resolution against the partition of Bengal and pressed for representation on a communal basis. The Minto-Morley reforms of 1909 accepted the demand for separate electorate for the Muslims, but there was a change in the programme and demands on the Muslim League after 1911.

the revocation of the partition of Bengal gave a rude shock to league. The discontent of the Muslim sprang from the foreign source., Gandhi, the khilafat and noncooperation tried to a Hindu Muslim unity in the 20s and 30s. During the 40s communalism and sectarianism became more severe in India. The partition of India was a logical conclusion of the British policy of divide and rule to look of the communal problem in India merely as a Hindu- Muslim question as of religious antagonism between Hindus and Muslims is misleading. The communal problem at its base was mere economically and politically motivated than religious oriented. apart from the Hindus and Muslims , there was a third party in the communal triangle ---the British rules. They created communal triangle of which they remained the base. The British were neither true friends of the Muslims nor the foes of the Hindus. The genesis of Pakistan was implicit in the feeling of separatism .

the Pakistan demand which accelerated the process of separatism and as a result of the poor performance of the league in the provincial elections of 1937 even in the Muslim majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal .the league leader Jinnah touched the chord of the religious feelings of the Muslim which acted as a rallying force in Muslim politics. The communalism under Hindu mahasaba, RSS and the leaders like M S Golwalkar and V D Savarkar. Their writings and speeches aggravated the Hindu communalism and sectarianism .the demand for Pakistan and two nation theory of league, the direct action day which ultimately led to the partition of India and communal holocaust after the partition too. In 1943 ,c Rajagopalachari ,who had resigned from the congress in 1942, devised a formula to hold talks with Jinnah on his demand for Pakistan. The main features of this formula were, Muslim league endorse the Indian demand for independence and cooperation with the congress in the formation of the provisional interim government for the transitional period. after the termination of the second world war ,a commission shall be for demarcating contiguous districts in the north west and east of India where the Muslim population is in absolute majority .

In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite and shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Indian union. If the majority decide in favour of forming a separate and sovereign state, such a decision shall be given effect to without prejudice to the right of the border areas to choose between either State. Jinnah turned down Rajagopalachari's proposal as offering a mutilated and moth eaten Pakistan ,but he agreed to discuss the issue with Gandhi ,leading to Gandhi -Jinnah talks. Gandhi's negotiate with Jinnah on the basis of Rajaji formula of partitioning India created a sensation and particularly provoked the indignation of the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the Punjab and the Hindus of Bengal .

as could be expected ,the most bitter criticism was made by the Hindu mahasabha .savarkar asserted that the Indian provinces were not the private properties of Gandhi

and rajaji so that they could make gift of them to anyone they liked. The talks were in September 9-27, 1944 and failed to reach an agreement. Gandhi held that these separate Muslim state should be formed after India was free; but Jinnah urged for an immediate and complete settlement. The Gandhi-Jinnah talks did not bring the two communities nearer each other, but two results followed. In the first place, Jinnah was on a high pedestal and there was an inordinate accession of strength to the Muslim league. After the failure of Gandhi-Jinnah talks, another attempt was made by the congress and the Muslim league to find a way out from the political impasse.

The congress representative of the central assembly, Bhula bhaijeevan Desai and his Muslim league counterpart Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan and came up with the following proposals, both the congress and league would join in forming an interim government at the centre which would function as per the act of 1935, independent of the governor general. The interim government would have equal seats for representatives of both parties with adequate representation of the minorities. This pact came to be known as Desai-Liaqat pact. But it never got approval from either the congress or league, and Jinnah denounced the pact. About this time, on February 18, 1946, a section of Indians serving in the Royal Indian Navy, known as ratings (non-commissioned officers and sailors) mutinied in Bombay. They went on a hunger strike in protest against untold hardships regarding pay and food and the outrageous racial discrimination, in particular derogatory references to their national character. The ratings took possession of some ships, mounted the guns and prepared to open fire on the military guards. It was largely due to the efforts of Vallabhai Patel that on February 23, 1946, the ratings surrendered; but not before hartals and strikes and even violent outbreaks that had broken out in Bombay and elsewhere claimed a death toll of more than 200 persons. Besides the R.I.N Mutiny, the Royal Indian Air Forces also started strikes in this period. The labour problem was another feature. The postal and telegraph, railway workers were also went on strikes.

