

HISTORY OF INDIA (1858 – 1950 CE)

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HISTORY OF INDIA (1858-1950 C.E.)

Unit - I

Queen's Proclamation- Economic Impact –Anti-Colonial Resistance –Tribal and Peasant Revolts- British policies after 1858 –Cultural Awakening

Unit - II

Rise of National Consciousness- Foundation of the Indian National Congress: Objectives- Moderates and their Achievements- Rise of Extremism- Partition of Bengal- Swadeshi Movement- Minto Morley Reforms of 1909

Unit - III

Home Rule Movement- Montague- Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 - Gandhi's entry into the Indian Politics- Khilafat Question- Jallian Wallabagh Incident

Unit - IV

Non-Cooperation Movement- Simon Commission Agitation - Nehru Report- Civil Disobedience Movement- Round Table Conferences- 1935 Act

Unit - V

Rise of Communalism- Demand for Pakistan- Cripps Mission- Quit India Movement- Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA- Naval Mutiny- Cabinet Mission Plan- Partition and Freedom – The Dawn of Indian Republic-Constitution of India

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UNIT – I**Lesson 1.1 - Queen's Proclamation****Objectives**

1. To narrate the conditions in India after the Revolt of 1857
2. To analyse the Economic impact of the British rule
3. To give details of the anti-colonial resistance, like the Tribal and Peasant Revolts
4. To present the British policies after 1858
5. To study the various facets of cultural awakening that took place.

The first unit of the syllabus starts with the Queen's Proclamation in 1858. Later, it analyses the Economic impact of the foreign rule and gives details of the Tribal and Peasant Revolts. It also presents the British policies after 1858 and the cultural awakening in the period.

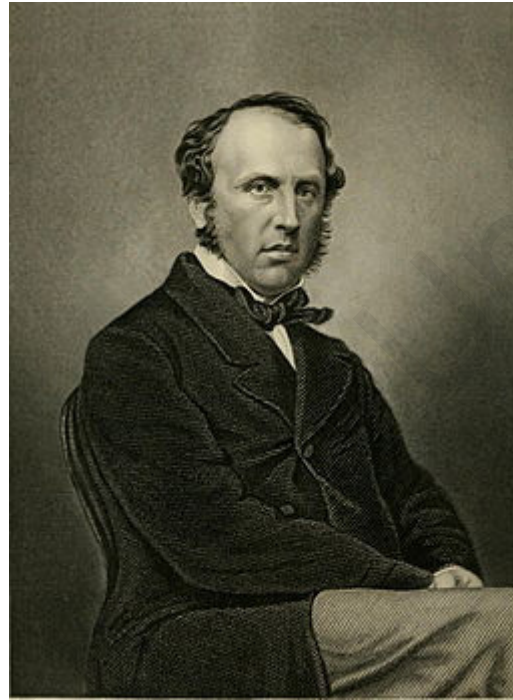


Queen Victoria

1.1 Queen's Proclamation

India's history underwent a sea change with the uprising of 1857. The British government's policies and administrative structure underwent significant modifications as a result. It gave the Crown, not the East India

Company, the authority to control India in 1858. Rather than the Board of Control and the Director of the Company, who were controlling authority before the revolt, the power was now shifted to the hand of the Secretary of State for India, who was placed in charge with the support of a Council. After being appointed to the British Cabinet, this Secretary of State had only the British Parliament to answer to.



Lord Canning

A durbar in Allahabad saw Lord Canning declare, in the “Queen’s Proclamation,” published on November 1, 1858, that the British sovereign would take over as India’s ruler. As the Crown’s envoy, the Governor General was referred to as the Viceroy from that point on. An Executive Council was to be formed for him. Members of it rose to the positions of advisors and department leaders. The Viceroy’s veto authority allowed him to override any decision made by the Council, even though decisions had been made with the majority’s approval.

The period of annexation and expansion came to an end with the Queen’s proclamation in 1858, during which the British government pledged to uphold the rights and dignity of the numerous native princes while making various concessions in an effort to win their favour. The Indian states were to be viewed as components of a single entity and were required to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Crown. Since Indians were known to be extremely sensitive to their religion, British officials

told the people of India that they would not interfere with their right to practice their faith. In addition to equal chances in government services for all Indians, regardless of colour or creed, the proclamation, at least on paper, guaranteed them all equal and impartial protection under the law.

Furthermore, since India differs much from European nations and since European powers must respect Indian laws and customs to control India, it was guaranteed that ancient Indian rights, customs, traditions, and practices would be duly considered in the drafting and implementation of legislation.

Following the Revolt of 1857, the policy of divide and rule intended to govern the populace—began in earnest. Unscrupulously, the British pitted one class and community against another, igniting the Hindu-Muslim conflict that ended in 1947 with Partition.



Dadabhai Naoroji

As a result, after the Revolt, the social fabric of the country started to erode irreversibly. As the East India Company dominion of India came to an end after the revolt, an era of structured economic looting by the British government began; Dada Bhai Naoroji termed this period “the Drain of Wealth” since it started in India and went all the way to England. With total impunity, they pillaged the Indian economy and possessed all the authority. Racial bias, hostility, and mistrust between the Indians and the English were possibly the most remarkable negative consequences of the 1857 rebellion.

The people who supported imperialism in India insulted and despised the Indian people as a whole, branding them as untrustworthy. The Master Race thesis, often known as Whiteman’s burden theory, was the

foundation for the entire Indian government's restructuring. The British employed this notion to elevate and civilise the barbarians. But their true goal was entirely different. These, then, are a few factors that contributed to the growing divide between the ruling class and the ruled, which caused political disputes, protests, violent crimes, and much more in the years that followed.

Despite the conservative façade, Indian society saw a significant transformation in the latter part of the 1800s compared to the earlier part. For Indians, the British had much more to give. Prior to the 1850s, imports of Western technology had been restricted. Subsequently, a vast railway network was established. Also, significant canal projects were implemented, resulting in a more than twofold increase in the irrigated area during the final two decades of the century. The opening of the Suez Canal, the railways, and steamships' enormously expanded capacity allowed Indian farmers considerably more access to global markets. Such changes could benefit a small but considerable minority of people by enabling them to sell excess crops and buy more land. A few sectors emerged, most notably the textile manufacturing industry owned by Indians in western India.

Though the early 19th-century economic stagnation had been broken, the horrifying scope of the devastating disasters like famines in the 1880s and 1890s demonstrated the limited economic growth level. Most universities, schools and colleges that sprang up in the metropolitan centres were founded on Indian initiative. Rather than creating the exact English People Macaulay had envisioned, they created Indians who could learn imported technologies and organisational strategies in addition to their local tongues and English and who were willing to embrace some parts of British society. The dominant intellectual currents should not be referred to as "Westernization." Apart from the expansion of civilisations manifested in Indian languages, attempts were made to revive or reform Islam and Hinduism. At the end of the 19th century, modern India began to emerge within the confines of a colonial system.

1.2 Economic Impact

All facets of the Indian economy were impacted by British control till 1947. The Indian economy was substantially different during the British Period. Its sole purpose was to meet the demands of the British economy, not to further the growth of the Indian economy. It significantly tilts the trade balance against India.

Stages of Colonialism: Three distinct phases marked the establishment of British colonialism in India, each of which reflected a unique pattern of colony subordination and, as a result, a different set of colonial policies, ideologies, effects, and responses from the colonial populace.

Period of Mercantilism (1757–1813): During this time, the British sought to monopolise trade and appropriate revenue directly. The two primary characteristics were an overt element of looting and an overt takeover of authority—a lack of significant importation of British goods. No fundamental adjustments were made to the colony's judicial system, administration, culture, or economics.

Laissez-Faire Period (1813–1860): The industrial bourgeoisie of the city dominated this period, setting the economic and administrative policies of the colony and transforming the colony into a commercial partner that imports manufactured items and exports raw materials. The colony underwent economic, political, administrative, social, cultural, and ideological transformations masquerading as modernisation and advancement for the advantage of British interests.

Finance Imperialism (1860–1947): Among the industrialised nations, there was fierce competition for new, safe, and exclusive markets and raw material supplies. As a result, these nations exported capital to the colonies. Reactionary policies are replacing liberal ones in the colonial government.

- a) **Changes in the nature of the Economy:** Because of the highly distinct character of British policies, the Indian economy was forced to become a colonial economy to meet the British economy's demands, which ultimately caused the Indian economy to deteriorate. This procedure produced many modifications. The invaders of ancient and medieval India regarded India as their own nation, making investments and earning money there. The primary difference between the earlier invaders and the British imperial in India was that the latter did not modify the Indian economy's structure or appropriate its wealth as tribute. India's economy was transformed into a colonial economy as a result of British domination; in other words, the British economy dictated the structure and functioning of the Indian economy.

Some historians estimated that India accounted for roughly 23% of the global economy at the start of the 18th century. After

India gained independence, this percentage dropped to about 3%. Beginning in the first half of the 1800s, early thinkers saw British rule as a means of modernising the nation by applying capitalist economic organisation and cutting-edge technology. The politically aware started to get disillusioned in the 1860s and started looking into the details of British rule in India. Dadabhai Naoroji, also known as the “Grand Old Man of India,” was the most prominent of these economic experts. He developed the notion of the economic drain in poverty after doing a great analysis of the colonial economy; he published a book, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*.

Apart from Dadabhai Naoroji, many other scholars played a significant role, giving us a clear picture of the colonial economy. Some of them are Romesh Chandra Dutt, Mahadev Govind Ranade, G. Subramania Iyer and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

They claimed that the conversion of India into a market for urban manufacturers, a source of food and raw materials for the city, and a location for British capital investment was the fundamental aspect of 19th-century colonialism. These early nationalist analysts coordinated intellectual protests and promoted the creation of an autonomous economy based on contemporary industries and the total termination of India’s economic subjugation to Britain.

- b) **Decline of Urban Handicrafts:** The demand for the urban handicrafts that had made India famous for millennia declined as a result of these changes in the trade pattern. The influx of less expensive machine-made items from Britain was the cause of this downturn. Cotton-related industries included shipping, oil pressing, tanning, dyeing, iron, pottery, glass, paper, cotton textiles, weaving, spinning, silk, and woollen textiles. Once the British residents were granted one form of free commerce by the Charter Act of 1813, low-cost, machine-made imports began to flood the Indian market. On the other hand, a number of factors, such as tariffs of almost 80% placed on Indian textiles, made Indian cloth unaffordable and made it increasingly difficult for Indian items to enter the European markets.

The absence of support from Indian rulers and the hefty import taxes on Indian goods in overseas markets further contributed

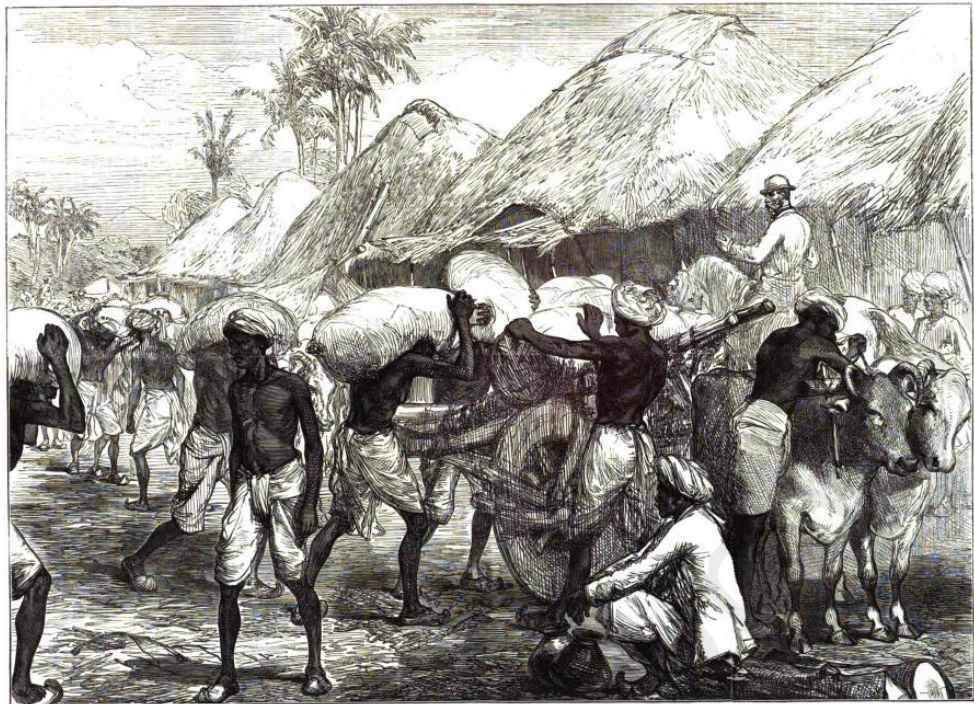
to the downturn. The government should have taken action to support these artisans. Consequently, de-industrialization resulted. European markets were essentially shut off to Indian goods after 1820. Low-cost British-made textiles inundated India. European goods were able to go to even the most remote regions of the nation thanks to the recently established train network. India switched from being a net exporter to a net importer.

In British India, the deprivation of traditional ways of livelihood was not supported by industrialisation, as had happened to other Western countries like England. In the end, this led to India becoming de-industrialized during a period when the Industrial Revolution was resuming in Europe. This happened at a phase when Indian handicrafters and artisans were already having difficulty getting by because the nobility and kings, who had been inspired by modern Western ideals and tastes, had stopped supporting them. Previously, a few of the nation's princely states provided financial support to these handicrafters and artisans, enabling them to support their way of life.

- c) **Deterioration in the conditions of the Peasants:** Under British administration, the Peasantry began to become impoverished due to the policies of Warren Hastings and Robert Clive, who imposed high land revenue taxes. Rents rose to extremely high levels under the Zamindars' rule. In more expansive regions of the nation, the Permanent Settlement system has been imposed due to the government's self-serving behavior, desire to maximize rents, and desire to protect its revenue share. That was also the case in the districts of Ryotwari and Mahalwari. Comparing this rulership to previous ones, the state of Peasants worsened much more.

One of the hallmarks of the new settlement was the transferability of land, which greatly enraged the tenants, who were left without all of their traditional entitlements to the land as it increasingly became marketable property.

Improving agriculture was not the government's job. It had an extremely rigid revenue-collecting policy. If peasants owed money for unpaid arrears, their farms were also sold. Due to his obligation to sell his produce at the price set by the moneylender/merchant, the peasant was exploited by the commercialisation of agriculture.