The peasants also rose against the high rents and for lands, tebhaga; the village of Bengal was the most important and notable in this character. On June 14, Wavell broadcast a plan, popularly known as the Wavell Plan. The essence of the plan was the formation of a new executive council at the centre, in which all but the viceroy and the commander in chief would be Indians. All portfolios except defence would also be held by the Indian members. The executive council was an interim arrangement, which was to govern the until such time that a new permanent constitution could be agreed upon and come to force. To consider these proposals and to progress towards the formation of the executive council, a conference of 21 Indian political leaders were invited to the summer capital of Simla in June, 25 1945. The leaders included Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, the then president of the congress, M.A. Jinnah the leader of Muslim league, the leaders of

the nationalist party, scheduled castes, Sikhs etc. Jinnah, however, sabotaged the Simla conference. He objected to the inclusion of any non-league Muslim in the executive council, with the claim that the Muslim League was the sole representative of Indian Muslims; the Congress therefore had no right to nominate a Muslim member to the council.

He also demanded, in addition to the retention of the viceroy's veto, some other safeguards for the Muslim members, such as a provision requiring a clear two-thirds majority in case of proposals objected to by Muslim members. The Congress objected to these demands as unreasonable. Abdul Kalam Azad, who represented the Congress at the Simla conference, is of the view that the failure of the Simla conference marked a watershed in India's political history. It immensely strengthened the clout of the Muslim League. The new Attlee government of Britain was to hold general elections in India. In the election results announced in December 1945, the Congress made its presence felt in the central legislative assembly as also the provincial legislatures.

In the central legislative assembly, the Congress secured 91.3 percent of votes in the general constituencies; the Muslim League won every Muslim seat. The Cabinet Mission (March-May, 1946), composed of three British cabinet ministers—Sir Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander—were the members. Its objective was to set up quickly a machinery for drawing up the constitution for independent India and make necessary arrangements for an interim government. After the meeting and discussion with the Indian leaders and announced its recommendations on May 16, 1946.

The demand for Pakistan was rejected on the ground that it would not solve the communal minority problem. In addition, partition would create many serious problems in defence, communications and other areas. There was to be a union of India, consisting of the British provinces and the princely states. The union government and its legislature were to have limited powers, dealing with only defence, foreign affairs, and communications. The union would have the powers necessary to raise the finances to manage these subjects. The provinces would enjoy autonomy. The provinces were grouped into three categories—A, B and C. Group A was to consist of Madras, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces, Bombay, and Orissa. Group B was to comprise (the Muslim majority areas) of the Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan; Group C was to include Bengal and Assam. The Congress agreed to the proposals relating to the constituent assembly, but rejected the proposal regarding the formation of an interim government, because the Muslim League had been given disproportionate representation. The League at first accepted it but later rejected and turned to "resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan". There were communal riots in some parts. The viceroy Lord Wavell invited Nehru, the leader of the largest party in India to form an Interim Government, which was sworn in on September 2, 1946.

it was composed of 12 members nominated by the congress with Nehru as its vice president. It was the time since the coming of the British that the government of India was in Indian hands. League at first refused to join the interim government, but later joined in it on 13 October. It became clear, however, that the league joined the interim government not to sincerely and cooperate with the congress, but to paralyse the functioning of the new government and it also boycotted the constituent assembly. While the country was passing through these uncertainties, prime minister Attlee announced on February 20, 1947, in the house of commons, that the British would quit India after transferring "into responsible hands not later than June 1948." He also appointed the lord Mountbatten as viceroy, successor of lord Wavell, who was the 34th and the last governor general and immediately began to take measures for transfer. But the Attlee's proclamation aggravated the communal violence and holocausts in different parts of India. It became a common sight and the partition became inevitable. In the renewed communal violence all the communities – the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs – vied with each other in the worst orgies of violence. The conflagration soon spread from the Punjab to NWFP and other parts of North India. Mountbatten held prolonged discussions with the leaders and convinced them of the reality, but the stalwarts like Gandhi and Azad vehemently opposed the partition. He prepared a partition plan which came to be known as the June 3rd plan or Mountbatten plan as it was presented on June 3. As per this two new dominions came into being in the world – India and Pakistan. The plan laid the following procedure, the provincial legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab would meet in two parts separately, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other representing the remaining districts, to decide by vote for partition of the provinces. Sind and Baluchistan decision was to be taken by their respective legislatures. NWFP was to be made by people through referendum and a similar referendum was to be held in the Sylhet district of Assam. Princely states could either accede to or remain independent. Both congress and league accepted and agreed to the plan and the Indian Independence Act was passed in July 1947. The act provided for setting up two independent dominions to be known as India and Pakistan from August 15, 1947.