Exploitation of Peasant Class

With their expanded power under permanent settlement, the Zamindar exploited the peasants in a variety of new ways. To increase their part of the produce, they demanded illegal dues and “begar,” and as a result, they had no motivation to make investments in the advancement of agriculture. To pay the zamindars their dues, the indebted peasants had to turn to the moneylenders. The farmer was forced by the moneylender to sell the produce at a cheap price, who was frequently also the village grain trader, in order to pay off his debt. Additionally, the wealthy moneylender influenced the law and the judiciary to his advantage. Under the weight of the government, moneylender and, zamindar, the peasant ended up being the one who suffered the most. His suffering worsened throughout the hunger and shortage. This was true for both territories covered by the Ryotwari and Mahalwari systems as well as the Zamindari areas. Thus, the government, Zamindar and the money lender cum merchant were responsible for the deterioration in the conditions of the Peasants.

Commercialisation of Agriculture: The government expanded agricultural trade by progressively enhancing transportation infrastructure. As a result, Indian agriculture was commercialized and specialized more quickly by the government. Even the farmers’ financial situation suffered from the commercialisation. He was now producing

for both the Indian and global markets, making him vulnerable to all the ups and downs of even that volatile market. Despite cultivating his small plot of land using the labour-intensive methods of bullocks and the antiquated plough, he had to contend with strong international competitors, such as the large agrarian trusts of Europe, Australia, and America, which produced on a large scale.

In addition, the process of commercialisation rendered him reliant on intermediaries, or merchants, in order to sell his goods. Due to his better financial standing, the merchant fully exploited the peasant's impoverishment. In order to satisfy the moneylender's and the state's revenue claims, the impoverished peasant was forced to sell his goods to the intermediary during harvest season. Since the peasant was acting out of pure need, this transaction didn't benefit him as much as it would have if he had waited. As a result, the intermediary took home a sizable portion of the earnings.

Impoverishment of Peasantry: The impoverishment of the peasantry in the Zamindar areas is a result of their oppression at the hands of the Zamindars. their destitution in the areas of Royotwari and Mahalwari as a result of the government's disproportionate demand for taxes. Very little money spent by the government on advancing agriculture. strict procedures for collecting revenue. This forced the poor peasant to borrow money from the moneylender at exorbitant interest rates. As a result, his financial situation grew worse, and he eventually lost his land.

The lack of rural credit policies by the state rendered the peasants vulnerable to moneylenders. In actuality, the government had a credit program that only provided for the most basic requirements of the peasantry. Even this was developed after a lot of difficulties. Even the government officials who were initially doubtful of the situation realized how serious things were after the major riots that occurred in 1875 during the Bombay presidency. It is important to remember that anti-moneylender sentiment was present in many previous 19th-century Indian upheavals. The peasants' wrath was occasionally focused on the moneylenders, even during the 1857 uprising. Of course, the mid-1850s Santhal Rebellion had many causes, one of the most important one of them was the targeting of the money-lending community.

Following the Deccan Riots of 1875, a number of acts addressing this issue were passed, and credit banks were established. Agriculturists' Loan Act (1884), Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act (1879), Punjab Land Alienation Act (1902), and the Land Improvements Act (1883) were among the laws enacted to safeguard debtors from moneylenders and guarantee government loans to farmers.

A significant number of laws pertaining to agricultural indebtedness were passed by the legislature in the 20th century, including the Usurious Loans Act of 1935, Redemption of the Mortgage Act of 1935, Assam Moneylenders Act of 1934, Punjab Debtors' Protection Act of 1936, the U.P. Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1934, and the U.P. Usurious Loans Amendment Act, which guaranteed that the interest rate on secured loans would not exceed 7%. However, these types of laws, which were implemented in the wake of turmoil in the countryside, had multiple flaws that allowed the usurer to carry on with his brutal exploitation.

- d) **New Landlordism:** Due to the policy of giving revenue collection rights to the highest bidders, Zamindars were ruined in the first few decades of British rule in Bengal and Madras. Later, their conditions improved due to the fact that the rights of tenants were abolished. This kind of system also spread to Ryotwari areas. Other sections of society, like money lenders, merchants and rich peasants, became Landlords in the new situation. These new landlords started using the system of subletting and sub-infeudation. Half of Bengal's land had changed ownership by 1815, passing into the hands of merchants, moneylenders, and other affluent urban classes. With more authority but few or no opportunities for fresh investments, the new zamindars turned to land grabs and sub-infeudation; their primary goal was to take resources from the peasants, but they made no effort to improve the agricultural sector; instead, they only cared about increasing their revenue collection. Absentee landlordism and the burden on the peasants increased as a result of an increase in the number of middlemen that needed to be paid. Due to the strong demand for land, prices increased along with the peasants' obligations. The zamindar had little need to make investments in the advancement of agriculture since he had no established or charitable relationships with the tenants. The zamindars' only interests were in maintaining British control and resisting the national movement.

Nevertheless, as time went on, we noticed that zamindars' opinions diverged, with some supporting the movement and others opposing it in order to further their own financial interests.

There was also competition among tenants to work on land due to overcrowding of agricultural land. This led to many intermediaries between the cultivator and the government.

- e) **Stagnation of Agriculture:** Yields per acre became very low, and small holdings became uneconomical for the cultivators. Therefore, the cultivators had no resources to improve agriculture, nor did they have any interest in doing so.

The landlord and the government did not improve agriculture. The implements used were outdated. There was also a wastage of animal manure. The cultivator lacked the resources and motivation to devote time to farming. The new zamindar was not well-established in the villages, and there was no government investment in mass, technical, or agricultural education. The combination of these factors, along with the land division brought about by sub-infeudation, made it challenging to implement contemporary technologies, resulting in a persistently low level of productivity. Later on, nevertheless, some investments were made for the purpose of irrigation.

- f) **Modern Industries:** These industries started developing in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first industries were textile mills started by Cowasjee Nanabhoy in Bombay in 1853 and jute mills in Bengal in 1855. Other industries that started developing in this period were cotton gins, rice, flour, timber, leather tanneries, woollen textiles, sugar mills, iron and steel. Many of these industries were owned by Britishers. Basic industries like steel, metallurgy, machines, chemicals and oil were absent.

Indian industries and businessmen had to face competition from foreign industries and a lack of encouragement from the Government. Banks charged high interest for loans borrowed by Indian businessmen. The control of British managing agencies added to their woes.

Later, gradually, Indians started their own banks and their conditions improved. They also developed the sugar industry in the 1930s.

Railways were biased against Indian enterprise. Distribution of imported goods was given preference compared to Indian goods.

Plantation industries like indigo, tea and coffee were started in the nineteenth century, and as their profits went to foreign countries, they did not benefit Indians much.

Thus, industrial development in India was very slow.

Industrialisation and its Phases

European managers of agencies dominated the first phase (1850–1914). It witnessed the growth of the mining, agriculture, and light manufacturing sectors—all of which were highly dependent on foreign markets. The majority of Bombay's cotton textile sector likewise serviced to markets in the Far East, and jute and the tea industries in eastern parts of India were almost entirely driven by exports. India's domestic market does not yet face any significant competition from British industries. The railways that led to the colonial ports mostly consumed the coal industry, notwithstanding its dependence on the home market.

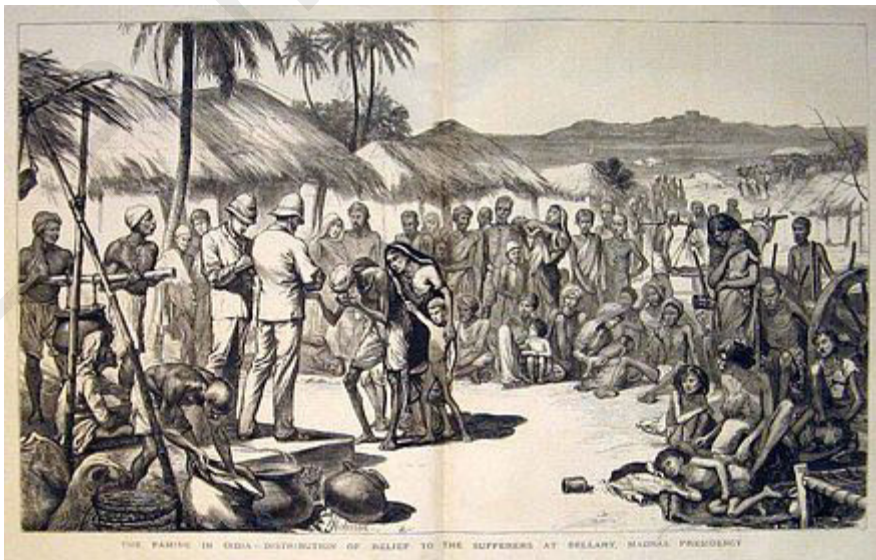
Although steel offered significant potential for revolutionary breakthroughs in the domestic market, its production was insufficient to impact the overall value of industrial production significantly. The industries of the time were built on primitive technology that could be easily brought from Britain and developed in areas of natural advantage.

During the second period (1914–1939), certain novel aspects come to light. This second phase of the industry, marked by its emphasis on the home market and its simpler technology than the previous one, saw the emergence of a deadly competition between it and the industries of the developed West for control of the mass market for consumer goods within the country. A new spectrum of light manufacturing emerged alongside the more established cotton textile industry, all shielded by the war, tariffs, and economic downturn. With the aid of comparatively basic technology, the manufacturing of cotton textiles, sugar, paper, etc., soared forward within the protected home market. By the conclusion of the decade, growing manufacturing facilities controlled by Indian businessmen and industrialists had supplanted Manchester's cotton textiles, Java sugar, and foreign paper of all kinds except newsprint. Beyond these modifications, one important development was the Tata Iron and Steel Company's

Greater Extensions Programme (1916–24), whose completion marked the beginning of the steel industry's rise to prominence.

Without this rise, the third phase (1939–1947), which witnessed the establishment of the capital goods industry, would not have been possible at all. The heavy engineering and chemical industries had gradually found a market thanks to the interwar period's industrial expansion. But the technological advances of the Second World War enabled Indian manufacturing to go into these new and complex sectors. The lack of necessary machinery, equipment, and technical skills caused severe technological issues that hindered the manufacture of heavy and basic capital goods. By the time of independence, the issue required a new structure of cooperation between the large Indian houses and numerous foreign firms.

- g) **Poverty:** Due to various conditions under the British, like the decline of local industries, high taxation, outdated agrarian structure and exploitation of the peasants, there was a high level of poverty in India. These conditions led to several famines all over India between 1850 – 1900 which took the life of 2.8 crore people. It occurred in Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Madras, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay, Punjab, and Rajasthan and led to a lot of distress. These famines show the level of poverty among the masses, the lack of resources, and the nature of the British Government and their extremely harsh exploitation of Indian resources, which they used to fill their own pocket.

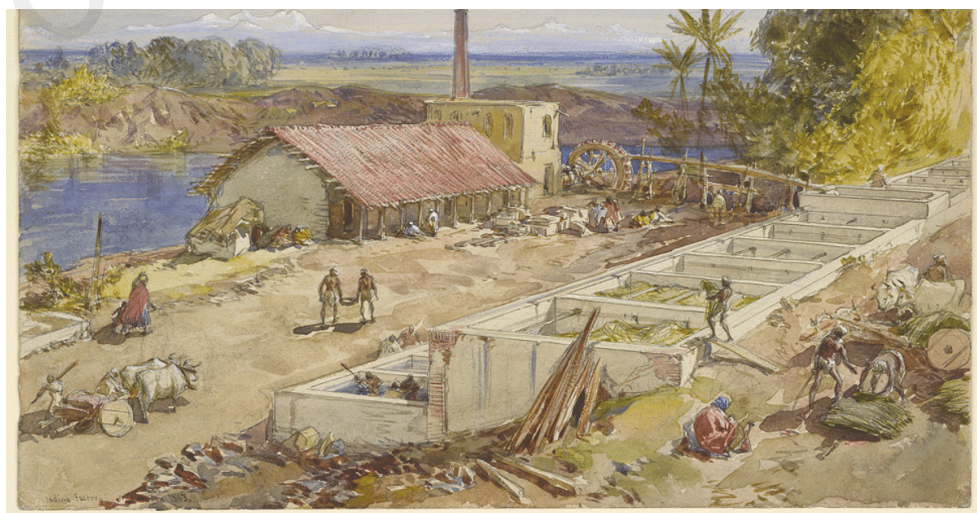


Famine of 1876

The type of famines that occurred in India altered as roads and railroads were developed. After 1850, a famine was defined as a significant decrease in the availability and, consequently, the price, of food grains and fodder rather than an outright shortage of these resources. Food grains could now be rushed in from other locations, but the absence of rain meant that there were no jobs available and no money coming in, not to mention the skyrocketing costs of feed and grains.

1.3 Peasant and Tribal Revolts

The Zamindari territories' exorbitant rents, unlawful levies, arbitrary evictions, and underpaid labour caused the peasants much suffering. The government imposed high land taxation rates in Ryotwari areas. Fearing the loss of his sole source of income, the overworked farmer would frequently turn to the neighbourhood moneylender, who took full advantage of the farmer's hardships by charging exorbitant interest rates on the money lent. A farmer's land and livestock were frequently mortgaged. The mortgaged property was mainly taken by the moneylender. So, due to this reason, the farmers had to suffer, and they were reduced to the position of Sharecroppers and landless labourers. The colonial state was the true enemy of the peasants, who frequently rebelled against the exploitation. Desperate peasants occasionally turned to crime as a way out of unbearable circumstances. Robbery, dacoity, and what has been referred to as societal banditry were among these offences. The repressive colonial authority was the cause of these uprisings. The goal of the company's revenue policy was to maximize revenue. The peasants revolted as a result of this.



Indigo Revolt

Indigo Revolt: The Indigo Revolt of Bengal in 1859 – 60 was one of the greatest peasant movements. The indigo planters in Bengal, who were almost exclusively Europeans, took advantage of the native peasants by making them produce indigo on their land rather than more lucrative crops like rice and other crops. The planters coerced the peasants into signing false contracts and accepting advance payments, which they later exploited against them. The planters used a variety of violent tactics to scare the peasants, including kidnappings, forcible confinements, whipping, assaults on women and children, cattle seizures, house demolition and burning, and crop devastation.

Finally, this gave rise to leaders like Bishnu Biswas and Digambar Biswas of the Nadia district of Bengal, who refused to cultivate Indigo on their lands. In response to the planters' attacks, they also organised a counterforce. Additionally, the planters tried raising rents and evicting tenants. European planters completely dominated indigo cultivation. The planters forced the peasants to cultivate indigo and oppressed them. They eventually mastered the use of the legal system and launched lawsuits backed by financial donations. The Bengali intelligentsia was instrumental in advancing the cause of the peasants by coordinating large-scale gatherings, publishing newspaper campaigns, drafting memoranda outlining their complaints, and standing by them in court. Later on, the government appointed a Commission, and the situation was ameliorated to a certain extent. The government informed the farmers in November 1860 that they could not be forced to cultivate indigo and that it would make sure that all conflicts were resolved through legal means, based on its recommendations. But by late 1860, Bengal had all but abandoned indigo cultivation as planters were closing down their factories.

Indigo peasants of Bihar rose up in Darbhanga and Champaran in 1866–68. In the same way, peasants of Bengal revolted in Jessore both in 1883 and 1889 – 90.

Due to the oppression of Zamindars, there was an agrarian unrest in the 1870s in East Bengal.

In 1875, there was a significant uprising in the Maharashtra districts of Poona and Ahmednagar; This was due to the high revenue demand by the Government and the practice of levying high interest on lands mortgaged by the peasants to the money lenders. Peasants lost their patience by 1874 and they took possession of debt documents and burnt them. Only military could suppress this revolt later.

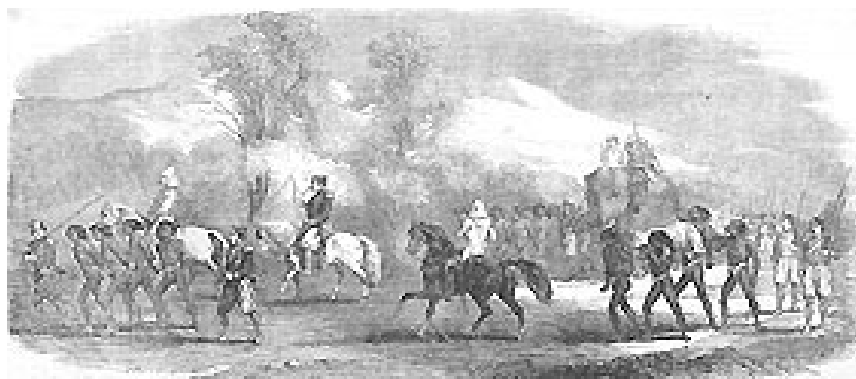


Mappila Prisoners

A Mappila revolt in the Malabar area of Kerala occurred in the 1840s and 1850s when the British changed the agrarian relations. It made janmies owners of land and lowered the Kanamdars and cultivators to the rank of tenants and leaseholders. Other issues like over-assessment, illegal cesses and anti-peasant attitudes of the officials forced the peasants into poverty.

As the janmies were Hindus and the peasants were Muslim Mapplilahs, attacks on Hindu landlords became common. Incidents occurred in Manjeri in 1849, in Kulathur in 1851 and Mattannur in 1852. British army suppressed the revolt. But, after twenty years, Mappilahs rose again in 1870 and similar incidents occurred again.

There were also peasant riots in Assam in 1893 – 94. This was because of high revenue demand. These riots were brought under control by the army.



Santhal Hul

The most powerful tribal revolt was between the years 1855 and 56 of the Santhals. They lived in the districts of Cuttack, Dhalbhum, Manbhum,

Barabhum, Chota Nagpur, Palaman, Hazaribagh, Midnapur, Bankura and Birbhum in the eastern parts of India. Their lands were leased to non-Santhal zamindars and money lenders. Santhals burst out in the open with bows and arrows when their demands were not met. The uprising quickly evolved into a campaign against the colonial British government. The uprising was referred to as “hul” by the Santhals, who saw it as a liberation struggle. The Santhals, led by Sidhu and Kanhu Murmu brothers, announced the end of Company control and annexed the region between Rajmahal and Bhagalpur. It was reported that the Murmu brothers despatched messengers to the Santhal territories to seek support and used the branches of the Sal tree as a covert means of communication. By 1856, the British had put an end to the uprising with great force, murdering thousands of Santhals and destroying or burning down villages with the aid of elephants. They killed Sidhu and Kanhu. Large areas between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal were affected. British army brutally suppressed the revolt by burning many of their villages, and nearly half the rebels were killed.

Following the Santhal Rebellion of 1855–1856, the districts of Birbhum and Bhagalpur were combined to form the Santhal Pargana. There were to be unique laws throughout the pargana.

1.4 British Policies after 1858



From the coming of the East India Company onto Indian Soil in around 1600 A.D. and changes in its character from being a trading company to a ruling authority in 1765, the company did not have much to do with Indian governance. However, from 1773 until 1858, under Company rule, there were several changes, and from that time until 1947, under the British Crown administration, there were numerous administrative and

constitutional changes. Even while these changes were made to advance British imperial ideology, they unintentionally introduced elements of the modern State into India's governmental and administrative framework. White's Man Burden Theory was used by the Britishers to show that the Indians were not suitable to rule the country and needed a helping hand in the form of the Britishers, and without them, they could not do anything. This stood in sharp contrast to their pre-1857 plans to attempt a steady modernisation of India.

The Britishers in India had many different plans to engage Indians or to divert their attention from themselves. In this sense, the Policy of Divide and Rule played a major role in setting princes against state citizens, regions against provinces, castes against castes, and Hindus against Muslims in an attempt to avert a coordinated mass action that would threaten their authority. Following the 1857 uprising, there was an immediate period of repression against Muslims. However, after 1870, the government made the decision to use the educated Muslim upper and middle classes as a check on the growing wave of nationalism. They did this by using conflicts over administrative jobs, limited educational resources, and later political spoils as a tool to divide educated Indians along religious lines. As they were aware of the fact that Indians were sensitive of their religion and it was very easy to target it.

With their analysis of the colonial and exploitative nature of British authority, the rising middle-class nationalist leadership called for Indian involvement in governance. The British became antagonistic to such leadership during the nascent period of the nationalist movement because they saw the actions as a challenge to their power. Basically, they were against anyone who supported contemporary schooling after that.



Revolt of 1857

The insurrection of 1857 revealed the Company's shortcomings in handling a complicated circumstance. There had been little accountability up until that point. The purpose of the 1858 Act was to address this issue by establishing the Crown's power over India, consisting of fifteen members. Only advice was to be given by the council; the secretary of state was to take the lead and make the final decision. As viceroy, the governor general's prestige increased, but his power did not. The formal ascension of the Crown to power was more symbolic than actual.



The First Indian National Congress, 1885

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885. One of the first demands of the Congress from the government was the reformation of the legislative council. In response to Congress's request to expand the legislative councils, the Indian Councils Act of 1892 increased the number of non-official members in the central (Imperial) and provincial legislative councils. There was an expansion of the Legislative Council of the Governor General, which became known as the Indian Legislative Council. The ability to propose members to the provincial councils was granted to trade associations, chambers of commerce, zamindars, universities, district boards, and municipalities. They, therefore, presented the idea of representation. Even though the act explicitly avoided using the word "election," some indirect voting was permitted when choosing some non-official members. Legislative members would now have a chance to express their opinions when financial statements were made on the stage of the legislature. After providing six days' notice, they could also ask the executive, within specified bounds, questions about subjects of public interest.

Administrative Structure

The British were quick learners, and they took a lot away from their 1857 experience: a well-planned mass movement could threaten the continuation of British authority in India. The goal of closing the ruler-subject divide was to lessen public disenchantment with the government if not completely eradicate it. These elements came together to usher in a new era of colonialism in India.

To safeguard British commercial and economic interests from political dangers, the government wanted to strengthen their power throughout the country and extend its domain as far as possible throughout the world. The course of contemporary India was shaped by several shifts in the country's policies and governmental framework.

- a) **Central Administration:** Governor – General's Council was enlarged by the Indian Councils Act of 1861 and it was called as the Imperial Legislative Council. Its work was to make laws and half of its members were British or Indian non-officials. It only supported official members. The British Crown gained the authority to rule India from the East India Company in 1858 with the passage of the Act for Better Government of India. The uprising of 1857 revealed the Company's shortcomings in managing the nation under difficult circumstances and a lack of responsibility. Previously, the Board of Control and the Directors of the Company had the authority to govern; now, that authority was to be used by a secretary of state.

For the smooth running of government, the Secretary of State was made a member of the British cabinet, and he also had a fifteen members council under his control who helped him in administrative works. The British Parliament was his superior. The secretary had the supreme authority in all the projects and decisions, with the council serving just as an advising body. As a result, Pitt's India Act of 1784's dual system was terminated. Also, Parliament continued to have the final say over India.

The governor general was to continue leading India's government as before; his new title of viceroy conferred upon him improved his status, if not his power. An executive council, whose members were to serve as the viceroy's official counsellors and acting as heads of several departments, was to support the viceroy. One method of gradually reducing the viceroy to a subordinate post

and further separating the Indian public opinion from the making of government policy was to consolidate power in the grip of the secretary of state, which was based in London. However, it also meant that British bankers, traders, and manufacturers had more sway over Indian government policy. The Indian administration became much more conservative as a result, compared to its pre-1858 state. For legislative purposes, the viceroy could add six to twelve additional members, of whom at least half had to be non-officials who could be either Indian or English.

The legislative council so constituted possessed no real powers and was merely advisory in nature. Its weaknesses were that it could not discuss important matters and no financial matters at all without previous approval of the government. It had no control over the budget. It could not discuss executive action. The final passing of the bill needed the viceroy's approval. Even if approved by the viceroy, the secretary of state could disallow a legislation. Indians associated as non-officials were members of elite sections only—princes, landlords, diwans, etc.—and were not representative of the Indian opinion.

The viceroy could issue ordinances (of six months' validity) in case of emergency. The only important function of the legislative council was to endorse official measures and give them the appearance of having been passed by a legislative body. The British Government in India remained, as before, an alien despotism.

- b) **Provincial Administration:** There were three major provinces, i.e. Bengal, Madras and Bombay. They were referred as Presidencies. Three members of the governor's executive council oversaw their administration. Chief Commissioners and Lieutenant Governors administered the administration of other provinces.

The Indian Council Act of 1861, tried to give some concessions to the Provinces of Bombay and Madras and returned their legislative powers which was taken in 1833. From now onwards, the presidencies of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras had some extra powers in comparison to other provinces, and due to this reason, they became the centre of power. There were clear guidelines for administering the provinces, and for the presidencies, there was a governor and his executive council of three members who were

directly appointed by the Crown. For the other provinces, there was a lieutenant governor and they were appointed by the governor general

A fixed amount of money was given to take care of police, jails, education, medical services and roads out of central revenues. Lytton made provinces take care of land revenue, excise, general administration, law, and justice and provided income from stamps, excise taxes and income tax for it.

Later, from 1882, provinces were given entire income from its own sources and a fixed share from other sources.

- c) **Local Bodies:** It was from 1864 to 1868, local bodies were set up for the first time. They normally consisted of nominated members. Its Presidents were District Magistrates.

This was followed by Lord Ripon. During his tenure, a resolution was passed specifying that elected non-officials would make up the majority of the members of rural local bodies. However, district officials remained the Presidents of district boards, while non-officials assumed the role of Chairpersons of municipal committees.

Several factors forced the British administration in India to push for the creation of local bodies:

- (i) Decentralization became necessary as a result of the government's financial struggles brought on by overcentralization. (ii) Given India's growing economic ties to Europe, it became imperative to introduce contemporary European civic facilities to India.
- (iii) Increasing nationalism listed the development of basic infrastructure as a goal. (iv) A subset of British policymakers viewed Indians' affiliation in one way or another with the administration as a way to restrain Indian politics without compromising British dominance in the country. (v) Local taxes could be used to fund local welfare in order to oppose any public



Lord Mayo

Mayo's Resolution of 1870: The Indian Councils Act of 1861 marked the beginning of the legislative devolution known as financial decentralisation. The province governments were permitted to use local taxes in addition to the yearly payment from the imperial government to help in their budgets. This was carried out in connection with the transfer of authority over a number of administrative agencies to provincial governments, including transportation, education, and health services. This marked the start of regional finance. The Resolution focused on, "Local interest, supervision and care are necessary for success in the management of the funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical relief and local public works." To put the proposed policy into effect, the various province administrations, including those in Punjab, Bengal, Madras, and the North-Western Province, issued municipal legislation.

Ripon's Resolution of 1882: Lord Ripon was impressed by the work of Lord Mayo and he wanted to extend his work of financial decentralisation to the local bodies. In Indian History, Lord Ripon was popularly known as the father of local self-government

Royal Commission on Decentralisation (1908): The biggest challenge for the local bodies was the financial assistance. To overcome these problems the Royal Commission on Decentralisation was formed. The recommendations of the commission were to give village panchayats more autonomy in the field of judicial jurisdiction and to arrange the required financial assistance for their efficient working.



Lord Ripon

The Government of India Resolution of 1915: The Resolution was looking good on the paper, but in reality, nothing was done to improve the conditions of the local bodies. The condition was similar to what was left by Ripon.

The Resolution of May 1918: After the announcement of August 20, 1917, the goal was towards the grant of responsible government. The representation of the locals was realised, and they were given full authority. After the Government of India Act of 1919, autonomy was provided to provinces to look after the needs and demands of each local body separately and try to work according to them. However, the finance was on the reserved list. So, for the Indian Ministers, it's very difficult to arrange the funds.

The Simon Commission: Pointed out the lack of progress of village panchayats except in the United Provinces, Bengal, and Madras. The commission suggested the retrograde step of increasing provincial control over local bodies for the sake of efficiency. The commission also adversely commented on the reluctance of elected members to impose local taxes and observed that, generally speaking, the management of finances of local bodies had deteriorated since the introduction of the reforms of 1919.

The Government of India Act of 1935 and Later Developments:

The provincial autonomy ushered in by the Government of India Act, 1935 gave further impetus to the development of local self-governing institutions in India. Portfolio finance being under the control of popular ministries, now the funds could be made available for development of local bodies. Further, the demarcation of taxation between provincial and local finance, which prevailed since the reforms of 1919, was scrapped. New acts were passed in the provinces, giving more authority to local bodies. However, financial resources and power of taxation of local institutions remained more or less at the same level as in the days of Ripon. Rather, after 1935, certain new restrictions were placed on powers of local bodies to levy or enhance terminal taxes on trades, callings, and professions and municipal property. The provincial governments seemed to have ignored the liberal policy of granting wide powers of taxation to local institutions as recommended by the Decentralisation Commission (1908). The Constitution of free India directs the state governments to organise village panchayats as effective organs of local self-government (Article 40). The Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth Amendments are aimed at plugging the loopholes in the structure of local self-governing institutions in rural and urban areas.

- d) Army:** Changes were made in the Army organization after the Revolt of 1857. Domination of the British Officers was maintained. The ratio between foreigners and Indians was changed in the Army. In the Bengal army, for example, it went to one to two, while in the armies of Madras and Bombay, it went to two to five. European troops were stationed at key locations. Artillery and armoured corps were completely controlled by the Britishers. Indians could not rise higher than the rank of the Subedar. Deliberate attempts to divide the army on the basis of caste, tribe and region were followed so that Indians would not get united. The myth of martial and non-martial races was created. For example, half the army was from Punjab by 1875. The army, which led the uprising, underwent a complete restructuring, and the concept of “division and counterpoise” began to dominate British military strategy. Even as the European soldiers numbers were increased, the number of Indian soldiers was sharply reduced since the British could no longer rely on their allegiance. With the adoption of the divide and rule theory, distinct units based

on caste, community, and area were established. The “martial” races of Nepal, Punjab, and the northwest frontier were to be the source of recruits; these groups having shown themselves loyal to the British during the uprising. The army was kept as far away from the civilian population as possible.