Mountbatten plan

Lord Mountbatten (India's last viceroy) proposed a plan in May 1947 according to which provinces were to be declared independent successor states with the power to choose whether to join the constituent assembly or not.

Mountbatten Plan Background

- Lord Mountbatten came to India as the last Viceroy and was assigned the task of a speedy transfer of power by the then British Prime Minister Clement Atlee.
- In May 1947, Mountbatten came up with a plan under which he proposed that the provinces be declared independent successor states and then be allowed to choose whether to join the constituent assembly or not. This plan was called the 'Dickie Bird Plan'.
- Jawaharlal Nehru (Born on November 14, 1889) when apprised of the plan, vehemently opposed it saying it would lead to Balkanisation of the country. Hence, this plan was also called Plan Balkan.
- Then, the viceroy came up with another plan called the June 3 Plan. This plan was the last plan for Indian independence. It is also called the Mountbatten Plan.
- The June 3 Plan included the principles of partition, autonomy, sovereignty to both nations, right to make their own constitution.
- Above all, the Princely States such as Jammu and Kashmir were given a choice to either join India or Pakistan. The consequences of these choices would affect the new nations for decades to come.
- This plan was accepted by both the Congress and the Muslim League. By then, the Congress had also accepted the inevitability of the partition.
- This plan was put into action by the Indian Independence Act 1947 which was passed in the British Parliament and received the royal assent on 18 July 1947.

Provisions of the Mountbatten Plan

- British India was to be partitioned into two dominions – India and Pakistan.
- The constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly would not be applicable to the Muslim-majority areas (as these would become Pakistan). The question of a separate constituent assembly for the Muslim-majority areas would be decided by these provinces.
- As per the plan, the legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab met and voted for the partition. Accordingly, it was decided to partition these two provinces along religious lines.

- The legislative assembly of Sind would decide whether to join the Indian constituent assembly or not. It decided to go to Pakistan.
- A referendum was to be held on NWFP (North-Western Frontier Province) to decide which dominion to join. NWFP decided to join Pakistan while Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan boycotted and rejected the referendum.
- The date for the transfer of power was to be August 15, 1947.
- To fix the international boundaries between the two countries, the Boundary Commission was established chaired by Sir Cyril Radcliffe. The commission was to demarcate Bengal and Punjab into the two new countries.
- The princely states were given the choice to either remain independent or accede to India or Pakistan. The British suzerainty over these kingdoms was terminated.
- The British monarch would no longer use the title 'Emperor of India'.
- After the dominions were created, the British Parliament could not enact any law in the territories of the new dominions.
- Until the time the new constitutions came into existence, the Governor-General would assent any law passed by the constituent assemblies of the dominions in His Majesty's name. The Governor-General was made a constitutional head.

On the midnight of 14th and 15th August 1947, the dominions of Pakistan and India respectively came into existence. Lord Mountbatten was appointed the first Governor-General of independent India and M .A. Jinnah became the Governor-General of Pakistan.

Partition -its impact

As per mount batten plan The partition took place at the midnight of 14th and 15th August 1947 in which the entire paraphernalia was also divided; the geography, administrative units, population, defence etc. the impact of partition was so profound and prolonged. Lord Mountbatten went to Karachi on 13th August and on the following day addressed the Pakistan constituent assembly and attended the inauguration ceremony at Karachi. The partition raised some major issues in which most important was the question of refugees. Bengal, Punjab and Delhi affected the serious refugee problems and communal riots. Their rehabilitation of the refugees was the important challenge to face the newly formed government. Displacement of millions of the people and the separation of the minds of Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs, the question and confusions of the accession of the princely states, either India, Pakistan or to be independent. Though Congress was committed to secularism and though Gandhi staked his life for Hindu Muslim unity, the Congress was not able to a long term strategy

to fight communalism in its different forms at the level of both politics and ideology. The Congress leaders naively believed that assurances, generous concessions and willingness to reach a compromise would solve the problem.

INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

Indian Independence Act, 1947 contains the following provision regarding Indian States: All treaties, agreements, etc between His Majesty's Government and the rulers of the Indian States shall lapse. The words 'Emperor of India' shall be omitted from Royal Style and Titles. The Indian states will be free to accede to either of the new Dominion of India or Pakistan. Monarchy was abolished and hence, the princely states were to be annexed. In the National Provisional Government, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel headed the State Department. Patel and his chief aide, VP Menon appealed to the sense of patriotism of the Indian princes and persuaded them to join the Indian union. The annexations were to take place on the basis of surrender of three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communication. Lord Mountbatten aided Patel in his mission too. As a result by 15th August, as many as 136 jurisdictional states acceded to the Indian union. Kashmir's Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession on 26th October, 1947 and the **Nizam of Hyderabad** in 1948. V P Menon, on the other hand, successfully negotiated instruments of accession with a number of small states of Orissa with the Province of Orissa. On 18th December, the **Chattisgarh** rulers merged with the **Central Provinces**. Between the periods of 17th to 21st January 1948, Menon acquired the agreement for scores of minor states in Kathiawar to form the Union of Kathiawar, which began to govern on February 15. This set the pattern for the subsequent accession and merger of many tiny remaining states over the next five months. For geographical and administrative reasons, **Baroda and Kolhapur** were annexed to the then Bombay Province; **Gujarat** states were also merged with the **Bombay Province**.

A second form of integration of 61 states was the formation of the seven centrally administered areas. Thus the states of Himachal Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh (present day Madhya Pradesh), Tripura, Manipur, Bhopal, Kutch and Bilaspur were formed. Apart from these the states of United States of Matsya, Union of Vindhya Pradesh, **Madhya Bharat, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan and United States of Cochin-Travancore** were also integrated to the India. However, the unification of India was still incomplete without the French and Portuguese enclaves. The French authorities were more realistic when they ceded Pondicherry (Puducherry) and Chandernagore to India on 1st November, 1954. However, the Portuguese Government maintained that since Goa was part of the metropolitan territories of Portugal, it could be in no way affected by the British and French withdrawal from India. When negotiations and persuasions did not move the Portuguese government, units of Indian

army had to be mobilized and Goa, Daman and Diu were liberated and annexed to India on 19th December, 1961. Thus, after much toil Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and his aides successfully integrated the Indian states to form a unified country.

MODULE 5- THE LEGACY OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Ambedkar and His programmes

B. R AMBEDKAR

Babasaheb Ambedkar is one of the foremost thinkers of modern India. His thoughts centrally concerned with issues of freedom, human equality, democracy and sociopolitical emancipation. He is a unique thinker of the world who himself suffered much humiliation, poverty and social stigma, right from his childhood, yet he rose to great educational and philosophical heights. He was a revolutionary social reformer who demonstrated great faith in democracy and the moral basis of a society. He was one of the principal critics of India's national movement led by M.K. Gandhi. He built civic and political institutions in India and criticized ideologies and institutions that degraded and enslaved people. He undertook several major studies on the economy, social structures and institutions, law and constitutionalism, history and religion with in a methodological vigor and reflexivity. He was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution and defended its key provisions with scholarly precision and sustained arguments without losing sight of the ideals it upheld while, at the same time; holding firmly to the ground. He embraced Buddhism, recasting it to respond to modern and socially emancipator urges, with hundreds of thousands of his followers and paved the way for its resurgence in Modern India. Ambedkar wrote several books. Unlike his contemporaries, he had done a lot of original research on his texts. Apart from writing the Indian Constitution as the Chairman of its Drafting Committee and defending it in the marathon debates of the Constituent Assembly, he wrote several books that reflect systematic thinking. Apart from his doctoral dissertations on *The Problem of the Rupee (1923)* and *The Evolution of Finance in British India (1925)* he wrote *Annihilation of Caste*, *Thoughts on Pakistan (1940)*, *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables (1945)*, *Who were the Sudras? (1946)*, *The Untouchables: who were They. And why they became Untouchables? (1948)*, *States and Minorities (1947)*, *Thoughts on Linguistic states (1955)* and his magnum opus *The Buddha and his Dharma (1957)* are the most important. Apart from them he wrote numerous articles, submitted learned memoranda, delivered lectures and commented on the issues in the journals he published.