British Indian Army

The Company transferred its European troops to the Crown's service in 1861 under the terms of the Army Amalgamation Scheme. Additionally, the European forces stationed in India were continuously upgraded through regular visits to England, a practice known as the “linked-battalion” program. With the exception of a few mountain batteries, all Indian artillery formations were declared obsolete. Europeans were the only people eligible for all higher positions in the artillery and army departments. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, an Indian officer was inferior to a new English recruit, and no Indian had been considered fit of the king's commission.

1.5 Cultural Awakening

The dawn of the 19th century witnessed the birth of a new vision—a modern vision among some enlightened sections of the Indian society. This enlightened vision was to shape the course of events for decades to come and even beyond. This process of reawakening, sometimes, but not with full justification, defined as the ‘Renaissance’, did not always follow

the intended line and gave rise to some undesirable by-products as well, which have become as much a part of daily existence in the whole of the Indian subcontinent as have the fruits of these reform movements.

In the 19th century, societal obscurantism and religious beliefs entangled Indian society in a terrible web. Superstition and magic had become deeply ingrained in Hinduism. The priests had a strong, negative, and even harmful mental influence on the populace. Their position was strengthened by idolatry and polytheism, and the fact that they had exclusive access to the Bible gave all religious systems a misleading quality. Religious ideology could influence people to do anything at all.



Raja Rammohan Roy

- a) The cultural awakening movement was started in Bengal by Raja Rammohan Roy. Often referred to as the founder of modern India and the father of the Indian Renaissance, Raja Rammohan Roy (1772–1833) was a multifaceted genius. Rammohan Roy upheld the values of social justice, human dignity, and the contemporary scientific method. He trusted in monotheistic religion. In order to bolster his belief that the Vedas and the five Upanishads are in favor of monotheism, he translated them into Bengali and penned Gift to Monotheists (1809). He founded the Atmiya Sabha, also known as the Society of Friends, in Calcutta in 1814 with the goal of advancing the monotheistic Vedic values and fighting against other social evils

such as idolatry, rigid caste systems, pointless rituals, and others. He was heavily inspired by rationalist beliefs and stated that Vedanta is founded on reason and that even a deviation from the scriptures is acceptable when reason dictated it. He said that the rationalism's tenets also applied to other sects, especially to the aspects of their blind faith. He attempted to disentangle the miraculous accounts of the New Testament from its moral and philosophical lessons, which he commended, in his *Precepts of Jesus* (1820). His support for bringing the teachings of Christ into Hinduism incited the fury of missionaries. He advocated for an original and thoughtful method of choosing the best from many civilizations, to which the conventional response was once more negative.

In August 1828, Raja Rammohan Roy established the Brahmo Sabha, which subsequently became the Brahmo Samaj. He aimed to institutionalize his goal and beliefs through the Sabha. "The worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe" was the Samaj's stated mission. The Samaj opposed idolatry and pointless rituals, and its forms of worship included prayers, meditation, and readings from the Upanishads. Rationality and the Vedas and Upanishads served as the twin cornerstones of the Brahmo Samaj's long-term objective, which included preaching monotheism and purifying Hinduism. It was not Rammohan Roy's intention to create a new religion. All he wished to do was rid Hinduism of the wicked customs that had seeped into it. Traditionalists such as Raja Radhakant Deb, who founded the Dharma Sabha to oppose Brahmo Samaj propaganda, fiercely opposed Roy's progressive ideas. The Samaj's objective suffered a blow with Roy's death in 1833.

His actions and ideas also had a strong nationalist undertone because they sought to use social change to elevate the masses politically. He looked to the Vedanta scriptures in order to change Hinduism. He disapproved of idolatry. Though it was initially known as Atmiya Sabha, his organization Brahmo Samaj took shape in 1828 and developed into a significant movement for the educated middle class to purify Hinduism.

- b) Another society was founded called the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay in 1867. Its important leaders were the Western educated Marathi Brahmins. Keshab Chandra Sen assisted Atmaram

Pandurang in founding the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay in 1867. The Brahmo concepts had previously taken hold in Maharashtra. The Paramahansa Sabha was a kind of covert organization that promoted liberal ideologies and the dismantling of caste and social boundaries. It was a forerunner of the Prarthana Samaj.



Mahadeo Govind Ranade

Mahadeo Govind Ranade (1842–1901) became a member of the samaj in 1870, and his contributions to the society's work and popularity were significant. Through his efforts, the samaj acquired an all-Indian persona. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837–1925) and Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar (1855–1923) were two more samaj leaders. Although monotheism was emphasized, In general, the samaj gave greater attention to social than to religious developments. The Maharashtrian bhakti cult held great significance for the Prarthana Sabha. The samaj placed more of an emphasis on persuasion and education than it did on challenging Hindu orthodoxy.



Dhondo Keshav Karve

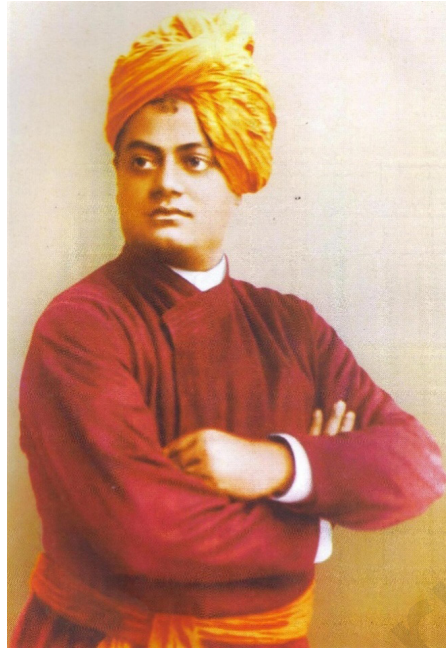
Alongside Ranade, Vishnu Shastri and D.K. Karve championed social reform. In an effort to give widows the knowledge and skills they needed to sustain themselves, Ranade co-founded the Widow Remarriage Movement and the Widows' Home Association alongside Karve. Like Brahmo Samaj, it was against idolatry, domination of priests and caste differences. It also believed in monotheism and a gradual change in society.



Ramakrishna Paramhansa

- c) Ramakrishna Mission is named after Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1834 – 86), who believed in renunciation, meditation and devotion. The common Bengali found greater emotional fulfilment in the worship of bhakti and yoga, while the intellectual elite in the country was more drawn to the didactic nationalism of the Brahmo Samaj. Known as Gadadhar Chattopadhyay in his youth, He was a destitute priest at the Kali temple in Dakshineswar, on the outskirts of Calcutta, attracted a large following with his teachings. From a very young age, Ramakrishna experienced spiritual trances, often known as ecstasy. He is regarded as having had the greatest possible spiritual experience among Hindus. Although he didn't create books, the ideas that became his teachings came from the interactions he had with others. He spoke simply, using analogies and parables that he observed in everyday life and the natural world. However, his remarks held universal significance. With the founding of the Ramakrishna Mission in 1897 following Ramakrishna's demise, Swami Vivekananda pursued the second goal. The Ramakrishna

Math and Mission has its headquarters at Belur, which is close to Kolkata. Despite being financially and legally independent, the two are identical organizations. He had emphasized that serving others equaled serving God and that there were numerous paths to God.



Swami Vivekananda

His disciple Swami Vivekananda (1863 – 1902) emphasized on social action and said that knowledge alone was useless. Swami Vivekananda, whose real name was Narendranath Datta (1862–1902), disseminated Ramakrishna's teachings and attempted to adapt them to the demands of modern-day Indian culture. He became known as a neo-Hinduist preacher. Vivekananda's message of human values to the world is based on some of Ramakrishna's spiritual experiences, the teachings of the Gita and the Upanishads, and the lives of the Buddha and the Jesus. He was a follower of the Vedanta because he saw it as a superior system that was entirely reasonable. His goal was to close the gaps between daily life and spirituality as well as between paramartha (service) and vyavahara (behavior). Vivekananda believed in the oneness of God and said, "For our own motherland a junction of the two great systems, Hinduism and Islam, is the only hope." He emphasized social activity and said that knowledge is meaningless if it is not put into practice. He bemoaned Hindus' touch-me-not attitude toward religious affairs and their tendency toward isolationism. He disapproved of religion's seeming endorsement of the rich oppressing the poor. He

thought that teaching religion to a guy who was starving was an affront to both God and mankind. He made the argument that the general public needed two different types of education: spiritual knowledge to bolster their moral compass and cultivate faith in themselves, and secular knowledge about how to strive for their economic upward mobility. He urged his fellow citizens to adopt a mindset of freedom, equality, and independent thought.

Swami Vivekananda left a lasting influence on the attendees of the 1893 Parliament of Religions in Chicago with his insightful views. The necessity of striking a healthy balance between materialism and spiritualism was the main theme of his inaugural speech. He advocated for the blending of Eastern spiritualism with Western materialism into a new harmony in order to create a new culture that would provide happiness to all people on the planet. Before going back to India in 1897, Vivekananda gave a number of Vedanta talks in the United States and in London.

He gave a series of lectures in India with the goal of bringing pride in India's past history, a renewed believe in its culture, and an uncommon sense of hope for the country's future to the younger generation; uniting Hinduism by highlighting the shared roots of its various sects; and inspiring the educated to recognize the suffering of the oppressed and strive toward their uplift through the application of practical Vedanta principles. In addition to emphasizing individual salvation, he also promoted societal justice and reform.

He was the founder of the Ramakrishna Mission in 1897. The Mission was employed by the great humanist Vivekananda for social service and relief efforts. Religious and social transformation are values upheld by The Mission. Vivekananda promoted the idea that all creatures should serve one another. Siva is worshipped through the service of jiva, or living objects. The very essence of life is religion. The Divine is present in man via service. Vivekananda supported applying contemporary science and technology for the benefit of humanity. The Mission has operated several hospitals, clinics, and schools since its founding. It provides assistance to those in need after natural disasters like as floods, famines, earthquakes, and epidemics.

The Mission has grown into an international organization. Although it is an extremely religious organization, it does not propagate. It does not see itself as belonging to any particular Hindu sect. Actually, this is one of the main factors contributing to the Mission's success. In contrast to the Arya Samaj, the Mission acknowledges the importance of image worship in fostering spiritual fervor and devotion to the everlasting, all-powerful God; nonetheless, it places more emphasis on the fundamental spirit than on the symbols or rituals. It holds that a Hindu will become a better Hindu and a Christian a better Christian through the philosophy of Vedanta. The Ramakrishna Math was eventually moved and recognized as such on a sizable plot of land in Belur that Swami Vivekananda eventually acquired in 1898. All males are welcome to join the monastic order; there is no caste or creed prejudice. Despite his tolerance for other religions, he thought the Indian philosophical tradition to be the best. He advocated for people to develop a spirit of liberty, equality, and free thought and condemned the caste system, customs, and superstitions. In addition to establishing hospitals, schools, orphanages, and libraries, he formed the Ramakrishna Mission.



Madam H.P. Blavatsky

- d) Theosophical Society was founded by Madam H.P. Blavatsky and Colonel H.S. Olcott in the United States of America. Later, they shifted their headquarters to Madras in 1886. They wanted the

revival of Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism. They believed in the transmigration of the soul and the universal brotherhood of man. This organization helped Indians gain their self-confidence.



Annie Besant

Mrs. Annie Besant was one of their important leaders. She came to India in 1893 and established the Central Hindu School at Benares which later became the Benares Hindu University. The Theosophical Society was established in 1875 in New York City, USA, by a group of Westerners led by M.S. Olcott and Madame H.P. Blavatsky (1831–91). These individuals were influenced by the traditional Indian philosophy and culture. They moved their headquarters to Adyar, an Indian city that was then on the outskirts of Madras, in 1882. Following Olcott's death in 1907, the movement gained some traction in India when Annie Besant (1847–1933) was chosen to lead it. The group held that through introspection, prayer, revelation, and other means, a person's soul may become specially connected to God. It embraced the reincarnation and karma of Hinduism and took its cues from the Upanishads as well as the samkhya, yoga, and Vedanta schools of thought. Its goal was to advance human brotherhood on a global scale, irrespective of caste, color, sex, religion, or race. The group also looked into the energies that lie dormant in human beings and the mysterious laws of nature. The Hindu Renaissance became associated with the Theosophical Movement. In addition to opposing child marriage, it supported widows' rights to be improved and caste prejudice to be abolished.

There were other forms of cultural awakening from the beginning of the Freedom Movement.

Women participated actively in the freedom movement from 1918. They were leaders in the trade union and kisan movements from the 1920s. All India Women's Conference was started in 1927. They also became ministers in 1937 and members of municipalities.

Jyotiba Phule from Maharashtra fought against Brahminical religious domination. Through his Satyashodhak Samaj (1873), he fought a lifelong battle against Brahmanical supremacy and the dominance of the upper caste. He promoted women's education and started the Maharashtra widow remarriage program.



Jyotiba Phule and Savitribai Phule

Satyashodhak Movement was a movement started by Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra. Phule, through his book *Ghulamgiri* (1872), and his organisation Satyashodhak Samaj (1873) proclaimed the need to save the lower castes from the hypocritical Brahmins and their opportunistic scriptures. This movement was dual in character. That is, it had an urban elite-based conservatism (the trend representing the desire of the urban-educated members of the intermediate and lower castes to move upwards in the social ladder by sanskritisation) as well as a more genuine rural mass-based radicalism (the trend representing the desire of the rural Maratha peasants to do away with the evils of the caste system itself).

Savitribai Phule worked enormously for social reform. Despite all social criticism, Savitribai Phule persisted in her training of the girls. She gained notoriety over time and was honored for her contributions to education by the British government. She supported

her husband's social campaigns as well. They were impacted by the status of widows and untouchables as in the community. Savitribai so took part in every action that her husband did. After his death, she became the head of Satya Shodhak Samaj. People are still inspired by Savitribai's poetry and other writings at present. Published are her two poetry books, Kavya Phule and Bavan Kashi Subodh Ratnakar.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar led the Mahar organization, an untouchables' organization that gained traction in the 1920s. Their requests included the freedom to attend temples and use public drinking water tanks, the elimination of the maharwatan, which is the custom of providing traditional services to village chiefs, and equal representation in the legislative councils. Even a few of them went so far as to burn the Manu Smriti in 1927 as a representation of a more radical departure from Hinduism. He organized the All-India Depressed Classes Association.

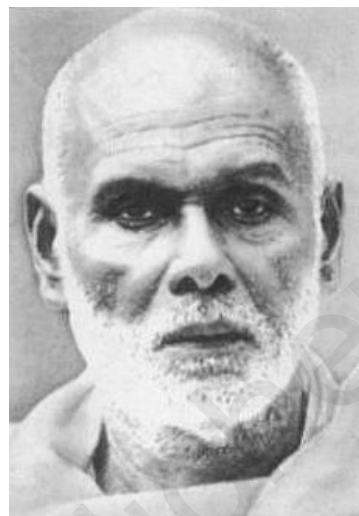


B.R. Ambedkar

He began publishing a Marathi newspaper, Bahishkrit Bharat, in 1927, then a weekly, the Janata, in November 1930. The Samaj Samata Sangh was another organisation that Ambedkar started in 1927 with the aim of educating Hindu caste members and untouchables about social equality.

Sri Narayana Guru of Kerala fought against the caste system. The Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam movement has its roots in Kerala's Izhavas, or toddy-tappers. The Izhavas were seen

as so distant from the Nambudri Brahmins in the old caste system that they had to keep a minimum of 34 feet between them. Their civic and ritual infirmities were numerous. A significant portion of the Izhavas decided to convert due to the 19th-century social awakening, but the majority decided to stick with Hinduism and make a commitment to overcome their infirmities. The fundamental reason for this was Sri Narayana Guru's efforts. Leading with charm, he brought about a complete change in the way people lived, including new religious practices, customs, and ways of looking at the world. He created institutions of priests, monks, temples, and monasteries that provided an alternative source of legitimacy.



Sri Narayan Guru

E.V. Ramasamy Periyar supported burning of the Manu Smriti, forced temple entry, marriages without Brahmin priests, and occasionally outright atheism. To spread his views, Periyar started the Tamil periodical Kudi Arasa in 1924.



E.V. Ramasamy Periyar

Periyar worked very hard to end caste system and to implement different kind social reforms. He urged social workers, the government, and political parties to recognize social ills and take decisive action to eradicate them. He did not distinguish between political and social service in his worldview. He believed that the primary role of the government is to effectively manage society, and that the purpose of religion is to structure society. He was adamant that although Christians and Muslims were fulfilling their roles, the Hindu religion was still inappropriate for social advancement. The improvement of the rural populace is one of Periyar's main objectives. He begged for rural transformation in a pamphlet titled Village. Along with the idea of "outcast" among social groups, he also wished to eliminate the concept of "village" as a word that distinguished one location from another. In addition, he promoted the urbanization of communities by constructing public infrastructure including as roads, transportation hubs, libraries, schools, and police stations.

Periyar believed that caste divisions were made by a small group of crafty individuals who wanted to rule the society. As a result, he also highlighted the idea that people need to strive for logic and self-respect. He clarified that the Indo-Aryan impact associated with the northern Brahmin immigration was the cause of the caste system in South India. The natural environment and sufficient means of subsistence dictated the social stratification of the ancient Tamil territory, which is now a part of Tamilakkam, into five regions.

There were several other movements that were organised to permit the lower castes to enter temples.

Summary

This unit starts with the Queen's Proclamation, 1858. This was announced after the Revolt of 1857. It made certain administrative changes.

Next section discusses the Economic Impact of the British rule in detail like the change in the nature of Economy, Decline of Urban Handicrafts, Deterioration in the conditions of the Peasants, New Landlordism, Stagnation of Agriculture, Modern Industries and Poverty.

Various Tribal and Peasant Revolts have been recorded like Indigo Revolts, Revolts in Poona and Ahmednagar districts of Maharashtra in 1875, Mapilla Revolt, Santhal Rebellion and others.

British policies after 1858 in Central Administration, Provincial Administration, Local Bodies and Army have been narrated.

There was Cultural Awakening in India in the nineteenth century. Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society represented this. In addition, there were other leaders and organizations who fought for the rights of women and lower castes. Outstanding among these leaders were Jyotiba Phule, B.R. Ambedkar, Sri Narayana Guru and E.V. Ramaswami Naicker.

Keywords

Viceroy, Zamindars, Ryotwari System, Indigo, Mapillah, Santhals, Vedanta, Women, Caste

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What were the administrative changes introduced by the Queen's Proclamation, 1858?
2. Give details of the Economic impact of the British rule.
3. Explain as to why Industrial development in India was very slow.
4. Write a note on the Modern Industries in India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
5. Indigo Revolt of Bengal in 1859 – 60 was one of the greatest peasant movements. Elaborate.
6. Why did the Mappillahs Revolt in Kerala? Give details.
7. The most powerful tribal revolt was of the Santhals. Substantiate.
8. Why were changes made in the Army organization after the Revolt of 1857?
9. Compare the teachings of Raja Rammohan Roy with that of Dayanand Saraswathi.
10. Discuss the teachings of Ramakrishna Parmahansa and Swami Vivekananda.

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UNIT – II**Lesson 2.1 - Rise of National Consciousness****2.1 Objectives**

1. To analyse the reasons for the rise of National Consciousness
2. To trace the foundation of the Indian National Congress
3. To explain the objectives of the Indian National Movement
4. To write a note on the Moderates and their achievements
5. To give reasons for the rise of Extremism
6. To trace the circumstances leading to the Partition of 1905
7. To describe the Swadeshi Movement
8. To present the details of Minto – Morley Reforms of 1909

2.2 Introduction

This unit analyses the reasons for the rise of National Consciousness and traces the foundation of the Indian National Congress. After stating the objectives of the national movement, it evaluates the work of the Moderates. This chapter gives reasons for the rise of Extremism and traces the circumstances leading to the Partition of Bengal. Later, it describes the Swadeshi Movement. Finally, it gives the details of the Minto – Morley Reforms of 1909.

2.3 Rise of National Consciousness

Indian nationalism's emergence and expansion have historically been attributed to the country's response to the British Raj's stimulus, which included the establishment of new institutions, opportunities, resources, etc. Stated differently, Indian nationalism emerged partially in response to and as a result of colonial policy.

In fact, it would be more correct to see Indian nationalism as a product of a mix of various factors:

- (i) Worldwide upsurge of the concepts of nationalism and the right of self-determination initiated by the French Revolution

- (ii) Indian Renaissance
- (iii) Offshoot of modernisation initiated by the British in India
- (iv) Strong reaction to British imperialist policies in India

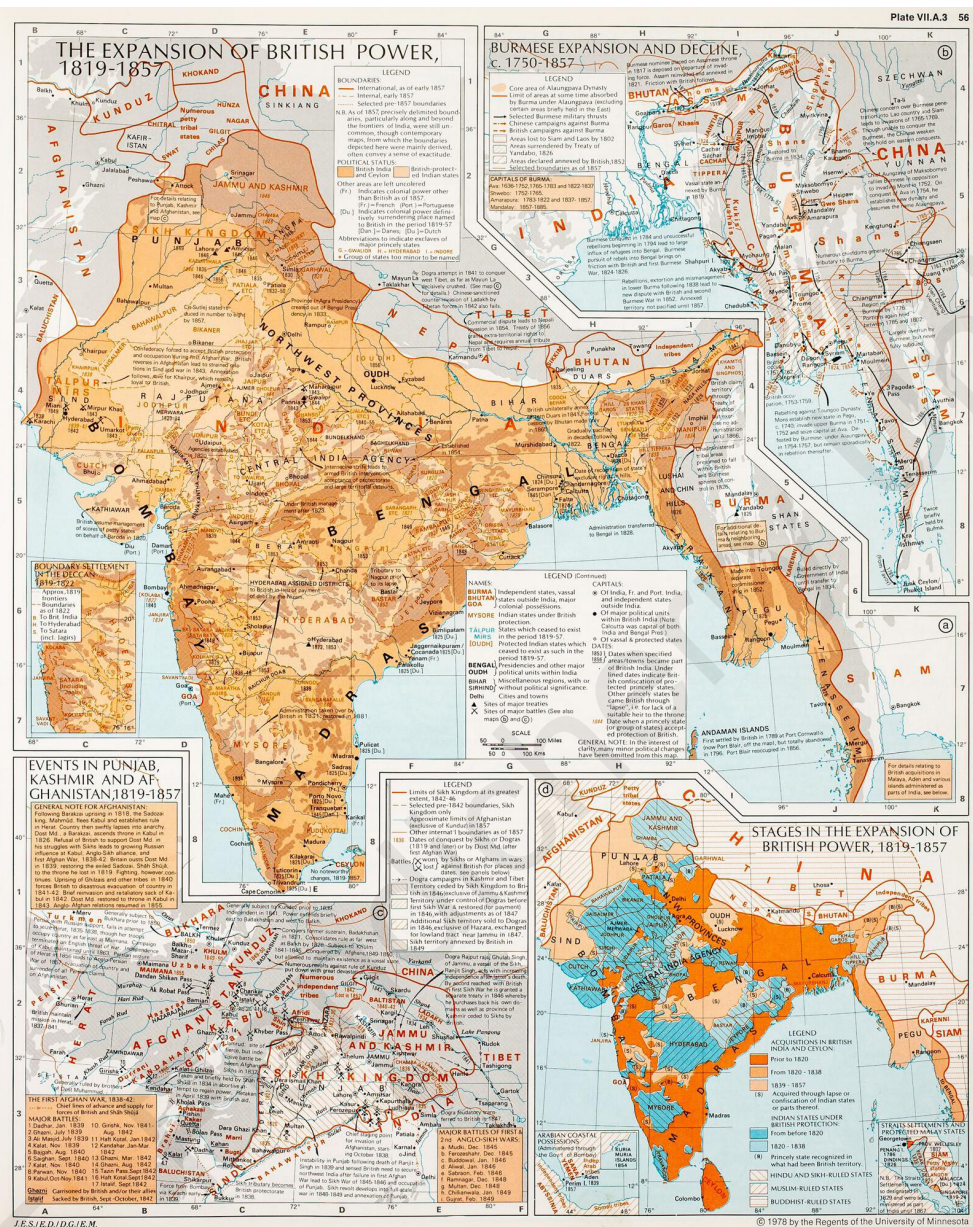
There were several reasons for the rise of National Consciousness. They are as follows:

- a) **Sufferings of different classes of the society:** British financial policies affected the peasants, workers, middle classes and even the industrialists. Their supporters like the native rulers, landlords, zamindars and village money lenders resented their policies of racial discrimination. In order to confront the tension present in the nature and practices of colonial power, the nationalist movement gained momentum.
- b) **Administrative and Economic Unification of India:** The British established a uniform, contemporary form of administration, which served to administratively unite the nation. The country's economic life was also unified by introduction of modern trade and industries but this destroyed the self-sufficient economies in the villages. Even though the Mauryas and the Mughals had previously united several regions of India under their control, the British established a more expansive dominion than either of them. The princely realms were ruled by the British "indirectly," whereas the Indian provinces were ruled "directly."

India's political unification was imposed by the British sword. India's long-standing cultural unity gained a new level of political cohesion with the establishment of a professional civil service, a single court, and codified criminal and civil laws across the nation. Modern modes of transportation and communication, including roads, electricity, telegraphs, and trains, were planned and developed with the intention of serving British interests. These included the need for administrative convenience, military defense, and the desire for economic penetration and commercial exploitation.

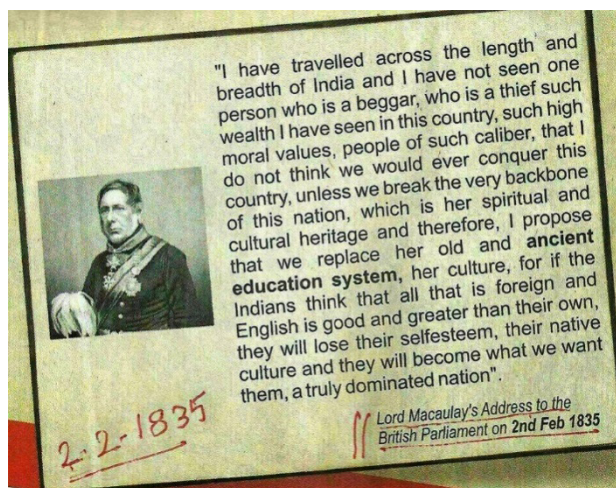
The unification process, in the eyes of the nationalists, had two effects: Initially, the economic destiny of individuals residing in disparate places became interconnected; for example, crop failure in one area impacted the costs and availability in another. Second, people from many areas came together, particularly the leaders,

thanks to modern transportation and communication technologies. This was crucial for the political ideas that were exchanged as well as for organizing and mobilizing public opinion on matters of politics and the economy.



British India

c) **Introduction of Western Education:** In 1835, English education was introduced in schools and colleges, with the help of Macaulay's Minute.



Lord Macaulay's Address to the British Parliament

These educated Indians learnt western ideas and thoughts like Liberty, Equality, Democracy and Socialism. The adoption of a contemporary educational framework made it possible for modern Western concepts and ideas to be assimilated. This in turn gave Indian political thought a new direction, even if the English educational system was designed by the rulers for their own convenience and effective administration.

Many Indians were influenced by the liberal and radical views of European thinkers such as Milton, J. S. Mill, Rousseau, Paine, Shelley, Spencer, and Voltaire to adopt modern, secular, democratic, and nationalist beliefs. Nationalist leaders from various regions were able to communicate with one another thanks to the English language. For higher education, those from the educated class who chose liberal careers—lawyers, doctors, etc.—often traveled to England. There, they observed how contemporary political institutions operated in a free nation and contrasted it with the circumstances in India, where citizens were denied even the most basic rights. The middle-class intelligentsia was formed by this expanding cohort of English-educated individuals, and it formed the basis for the just rising political turmoil. This segment gave the Indian political associations their direction and eventually spearheaded the national movement.

- d) **Role of the Printing Press in spreading modern ideas:** It was from the mid of the nineteenth century that several newspapers and journals were came into effect in English and local languages. They not only criticized government's policies but also spread ideas

of self-government and democracy. Even novels, essays and poetry played a significant role in spreading nationalism. Despite various press restrictions periodically imposed by the colonial rulers, the number of Indian-owned English and vernacular newspapers increased to an unprecedented extent in the second half of the 1800s.

Around 169 newspapers written in vernacular languages were in circulation in 1877, with a readership of approximately one million. The popular press encouraged people to come together while simultaneously criticizing government policy. Additionally, it promoted contemporary concepts of industrialization, democracy, self-government, and civil rights. Nationalist leaders from all throughout the nation were able to share political ideas with one another thanks to newspapers, journals, pamphlets, and nationalist literature.

Several cities, a thriving trade with the outside world, a rich cultural legacy, and well-established political, economic, and social institutions were the defining features of this picture. The idea that educated Indians were deluded by the idea that other European nations descended from the Indo-Aryans was a theory advanced by European intellectuals. Destroying colonial beliefs that India had a long past of subservience to outsiders was made easier for the nationalists by the self-respect and confidence they had developed.