Contribution to Constitution Making:

The Indian Constitution and its drafting process are often seen as synonymous with Ambedkar. He was regarded as the father of the Indian Constitution, and is probably the most well-known of all Constituent Assembly members.

Ambedkar became a key figure in India's constitution-making process due to the offices he held and his interventions and speeches in the Assembly. He was the Chairman of the Assembly's most crucial committee – the Drafting Committee. Ambedkar was also a member of other important Committees. As chairman of the Drafting Committee, he had to defend the Draft Constitution which it prepared, and therefore intervened in nearly every debate.

On behalf of the Scheduled Caste Federation party, Ambedkar wrote and submitted *States and Minorities* document to the Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights of the Constituent Assembly. A mini-Constitution in itself, *States and Minorities* framed strong social and economic rights.

Ambedkar's interventions and speeches, on various aspects of the Constitution, were insightful, well-reasoned and scrupulously researched. This won him the support and respect of other members of the Assembly who allowed him to lead the constitution-making project.

Later Contributions:

Ambedkar was appointed as the first Law Minister of independent India in 1947. Ambedkar's ideas as presented in the Hilton Young Commission served as an inspiration behind the creation of the Reserve Bank of India.

In 1956, Ambedkar with 3,65,000 supporters converted to Buddhism, after having devoted several years to studying the religion. Ambedkar's re-invention of Buddhism in the language of social justice is popularly referred to as Dalit Buddhist movement, Navayana, or Neo-Buddhism.

As a Scheduled Caste Federation party candidate, Ambedkar contested in India's first general elections from Bombay North Central constituency. The elections, dubbed as '*the biggest experiment in democracy in human history*' by Sukumar Sen (then Election Commissioner) saw Ambedkar finish fourth in the race – the unknown candidate from the Congress party took home the seat. Despite his loss in the Lok Sabha elections in 1952, he was elected to the Rajya Sabha.

In the later years of his life, his health worsened, and he passed away on 6 December 1956 in his sleep at his home in Delhi. His birth date is celebrated as '*Ambedkar Jayanti*' in the form of a public holiday. He was posthumously given the Bharat Ratna in 1991.

NEHRUVIAN ERA

Nehruji had a multi faceted personality. He had wide range of interests and had qualities like rationality, humanity and respect for individual, independence of spirit and secular. He wanted to inculcate these qualities in co-workers as well as people. Nationalism is his foremost quality which even his enemies wouldn't deny. This he retained even after 1947.

He wanted to build a socialist society - equitable, egalitarian, just, humane with democratic and civil libertarian polity. He tried to link his dual commitment to nationalism and socialism. The most important task before Nehru was to build a nation and neither of his two idols Gandhiji or Marx had any guidance on this matter. He set upon his task with excitement and optimism.

Under his leadership India had an independent foreign policy which wasn't inclined towards either of the two blocs - US and USSR. He also was responsible for the economic policy of making the nation self-reliant and self sustaining. He set upon building world class institutions in science and technology, develop indigenous capabilities for research, public sector industries for strategic sectors and self sufficiency in agriculture. Nehru believed that independence depended on economic strength of a country.

The motto of Unity in Diversity was a good example of his ideology. He recognised that the separatist factors like caste-ism, regionalism, communalism which had transcended during the independence struggle had risen again. India had to embrace all diversity and yet remain united. He succeeded in keeping the secessionist forces in check and at the same time pushed forward the process of national integration and nation building.

Five-Year Plans

Five-Year Plans (FYPs) are centralized and integrated national economic programs. Joseph Stalin implemented the first Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union in 1928. Most communist states and several capitalist countries subsequently have adopted