- e) **Socio-Religious Reform Movements:** Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission and Theosophical Society developed in Indians a sense of respect for their own culture and religion. These societies were also responsible for restoring their self-confidence to rule their own country. The goal of these reform movements was to eradicate the social ills that split Indian society; this had the positive consequence of uniting disparate groups and was a major contributing factor to the rise of Indian nationalism.
- f) **Racialism:** The British practiced social exclusiveness. They discriminated against Indians in public employment, administration of justice, remuneration and even in personal dealings. These attitudes and actions hurt the feelings of Indians deeply. Through a purposeful strategy of discrimination and segregation, the British attempted to maintain racial beliefs of white superiority. This caused great hurt to the Indians.

- g) **Policies of Lytton (1876-80) and Ilbert Bill Controversy (1883):** Lytton's policies like the Vernacular Press Act, Arms Act, involvement in the second Afghan War and the conduct of the Imperial Durbar in Delhi were unpopular.

The principal purpose of the Ilbert Bill, which was introduced in February 1883 and named for Sir Ilbert, the law member of the Governor General's Council, was to grant Indian District Magistrates and Sessions Judges the authority to try criminals from Europe and Britain. Native Americans backed the law, but both official and unofficial Europeans opposed it. Ripon declined to withdraw the Bill but consented to a compromise: a citizen of Europe or Britain may assert the right to a jury trial presided over by Indian judges, with half of the jurors being Europeans and the other half Americans.



Ilbert Bill Controversy

These were the reasons and developments that led to the rise of national consciousness.

2.4 Foundation of the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 but it was not a sudden event. The process began in the 1860s and 1870s and developed substantially in the late 1870s and early 1880s. In 1885, the elite of the Indian society founded this organization as they felt that there was a need for an All-India Organization to represent Indian views and demands.



A.O. Hume

Their demands were – no reduction of import duties on textiles, no expansion in Afghanistan or Burma, the right to bear arms, freedom of the press, reduction of military expenditure, higher expenditure on famine relief, Indianization of the Civil Services, the rights of Indian judges to try Europeans in criminal cases, the right of Indians to join the semi-military volunteer corps and the appeal to British voters to vote for a party which would listen to Indians. There was a strong foundation set in the late 1870s and early 1880s for the creation of an all-Indian organization.

The proposal was given its ultimate form by retired English civil officer A.O. Hume, who organized the first session of the Indian National Congress at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay in December 1885 with the help of prominent intellectuals of the day. Two sessions of the Indian National Conference, with representatives from all of India's main towns, had been held in 1883 and 1885. The primary planners of Indian National Conference were Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjea.

Safety Valve Theory?: According to a notion, Hume established the Congress in the hopes that it would serve as a “safety valve” for the Indians’ mounting unhappiness. In order to achieve this, he persuaded Lord Dufferin to refrain from impeding the Congress’s creation. The “safety valve” hypothesis was accepted by radical leaders such as Lala Lajpat Rai. The idea of a “safety valve” even spawned the Marxist historian’s “conspiracy theory.” For example, R.P. Dutt believed that the bourgeois elites were involved in a plot to suppress a popular movement in India, which gave rise to the Indian National Congress.

The “safety valve” theory, however, has caused controversy among contemporary Indian historians. They felt that the Indian National Congress embodied the desire of politically aware Indians to form a national organization that would speak for their political and economic needs. Official resistance would have been too strong for the Indians to overcome if they had called such a group themselves; the formation of such an organization would never have been permitted. As Bipan Chandra notes, given these conditions, the early Congress leaders employed Hume as a “lightning conductor,” that is, as a catalyst to unite the nationalistic forces, even if they did so on the pretense of serving as a “safety valve.” As a result, several theories advanced by various people.

2.5 Objectives of Indian National Congress

The first objective of the Indian National Movement was to make India an independent nation. Its leaders believed that India was a nation in the making. Therefore, they wanted growth of national feeling and unity among their countrymen.

The second objective was to evolve a common political programme. The leaders wanted only those issues which were common to all the Indians to be discussed and be represented to the British.

The third objective was politicization and unification of the opinion of the educated and to politically educate the people.

The fourth objective was to create a common all India national political leadership. Their leaders had to know each other and had to have common outlook and feelings.

The fifth objective was to evolve a political democracy. They organised the Congress in the form of a Parliament. In other words, they conducted their sessions democratically.

Finally, their aim was to evolve an understanding of Colonialism and develop a nationalist ideology.

Year	Venue	President	Remark
1885	Bombay	W. C. Bannerji	72 delegates attended

Year	Venue	President	Remark
1886	Calcutta	Dadabhai Naoroji	Number of delegates increase to 436
1887	Madras	Syed Badruddin Tyabji	First Muslim president
1888	Allahabad	George Yule	First English president
1889	Bombay	Sir William Wedderburn	Number of delegates rose to 1889
1890	Calcutta	Sir Pherozeshah Mehta	
1891	Nagpur	Anandacharlu	
1892	Allahabad	W. C. Bonnerji	
1893	Lahore	Dadabhai Naoroji	
1894	Madras	A. Webb	
1895	Poona	Surendranath Banerji	
1896	Calcutta	M. Rahimtullah Sayani	
1897	Amraoti	C. Sankaran Nair	
1898	Madras	Anandamohan Bose	
1899	Lucknow	Romesh Chandra Dutt	
1900	Lahore	N. G. Chandravarkar	
1901	Calcutta	E. Dinsha Wacha	
1902	Ahmedabad	Surendra Nath Bannerji	
1903	Madras	Lal Mohan Ghosh	
1904	Bombay	Sir Henry Cotton	
1905	Banaras	Gopal Krishna Gokhale	
1906	Calcutta	Dadabhai Naoroji	The word swaraj, used by the president of INC
1907	Surat	Rashbehari Ghosh	Congress split and session broke up.

Year	Venue	President	Remark
1908	Madras	Rashbehari Ghosh	A constitution for the Congress
1909	Lahore	Madan Mohan Malaviya	
1910	Allahabad	Sir William Wedderburn	
1911	Calcutta	Bishan Narayan Dhar	
1912	Patna	R. N. Mudhalkar	
1913	Karachi	Syed Mahomed Bahadur	
1914	Madras	Bhupendranath Bose	
1915	Bombay	Sir S. P. Sinha	
1916	Lucknow	A. C. Majumdar	Congress merger & pact with Muslim League
1917	Calcutta	Mrs. Annie Besant	First Woman President
1918	Bombay (special)	Syed Hassan Imam	
1918	Delhi	Madanmohan Malaviya	Resignation of moderates like S N Banerji
1919	Amritsar	Pandit Motilal Nehru	
1920	Calcutta (special)	Lala Lajpat Rai	
1920	Nagpur	C. Vijaya Raghavachariyar	Change in the constitution of the Congress
1921	Ahmedabad	Hakim Ajmal Khan	President C R Das was in prison (acting president)
1922	Gaya	C R Das	Formation of Swaraj Party

Year	Venue	President	Remark
1923	Delhi (Special)	Abul Kalam Azad	Youngest president
1923	Coconada	Maulana Muhammad Ali	
1924	Belgaon	Mahatma Gandhi	
1925	Cawnpore	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu	First Indian woman president
1926	Gauhati	Srinivas Ayangar	
1927	Madras	M. A. Ansari	Independence Resolution passed for the first time at the insistence of J Nehru
1928	Calcutta	Motilal Nehru	First All India Youth Congress
1929	Lahore Pooma	Jawaharlal Nehru	Swaraj Resolution
1930	No session	But J L Nehru continued as the President.	
1931	Karachi	Vallabhbhai Patel	Resolution on Fundamental Right and National Economic Policy
1932	Delhi	R D Amritlal	
1933	Calcutta	Mrs. Nellie Sengupta	
1934	Bombay	Rajendra Prasad	Formation of Congress Socialist Party
1935	No session	But R Prasad continued as the President	
1936	Lucknow	Jawaharlal Nehru	
1937	Faizpur	Jawaharlal Nehru	First session to be held in a village.

Year	Venue	President	Remark
1938	Haripura	Subhas Chandra Bose	
1939	Tripuri	Subhas Chandra Bose	Resignation of Bose (Rajendra Prasad took over) and formation of Forward Bloc
1940	Ramgarh	Abul Kalam Azad	
1941 to 1945	No session	But Azad continued to be the president	
1946	Meerut	J B Kripalani	
1947	Delhi	Rajendra Prasad	

2.6 Moderates and their achievements

To understand the Indian National Movement and its history, it can be studied in three different phases, i.e.

The Moderate Phase (1885 – 1905),

The Extremist or Militant Phase (1906 – 1918) and

The Gandhian Phase (1919 – 1947).

The important moderate leaders were Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, Surendranath Banerjee, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, Dinshaw Wacha, Anandamohan Bose and Rashbehari Ghosh.

Their principal requests were:

- (1) Legislative council expansion
- (2) Proposal for concurrent Indian Civil Service Examinations in England and India
- (3) Import taxes on cotton products are being reinstated.
- (4) Cutting back on military spending
- (5) The growth of both general and technical education
- (6) The division of the Executive and Judicial branches
- (7) The British Empire granted India self-government.

The methods of the Moderates can be described as 'Constitutional agitation'. They organised meetings, gave speeches, passed resolutions and submitted petitions. Only rarely, they resorted to the boycott of foreign goods and propagated the use of Indian goods. They believed in peaceful struggle. Their political activity was confined to the educated classes only. Stage-by-stage, they desired self-government and political rights.

A national awakening was sparked by moderates, who also taught the populace the craft of politics. They helped make nationalism and democracy more widely accepted among the populace. They revealed British imperialism's predatory nature. They evolved a common political and economic programme for political struggle. They succeeded in building a solid base and foundation for the freedom struggle. They also got the Indian Councils Act of 1892 passed by the British.

Some of the moderates' shortcomings were their failure to recognize the significance of public mobilization and the actual nature of British rule until the late 1800s.

Overall, they obtained nothing significant from the British using their constitutional means.

2.7 Rise of Extremists Phase

There were several reasons for the rise of Extremism in India in the years between 1906 and 1918. Partition of Bengal (1905) by Curzon (1889–1905) was the direct cause of the rise of extremism. He took this action, supposedly for administrative ease, but in actuality to quell the rising high tide of nationalism.

With the passage of time more and more people understood the exploitative nature of the British rule in this period. Moreover, there were several famines between 1896 and 1900 due to negative British economic policies.

The Indian National Movement did not succeed substantially by using the moderate methods of agitation. For instance, the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was a disappointment.

A number of other oppressive measures were also implemented by the British, such as the Indian Official Secrets Act (1904), which limited journalistic freedom, and the statute that made it illegal to promote nationalism (1898). Tilak and other editors' 1897 imprisonment for

advocating nationalism further damaged Indian feelings. An other factor was the 1897 deportation of the Natu brothers without a trial.

The Extremists or the militants of the Indian National Movement realised the need for mass action and continuous political activity.

Indians by this time gained not only self-confidence but also self-respect. They felt they could govern their own country.

Educated Indians were influenced by western ideas of nationalism, democracy, and radicalism and several of them were unemployed due to British Policy of exclusion from many important positions despite being equally qualified with their British counterpart.

Indians realized that the education system under the British was not balanced. For example, Primary and Technical education recorded insignificant growth. In fact, Indians considered the entire system as anti-national.



Lal, Bal, Pal

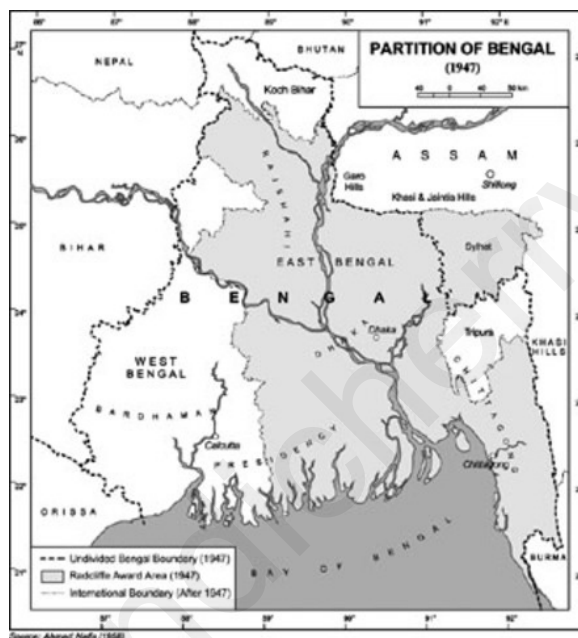
At the start of the 20th century, there were a number of aggressive nationalist leaders. They were T. Prakasam and M. Krishna Rao in Andhra, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh in Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Arjit Singh in Punjab, and V.O. Chidambaram Pillai in Tamil Nadu. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was from Maharashtra.

The emergence of Japan and its victory over Russia in 1905, as well as Ethiopia's 1896 victory over an Italian army, were among the many global events that greatly alarmed the Indian population and gave them hope that Asians could also beat Europeans. The Indians were also greatly influenced

by the Boer War in South Africa and the revolutionary movements in Egypt, Turkey, Russia, China, and Ireland.

2.8 Partition of Bengal

The anti-partition movement, which was launched in opposition to the British plan to divide Bengal, gave rise to the Swadeshi Movement. Bengal's split had been officially announced by the British government in December 1903. The plan called for the creation of two provinces: Eastern Bengal, which included Assam, and Western Bengal, which included the provinces of Bihar and Orissa. Dacca became the capital of Eastern Bengal, while West Bengal kept Calcutta as its capital.



Partition of Bengal

Bengal's population of 78 million, or roughly 25% of all people in British India, was cited as the official justification for the decision's inability to manage. It was also said that Assam's development would be aided by partition if the state was placed under the government's direct control. It was announced that Partition was done for administrative convenience and development of Assam. This was true to some extent, but the real motive behind the partition plan was seen to be 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).



Lord Curzon

Trying to win 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.

The Administration under Curzon wanted to transfer Bakhargunj and Faridpur to East Bengal as they considered these places to be centres of extremism.

All sections of Bengalis launched a widespread protest. Curzon was unmoved. In his visit to East Bengal in February 1904, he added to the scheme, i.e., he transferred fifteen more districts and reduced Bengal's population to 54 million.

2.9 Swadeshi Movement



Swadeshi Movement

It was from the Anti-Partition movement that the Swadeshi Movement began. People from different sections of the society joined this movement. It was in this movement that all the major political trends emerged.

The Swadeshi Movement was formally declared on August 7, 1905, during a conference that took place at the Calcutta Town Hall. Protest meetings were held almost every day in Bengal for a few weeks. In a meeting at Barisal, there were ten to twelve thousand people. In the gap of one year, that is, from September 1904 to September 1905, the value of British fabric sold in parts of the rural areas decreased by a factor of five to fifteen.

On October 16, 1905, Bengal was officially divided, and that day was observed as a day of sorrow for the whole state. Some even observed daytime fasts. There was a strike in Calcutta. There were processions in which people walked barefoot, bathed in the Ganges and sang the *Vande Mataram*. Rakhis were tied to each other's hands as a symbol of unity for all the Bengalis.



Surendranath Banerjee

On the same day, Anandamohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee addressed two large meetings attended by about 50,000 to 75,000 people. They had collected Rs.50,000/- for the movement in a few hours on the same day.

This period saw the use of traditional festivals to convey ideas of freedom to the public. Tilak used the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals for similar purposes in western India. Similar happenings were there in Bengal. Rabindranath Tagore contributed significantly to this movement in several ways.

Numerous banks, insurance firms, tanneries, textile mills, soap and match manufacturers, and retail establishments were established during this time. For example, P.C. Ray's Bengal Chemical Factory rose to prominence.

Even in the latter stages of the independence movement, songs written by Rajani Kanta Sen, Mukunda Das, Dwijendralal Ray, Syed Abu Mohammed, Rabindranath Tagore, and others during the Swadeshi Movement were very popular. In art, both Rabindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose contributed tremendously. Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Ray, and others pioneered research in science.

Politically, the movement created great enthusiasm. Students picketed stores, burned foreign goods, organized protests and rallies, and boycotted government colleges and schools. Women also participated equally with men in all the programmes.

The Extremists began to exert a strong impact over the Bengali Swadeshi Movement after 1905. This was the case for three reasons:

First of all, the moderate-led movement produced no outcomes. The nationalists were incensed,

Secondly, by the divisive tactics used by the governments of both Bengals.

Third, the government used oppressive measures, such as beatings, arrests, deportations of leaders, restrictions on public gatherings, public singing of Vande Mataram being outlawed, attacks on students, lengthy jail terms for swadeshi workers, and suppression of press freedom.

The Extremists Agenda Encouraged by Dadabhai Naoroji's statement during the Calcutta session (1906) that the Congress should aim for self-

government, or swaraj, the Extremists called for boycotts and swadeshi in addition to a boycott of government-run institutions such as colleges and universities, government employment, courts, legislative councils, municipalities, government titles, etc. They also called for passive resistance. The purpose of this programme, as put forward by Aurobindo, was to “make the administration under present conditions impossible by an organised refusal to do anything which will help either the British commerce in the exploitation of the country or British officialdom in the administration of it”. The militant nationalists adopted the phrase “India’s independence from foreign rule” in an attempt to turn the anti-partition and Swadeshi Movement into a popular movement. Aurobindo said, “Political freedom is the life-breath of a nation.” As a result, the Extremists gave India’s independence movement top priority in Indian politics. Self-sacrifice was to be the means of achieving independence.

Various Expressions of the movement and their consequences: The militant nationalists introduced a number of novel concepts in the areas of theory, propaganda, and programs.

Public gatherings and processions were important tools for organizing large crowds. They were also means of popular expression at the same time. Corps of Volunteers, often known as “Samitis” Samitis, have become a very well-liked and effective tool for mass mobilization. One example of this is the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, which is led by Ashwini Kumar Dutta in Barisal. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subramania Siva, and a few lawyers founded the Swadeshi Sangam in Tirunelveli, Tamil Nadu, which motivated the local populace. Through magic lantern talks, swadeshi songs, offering their members moral and physical training, organizing schools, helping during famines and epidemics, training in swadeshi crafts, and setting up arbitration courts, these samitis raised political consciousness among the masses.

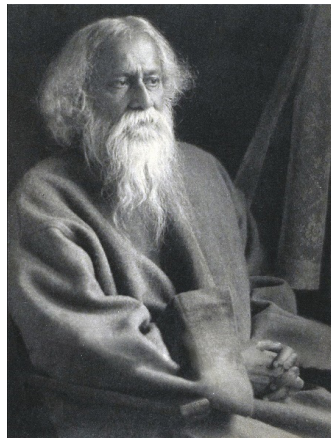
Using Traditional Festivals and Melas as tools: It was the intention to reach out to the public and disseminate political messages through the utilization of customary festivals and celebrations. In Bengal as well as Western India, for example, Tilak’s Ganapati and Shivaji celebrations were used as a platform for Swadeshi propaganda. This was accomplished in Bengal through the application of traditional folk theatre genres. Self-reliance is emphasized They promoted

“atma shakti,” or self-reliance. In addition to the social and economic revitalization of the villages, this suggested a re-assertion of the nation’s honor, confidence, and dignity.

In actuality, it involved social reform and campaigns against early marriage, alcohol consumption, the dowry system, caste injustice, and other issues. Initiative for National Education or Swadeshi Program After the British government threatened to revoke grants, affiliation, and scholarships to nationalist-dominated universities and worked to prevent students from participating in the Swadeshi Movement, a movement to boycott British educational institutions gained traction. National schools came into being as a result of British activity. It should be recalled in this context that Raja Subodh Mullick donated Rs 100,000 towards the founding of a national university in Bengal. The National Council of Education was established on August 15, 1906, together with the Bengal National College and Bengal Technical Institute. Aurobindo Ghosh served as the Bengal National College’s first principal, while Rashbehari Ghosh served as its first president. The 1901 establishment of Tagore’s school at Shantiniketan served as the model for the college. In Bengal and Bihar, several additional national schools were founded. It is important to recognize Satish Chandra Mukherjee’s contribution to national education. His Dawn newspaper, which has been in publication since 1897, and his Dawn Society, which was founded in 1902, had already begun to spread the idea of self-help throughout business and academia. In 1895, Mukherjee established the Bhagabat Chatuspathi, which marked the beginning of the national education movement. He played a key role in the establishment of the National Council of Education and afterwards was appointed principal of the Bengal National College upon Aurobindo’s resignation. To organize a system of education—literary, scientific, and technical—on national lines and under national administration, the National Council of Education was established. The vernacular was to be used as the medium of instruction. Even money to send students to Japan for further education was raised.

The Role of Swadeshi Enterprises: The founding of Swadeshi textile mills, match and soap manufacturers, banks, tanneries, insurance providers, neighborhood stores, etc., was also a manifestation of the Swadeshi spirit. These businesses were founded less on business acumen and more on patriotic enthusiasm.

However, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai's attempt at construction at Tuticorin, the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, presented competition for the British Indian Steam Navigation Company.



Rabindranath Tagore

Attempts in this regard were made by Sarala Debi's Lakshmi Bhandar (1903), Jogeshchandra Chaudhuri's Indian Stores (1901), and Rabindranath's Swadeshi Bhandar (1897). Historian Sumit Sarkar stated that Prafulla Chandra Ray founded the Bengal Chemicals business in 1893, and that attempts were made to produce porcelain in 1901. These initiatives gathered steam in tandem with the Swadeshi Movement's vibe.

Emerging Cultural domain and its contribution: Songs by writers such as Rajnikant Sen, Mukunda Das, Syed Abu Muhammad, Dwijendralal Ray, Rabindranath Tagore, and others served as inspiration for nationalists of all colors. Written on this occasion, Tagore's Amar Sonar Bangla would later serve as inspiration for Bangladesh's liberation war and become its national anthem. Subramania Bharati wrote his book Sudesha Geetham in Tamilnadu.



Abanindranath Tagore

Abanindranath Tagore challenged the dominance of Victorian naturalism in Indian painting, drawing inspiration from the paintings of the Rajput, Mughal, and Ajanta periods. The Indian Society of Oriental Art was created in 1907, and its first scholarship recipient was Nandalal Bose, who had a significant impact on Indian art. Genuine research in science was pioneered by Jagdish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Roy, and others, and it was well acclaimed.

Boycott and Swadeshi movements, together with all India aspect movements supporting Bengal's unity, were coordinated throughout the country. This, according to Tilak, marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the national struggle. Tilak was instrumental in the movement's expansion outside of Bengal. Realizing that organizing the popular mass struggle against British authority was both a challenge and a chance to bring the nation together in a shared bond of sympathy, he took it on.

Cancellation of Partition of Bengal: Bengal's partition was revoked in 1911 to lessen the possibility of revolutionary terrorism. The Muslim political establishment was severely shocked by the annulment. Additionally, as a concession to the Muslims, the capital was moved to Delhi, which was connected to Muslim greatness. However, this did not sit well with the Muslims. Bengal was divided into the provinces of Bihar, Orissa, and Assam.

2.10 Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909

These reforms were known after Minto, Governor General of India and John Morley, Secretary of State for India.

Morley-Minto Reforms



Morley-Minto

The Simla Deputation, led by the Agha Khan, was a group of Muslim leaders who met with Lord Minto in October 1906. They demanded separate electorates for Muslims and representation that went beyond their numbers, pointing out the significance of the contribution Muslims had contributed to the empire's defense. Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, Waqar-ul-Mulk, and Mohsin-ul-Mulk created the Muslim League in December 1906, but the same people quickly took control of them. Preaching allegiance to the empire and preventing Muslim intellectuals from attending Congress were the two main goals of the Muslim League.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale also went to England to meet with John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, to convey Congress's hopes for an autonomous government along the lines of the other British colonies, such as Australia.

Provisions of the Act: It was to enlarge the legislative councils and to increase the number of representatives. The size of the Councils was increased; in several instances, they exceeded twofold in number. It had a maximum of 16 members authorised by the Indian Councils Act of 1892, and this number was increased to 60. In the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, it was raised from 20 to 50.

The Governor-General's Council's official to non-official member ratio was significantly lowered, with the new ratio being 36 to 32. Five were to be nominated and 27 were to be elected of the latter. Hence, a formal majority was to be held by the Council. But in the provinces, they held non-official majority for the first time.

A system of election was introduced. Certain recognized bodies and associations recommended candidates. There are now distinct electorates for universities, landowners, chambers of commerce, and Muslims.

The role of the Councils experienced a transformation. Before it was finalized, they could talk about the budget. By resolutions and divisions, they were also permitted to debate issues of public concern. Additional questions were permitted, and the ability to ask questions was expanded as well.

The nomination of an Indian to the Governor-General's Executive Council was a significant shift. Additionally, there was to be Indian participation in the Madras and Bombay Councils. There were to be two Indians in the Secretary of State's London Council. The number of

Bombay and Madras Executive Councils was raised from two to four. Lieutenant Governors oversaw the formation of comparable Councils in the provinces. These Executive Councils were established in the United Provinces (1915), Bihar, Orissa (1912), Bengal (1909), and Orissa (1915).

Reforms were not meant to plan a responsible government. The Legislature was unable to remove the Executive through a no vote. Furthermore, the Secretary of State for India was the only body to which the Governor-General-in-Council was answerable, and that was the British Parliament.

There was no solution to the political issue in India with the 1909 changes. Lord Morley was adamant that India was not suited for colonial self-governance (as the Congress had wanted), and he opposed the establishment of parliamentary or responsible government in India. Lord Morley said that, "If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it." The 'constitutional' revisions were actually designed to use separate electorates as an irritating tool to stifle the building of Indian unity and to split the nationalist ranks by perplexing the Moderates.

The administration wanted to unite Muslims and Moderates against the growing nationalist movement. When officials and Muslim leaders discussed separate electorates, they were really referring to the appeasement of a small segment of the Muslim elite, not the entire community. In addition, the election process was overly convoluted and resembled the "infiltration of legislators through a number of sieves." Furthermore, despite the introduction of legislative forms, no accountability was given, which occasionally resulted in careless and reckless criticism of the administration. Advocating for universal primary education, criticizing oppressive practices, and bringing attention to the predicament of indentured labor and Indian workers in South Africa, Gokhale is among the few members who constructively utilized the opportunity to argue in the councils. The country's citizens received a shadow rather than a real benefit from the 1909 reforms. The people received "benevolent despotism" in place of the self-government they had demanded.

Summary

In this Unit, several reasons for the rise of National Consciousness had been discussed in detail. Foundation of the Indian National Congress has been traced and the demand of the early nationalists has been presented. Various objectives for starting the Indian National Congress had been stated. The methods and achievements of the Moderates has been analysed with a critical note on their failures. Many reasons for the rise of Extremism in India between 1906 and 1918 has been elaborately narrated. The origins and course of the Swadeshi Movement has been discussed along with its impact on various sectors like industry, poetry, art and politics. The Provisions of the Minto – Morley Reforms of 1909 has been presented with a critical conclusion.

Key Words

Colonialism, Nation, Constitutional Agitation, Self-Government, Nationalism, Separate Electorates, Militants, Swadeshi.

Self – Assessment Questions

1. Give the various reasons for the rise of National Consciousness.
2. Trace the foundation of the Indian National Congress. What were their demands in the beginning?
3. Explain the objectives of the Indian National Congress.
4. Elucidate the demands and methods of the Moderates. Give a critical evaluation of their work.
5. There were several reasons for the rise of Extremism in India between 1906 and 1918. Elaborate.
6. Why was Bengal Partitioned? Explain.
7. Describe the origins and the course of the Swadeshi Movement.
8. What were the provisions of the Minto – Morley Reforms of 1909?

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UNIT – III**Lesson 3.1 - Home Rule Movement****3.1 Objectives**

1. To analyse the origin and work of the Home Rule Movement.
2. To present the provisions of the Montague – Chelmsford Reforms of 1919.
3. To trace Gandhi's entry into Indian Politics.
4. To explain the Khilafat question.
5. To describe the Jallianwala Bagh incident.

3.2 Introduction

This Unit describes the Home Rule Movement. It presents the provisions of the Montague – Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Gandhiji's entry into Indian Politics is traced. The Khilafat question and the Jallianwala Bagh incident are also explained.

3.3 Home Rule Movement

Home Rule Movement (1916)

After the First World War, the political circumstances in the country were different. Indians living overseas responded to the First World War with the romantic Ghadr adventure, but the Home Rule Movement was a more measured and successful response. Prominent figures such as

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant, G.S. Khaparde, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Joseph Baptista, and Bal Gangadhar Tilak convened and determined that a national alliance was needed to demand home rule or self-government for all of India within the British Commonwealth. This alliance was to operate year-round, unlike the Congress, which held yearly sessions. The All-India Home Rule League, modelled after the Irish Home Rule League, was to be this coalition.

Ultimately, though, two Home Rule Leagues were formed, one by Annie Besant and the other by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, both hoping to start a new, assertive political trend.

The reasons behind the formation of the Home Rule League Movement were the

- (i) Some sections of society felt that it was essential to put pressure on the government.
- (ii) They tried to convince the moderates that the reform of Morley Monto was an illusion that had nothing to do with the Indian interest.
- (iii) Due to the ongoing World War I, there was a rise in the prices and the masses became more and more aggressive.