them. China continues to use FYPs, although China renamed its Eleventh FYP, from 2006 to 2010, a guideline (*guihua*), rather than a plan (*jihua*), to signify the central government's more hands-off approach to development. India launched its First FYP in 1951, immediately after independence, under the socialist influence of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. he first Indian prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, presented the First Five-Year Plan to the Parliament of India and needed urgent attention. The First Five-year Plan was launched in 1951 which mainly focused in the development of the primary sector. The First Five-Year Plan was based on the Harrod–Domar model with few modifications. The Second Plan focused on the development of the public sector and "rapid Industrialisation". The plan followed the Mahalanobis model, an economic development model developed by the Indian statistician Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis in 1953. The plan attempted to determine the optimal allocation of investment between productive sectors in order to maximise long-run economic growth. The Third Five-year Plan stressed agriculture and improvement in the production of wheat, but the brief Sino-Indian War of 1962 exposed weaknesses in the economy and shifted the focus towards the defence industry and the Indian Army. In 1965–1966, India fought a War with Pakistan. There was also a severe drought in 1965. The war led to inflation and the priority was shifted to price stabilisation. The construction of dams continued. Many cement and fertilizer plants were also built. Punjab began producing an abundance of wheat.

Many primary schools were started in rural areas. In an effort to bring democracy to the grass-root level, Panchayat elections were started and the states were given more development responsibilities.

Jawaharlal Nehru's Foreign Policy

Jawaharlal Nehru is considered to be the architect of modern India. Apart from his careful handling of India's tumultuous domestic situation in the years immediately after the Independence, Nehru's major contribution lies in the field of foreign policies. In fact, Nehru determined India's international profile to a great degree in the post-independence years, in his capacity as the foreign minister of India. Jawaharlal Nehru's foreign policy has been made subject to much controversy and debate, like his economic policies. However, taken in the context of India's newly found status as a democratic republic, Nehru's foreign affairs policies seem to be extremely apt. Socialism can be said to be one of the greatest international influences on Nehru, but Gandhi's ideals of Satyagraha also influenced him to a great degree. But he committed himself to neither point of view in framing his foreign policy. Nehru's foreign policies were characterized by two major ideological aspects. First, he wanted India to have an identity that would be independent of any form of overt commitment to either power bloc, the

USA or the Soviet. Secondly, he had an unshaken faith in goodwill and honesty in matters of international affairs. The first policy led ultimately to the founding of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM). His second faith was terribly shaken by the Chinese attack of 1962, openly disobeying all the clauses of the Panchsheel or five-point agreement of 1954 between New Delhi and Peking. This breach of faith was a major psychological shock for Nehru, and was partially the reason for his death.

.The Founding Principles of Nehru's Foreign Policy:

Nehru saw war and violent insurgency from very close quarters as a freedom fighter, and he believed in neither. In his foreign policies, Nehru tried to guide India in such a way, so as to steer clear from any form of violence and militarism. He rightly believed that a newly decolonized nation must invest all its economic and logistic resources towards development and not defense and armament. Just like his economic policies, which were non-committal towards any ideological position, Nehru wanted to bring in a healthy level of pragmatism in his dealings of India's foreign affairs as well. He understood that overt commitment to any of the two major power blocs to emerge in the aftermath of World War II, would not serve India's path. He therefore wanted to tread a third path, which was not necessarily the middle path. It should be remembered that this dogged non-commitment of Nehru was not seen sympathetically by any of the super powers of either East or West at its initial stage. It was frequently termed as a kind of international opportunism and was accused of 'neutralism' - a stance reckoned to be not only dangerous but also equally immoral in the world of International politics. However, the increasing popularity of NAM among various Asian and African countries and Nehru's growing stature as a statesman situation changed their views. India too benefited from this position, as it managed to secure rebuilding grants from member countries of either bloc. After Nehru's successful mediation in the Korean War and the Congo problem, putting an end to a long and violent struggle, his status as a commendable and efficient statesman reached new heights. Jawaharlal Nehru's theory of ideological non-commitment in a world that was rendered dangerous by the Cold War was appreciated by one and all.

Nehru and the Non-Alignment Movement:

The greatest success of Jawaharlal Nehru's non-committal international politics was the formation of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM). Nehru found allies in Tito, Nasser, Soekarno, U Nu and Nkrumah at a later stage in his formation of this new alliance. An alliance of newly independent and long colonized nations was not taken seriously in the beginning, either by the Eastern or the Western bloc. However, the importance of the alliance was soon felt, and initially led to a great degree of international pressure from

both parts of the globe. However, Nehru proceeded with his mission undaunted. It was a great test for his courage and it was soon found out that the NAM was not merely a passive platform of neutral and inactive nations. It had clear objectives that included the gradual decolonization of the world, and a strong statement that the member countries were not party to the ever escalating tension of the Cold War. The favored process of decolonization as adopted by the NAM member countries was one of discussion and peaceful agreement. On many occasions, NAM met with success, often under the leadership of Nehru. Whoever supported its cause was an ally and a friend. Nehru preached a policy of issue based alliance and not one based on political and economic dogmas. He was proud of being an Asian, and wanted Asian nations to be the primary determinants of their political fate, not always guided by Western forces. Nehru's unshaken belief in the force of international brotherhood was attested with his decision to continue with India's Commonwealth status.

He was made subject to much criticism back home because of the support he extended towards the Commonwealth, particularly after the complication of the independence issue by the British government in the post World War II years, leading to the unwanted partition. However, Nehru, always the believer in peaceful alliances and solution of international affairs based on discussions, went on with his ideals. Nehru and the Kashmir Problem: Nehru's Foreign policies did not augur well when it came to deal with the neighbors. Kashmir was a perpetual problem, and he failed to reach any successful negotiation regarding Kashmir with the neighbor Pakistan. Nehru had an innate belief in honest fellow-feeling and political generosity. He tried to force a negotiation with the Pakistani government through the United Nations. But the Pakistani military rulers denied any peaceful agreement. The offer of a possible plebiscite was also taken off in 1950. After India's dogged denial of the two-nation theory, a result in favor of Kashmir in the Muslim dominated Kashmir would be a strategic disaster for India. The Kashmir problem remained unresolved, and not even Nehru's diplomatic expertise could give any positive direction to the problem. It still continues to be the one of the key international problems in South Asia.

National integration

According to the Indian independence act of 1947, along with the British Indian provinces, the princely states of India also became independent. Princely states were free to join in the Indian union or to declare independence. This provision of the act created a very dangerous situation because 40% of territory was under the princes and which may again bring the disunity. In 1947, the future of the princely states became a matter of concern. Many of the larger princes began to dream of independence. They claimed that paramount cannot be transferred to the new states of India and Pakistan.

Rulers of several states claimed that they became independent, when British rule ended. The national could hardly accept such a situation of disunity and rejected the claims of any state of independence. They declared that independence for princely states was not an option; the only option to accede to India or Pakistan on the basis of contiguity of its territory and wishes of its people. The prime task of the new formed independent government was the integration of the Indian states. As a result of several factors and the tact, wisdom, skill with which Sardar Patel handled the problem and he was relentlessly assisted by V.P Menon the secretary of state's department. Patel assumed the charge of the states department on 27th June 1947 and Menon too. Patel appealed to all the princes to accede to the Indian union. Due to the rising tide of the popular movements in the states and the firm attitude of Patel most of the princes responded to the appeal and acceded to Indian union by August 15th 1947. Some of the states joined in the constituent assembly in April 1947 and some of the princess stayed away and few states like Travancore, Bhopal and Hyderabad publically declared their desire to claim an independence status. But at the last three of the states, Junagadh, Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad did not join the union and they were acceded to the union by forcefully or with the will of the people. The ruler of Junagadh, Nawab announced accession of his state to Pakistan but the people state desired join India. The popular movements, the intervention of the Indian troops with the invitation of Shahnawaz Bhutto and the plebiscite favoured to India and accession. In the state of Kashmir ruler was a Hindu and population was Muslim. Hari Singh did not accede either India or Pakistan and continue to be an independent ruler. The popular political force led by the national conference and Sheikh Abdullah wanted to join India and the invasion of the Pathan tribes (Pak Army) compelled the ruler to accede to India and also agreed to install Sheikh Abdullah as the head of the state administration. India announced that it would hold referendum on the accession decision in the valley and part of India. Hyderabad was the largest state in India, ruled by the Nizam who wished to become an independent status with encouragement of Pakistan. Patel negotiated with Hyderabad but the ruler was strengthening his force. In the meanwhile the political developments in the state; the rapid growth of militant Muslim communal organisation, Ittehad-ul-Muslim in and its Para military wing Razakars and the Satyagraha movement of the State Congress for the democratisation made the turbulent situation. The disturbed activities of the Razakars brought the situation very tense and Nizam continued to impart more and more army. At that time Indian army moved to Hyderabad on 13th September 1948, Nizam surrendered and acceded to the Indian union in November 1948. Thus integration process was completed.