Indian leaders realised that the Government would not give any substantial concessions until pressure was given. Therefore, according to some of them, a mass political movement was necessary and they also felt that the Indian National Congress had become a passive organization. Thus, 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.

The message of home rule as self-government was intended to be communicated to the general public by the League campaign. Gujarat and Sindh, two previously “politically backward” regions, were drawn to it as well as having a far broader appeal than the previous mobilizations. Public meetings, libraries and reading rooms with books on national politics, conferences, political education classes for students, propaganda through newspapers, pamphlets, posters, illustrated post cards, plays, religious songs, etc., fund-raising, social work planning, and involvement in local government activities were all ways to accomplish the goal of promoting political education and discussion. The 1917 Russian Revolution turned out

to be a bonus for the Home Rule movement. Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai, Chittaranjan Das, Motilal Nehru, K.M. Munshi, B. Chakravarti, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Lala Lajpat Rai further joined the Home Rule movement later on. A few of these leaders went on to run Annie Besant's League chapters in their respective areas. The Bombay division was headed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah. A large number of Gokhale's Servants of India Society members and moderate congressmen who were fed up with Congress's inaction attended the protest.



Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak

But Anglo-Indians, the majority of Muslims, and non-Brahmins from the South refused to enlist because they believed that Home Rule would entail the majority Hindus' rule—primarily that of the upper caste.

In actuality, Annie Besant came up with the idea to form a Home Rule League as early as 1914, drawing motivation from the Irish Home Rule Movement. The leagues' principal goal was to provide India home rule inside the British Empire. Tilak had echoed this sentiment when he declared in 1916 that, "the Swaraj of today is within the Empire and not independent of it".

They had to deal with establishing reading rooms and discussion groups in urban areas, selling booklets in large quantities, and conducting lecture tours. They were like moderates and only difference from them was in the intensity and extent of their work.

Both the leagues not only co-operated with each other but also with the Congress and the Muslim League in demanding Home Rule. Tilak concentrated in Maharashtra and Central Provinces and Annie Besant worked in the rest of the country.

The two leagues also had an impact on a new generation of leaders, including Satyamurti in Madras, Jitendralal Banerji in Calcutta, Jamnadas Dwarakadas, Jawaharlal Nehru in Allahabad, Umar Sobhani, and others

in Bombay and Gujarat. These groups included the younger Gujarati industrialists, traders, and attorneys in Bombay City and Gujarat; the Hindu Amil minority in Sind; and urban professional groups such as the Kayasthas and Kashmiri Brahmins in the United Provinces. Later, the Home Rule Movement declined after Annie Besant started becoming pro-British in late 1917 and Tilak became busy in England in fighting a legal case in September 1918. Moreover, Gandhi had emerged as a national leader and started attracting more people to his ideas.

Achievements of Home Rule League: The Home Rule Leagues and the related initiatives had some beneficial outcomes and helped shape the new course that the independence movement would take in the years to come. The Home Rule Movement signaled the beginning of the Gandhian phase of the Congress, which involved public participation in the liberation struggle, as opposed to its previous deliberative and rather inert nature.

- The Home Rule Movement helped the masses to understand the hidden agenda of foreign rulers.
- The various branches of the Home Rule Movement helped broaden the people's mindset and created a link between the urban centres and rural areas.

3.4 Montague – Chelmsford Reforms of 1919

These reforms were named after Edwin Montague, the Secretary of State for India and Lord Chelmsford, the Governor General.

The two important principles of the Reforms with regard to the Central Administration were:

- (i) The Indian government was to continue answering to the British Parliament, as it had done previously. On the other hand, public representation rose and the Imperial Legislative Council was expanded.
- (ii) The Secretary of State's and Parliament's authority over the Indian government and the provinces was loosened.



Montague-Chelmsford

The Legislative Assembly, which would be the lower chamber, and the Council of State, which would be the upper body, would make up the bicameral Central Legislature.

There were to be direct elections to the lower house. The idea of independent or community representation was acknowledged. Landowners, business, and industry were also given further representation.

The Central Legislature was responsible for passing all laws, including the Center's yearly budget.

The powers of the Governor General in the legislative field were extensive.

A system of Diarchy was established. In this arrangement, subjects that were "transferred" to popular control were overseen by ministers answerable to the legislature, while subjects that were "reserved" were to be managed by the Governor and his Councilors, answerable to the Parliament.

Local self-government, education, medical administration, co-operative organizations, excise, agriculture, fisheries, industry development, and religious endowments were among the "transferred" subjects.

"Reserved" subjects included famine relief, land revenue administration, administration of justice, police and prisons.

There was enlargement and democratization of Councils in the Provincial legislatures. There were not less than 70% elected members and officials were not less than 20%.

Members were allowed to ask questions and supplementaries. Resolutions were allowed to be discussed in order to air public complaints and seek for adjournment in order to address issues of pressing public interest. Furthermore, they voted on grants in addition to having a general discussion on the budget.

The Governor's unique legislative and budgetary voting powers served as a barrier to the Reforms.

In August 1917, the British government, for the first time, declared that its objective was to introduce responsible government in India gradually but as an integral part of the British Empire. The Act of 1919 clarified that there would be only a gradual development of self-governing institutions in India and that the British Parliament—and not the self-determination of the people of India—would determine the time and manner of each step along the path of constitutional progress. Under the 1919 Act, the Indian Legislative Council at the Centre was replaced by a bicameral system consisting of a Council of State (Upper House) and a Legislative Assembly (Lower House). Each house was to have a majority of members who were directly elected. So, direct election was introduced, though the franchise was much restricted based on property, tax, or education qualifications.

The principle of communal representation was extended with separate electorates for Sikhs, Christians, and Anglo-Indians, besides Muslims.

The act introduced dyarchy in the provinces, which indeed was a substantial step towards transfer of power to the Indian people. The provincial legislature was to consist of one house only (legislative council).

The act separated the provincial and central budgets for the first time, with provincial legislatures being authorised to make their budgets. A High Commissioner for India was appointed to hold office in London for six years, and his duty was to look after Indian trade in Europe. Some of the functions hitherto performed by the Secretary of State for India were transferred to the high commissioner. The Secretary of State for India, who used to get his pay from the Indian revenue, was now to be paid by the British Exchequer, thus undoing an injustice in the Charter Act of 1793. Though Indian leaders, for the first time, got some administrative experience in a constitutional set-up under this act, there was no fulfilment of the demand for responsible government. Though a measure of power devolved on the provinces with the demarcation of subjects between the centre and provinces, the structure continued to be unitary and centralised.

Dyarchy in the provincial sector failed. The Central Legislature, though more representative than the previous legislative councils and endowed, for the first time, with power to vote supplies, had no power to replace the government, and even its powers in the field of legislation and financial control were limited and subject to the overriding powers of the governor general. Besides his existing power to veto any bill passed by the legislature or to reserve the same for the signification of the British monarch's pleasure, the governor general was given the power to secure the enactment of laws which he considered essential for the safety, tranquility, or interests of British India, or any part of British India.

The Indian legislature under the Act of 1919 was only a non-sovereign law-making body and was powerless before the executive in all spheres of governmental activity, as Subhash Kashyap observes.

3.5 Gandhi's entry into the Indian Politics

On October 2, 1869, in Porbandar, in the princely state of Kathiawar, Gujarat, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born. His father was a minister or state diwan. Gandhi travelled to South Africa in 1893 as part of a legal action involving his client, Dada Abdullah, after completing his legal studies in England. He saw firsthand the dehumanizing effects of white racism as well as the disdain and humiliation Asian immigrants to South Africa endured as forced laborers. In order to empower the Indian laborers to fight for their rights, he made the decision to remain in South Africa and organize them. He remained there till 1914, when he left and went back to India.

During his time in South Africa, Gandhi developed the Satyagraha method. It was predicated on nonviolence and the truth. The Christian commandment to turn the other cheek and Tolstoy's belief that the greatest way to combat evil is via nonviolent resistance were blended with some aspects of Indian tradition. Some of its points were as follows: A satyagrahi was not to submit to what he considered as wrong, but was to always remain truthful, non-violent, and fearless. A satyagrahi works on the principles of withdrawal of cooperation and boycott. The Methods of satyagraha include non-payment of taxes, and declining honours and positions of authority. A satyagrahi should be ready to accept suffering in his struggle against the wrongdoer. This suffering was to be a part of his love for truth. Even while carrying out his struggle against the wrongdoer, a true satyagrahi

would have no ill feeling for the wrongdoer; hatred would be alien to his nature. A true satyagrahi would never bow before the evil, whatever the consequence. Only the brave and strong could practise satyagraha; it was not for the weak and cowardly. Even violence was preferred to cowardice. Thought was never to be separated from practice. In other words, ends could not justify the means.



Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Gandhi's character, ideas, abilities and background appealed to the Indian people when he returned from South Africa in 1915. He had developed his philosophy of action – Satyagraha in his struggle against racialism in South Africa. He tried these methods and ideas in Champaran in Bihar and in Ahmedabad and Kaira in Gujarat.



Champaran Satyagraha

Champaran Satyagraha: Gandhi was requested by Rajkumar Shukla, a local man, to look into the problems of the farmers in context of indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar.

Gandhi went to Champaran in Bihar to understand the problems of peasants there. The Tinkathia system had forced the peasants to grow indigo on 3 / 20 of their land and sell it at dictated prices to the British planters. Gandhi after enquiry asked the Government to study the problem. The result was the abolition of the system. Young leaders at that time like Rajendra Prasad were impressed and happy with Gandhi's role. When Gandhi, joined now by Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul-Haq, Mahadev Desai, Narhari Parekh, and J.B. Kripalani, reached Champaran to probe into the matter, the authorities ordered him to leave the area at once. Gandhi defied the order and preferred to face the punishment. This passive resistance or civil disobedience of an unjust order was a novel method at that time. Finally, the authorities retreated and permitted Gandhi to make an inquiry. Now, the government appointed a committee to go into the matter and nominated Gandhi as a member. Gandhi was able to convince the authorities that the tinkathia system should be abolished and that the peasants should be compensated for the illegal dues extracted from them. As a compromise with the planters, he agreed that only 25 percent of the money taken should be compensated. Within a decade, the planters left the area. Gandhi had won the first battle of civil disobedience in India.

Other popular leaders associated with Champaran Satyagraha were Brajkishore Prasad, Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Ramnavmi Prasad, and Shambhusharan Varma, played a major role in the movement.

Kheda Satyagraha: Crops had failed in the Kheda district of Gujarat in 1918. But inspite of this, the revenue collectors insisted on full payment. Therefore, Gandhi organized the peasants to protest. Gandhi requested that farmers not to pay taxes. But Gandhi led the movement primarily from a spiritual standpoint. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel went across the villages, organized the villagers, gave them instructions, and provided the essential political leadership. These other committed Gandhians included Mohanlal Pandya, Narahari Parikh, and Ravi Shankar Vyas. The various caste and ethnic groups in Kheda supported the tax revolt that Patel and his associates staged.

The fact that the uprising was cohesive and disciplined made it noteworthy. The great majority of the farmers in Kheda remained loyal to Sardar Patel even after the government took their personal belongings, land, and means of subsistence due to their unpaid taxes. Gujaratis from other regions who supported the uprising contributed by providing refuge to the families and belongings of the peasants who were rebelling. Indians who attempted to purchase the seized land faced social exclusion. In the end, the government tried to negotiate a settlement with the farmers. It committed to returning all confiscated property, lowering the rate rise, and suspending the tax for the current and subsequent years.

A new awakening among the peasantry was brought through the battle of Kheda. It dawned on them that they would remain victims of injustice and exploitation until their nation attained total freedom. Government yielded and agreed for a settlement. Indu Lal Yagnik was one of the chief assistants to Gandhi in this movement. Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel was so impressed by the ideology of Gandhi that he became an important follower of Gandhi then on.

Ahmedabad Mill Strike: The mill owners in Ahmedabad refused to pay higher wages to their workers in March 1918. The mill owners withdrew the bonus that they promised earlier, and also, due to the ongoing World War I, the prices of the important articles increased significantly. So, Gandhi encouraged them to undertake a fast. The mill owners were ready to give 20% wage hike. However, this was not sufficient for them, and due to this, they went on strike under the leadership of Gandhi.

The strike had attracted all of India's attention. The result was that the mill owners gave a 35% wage rise on the fourth day of Gandhi's fast.

Gandhi's entry into Indian Politics brought the masses into the Indian National Movement. He espoused Hindu – Muslim Unity, removal of untouchability and amelioration in the status of women.

The Rowlatt Act: Just six months before the Montford Reforms were to be put into effect, two bills were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council. One of them was dropped, but the other—an extension to the Defence of India Regulations Act, 1915—was passed in March 1919. It was what was officially called the Anarchical and Revolutionary

Crimes Act but popularly known as the Rowlatt Act. It was based on the recommendations made in the previous year to the Imperial Legislative Council by the Rowlatt Commission, headed by the British judge, Sir Sidney Rowlatt, to investigate the 'seditious conspiracy' of the Indian people. The committee had recommended that activists should be deported or imprisoned without trial for two years and that even possession of seditious newspapers would be adequate evidence of guilt.

The Indians criticised the Act, and all the elected members of the Legislative Council voted against the Bill. However, they were in the minority, so their opposition was not enough to overrule the Bill. After that, all the elected Indian members, who included Muhammed Ali Jinnah, Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mazhar Ul Haq resigned in protest. The act allowed political activists to be tried without juries or imprisoned without trial. It allowed the arrest of Indians without a warrant on the mere suspicion of 'treason'. Such suspects could be tried in secrecy without recourse to legal help. A special cell consisting of three high court judges was to try such suspects, and there was no court of appeal above that panel. This panel could even accept evidence not acceptable under the Indian Evidences Act. The law of habeas corpus, the basis of civil liberty, was sought to be suspended. The object of the government was to replace the repressive provisions of the wartime Defence of India Act (1915) by a permanent law. So, the wartime restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly were re-imposed in India. There was strict control over the press, and the government was armed with a variety of powers to deal with anything the authorities chose to consider as terrorism or revolutionary tactics.



Rowlatt Act

3.6 Khilafat Question

Resentment among Indian Muslims over the Ottoman Turkish Empire's defeat in World War I marked the beginning of the Khilafat problem. The second reason was the severe provisions of the Treaty of Sevres (1920) with Turkey. Thirdly, Indian Muslims were angry with the British as they were encouraging revolts against the Sultan's empire in Arabia. Finally, this entire issue was due to the Muslim belief that the Caliph was the religious as well as temporal head of the Muslim World.

M.A. Ansari made this demand during the 1918 Muslim League annual assembly in Delhi, calling for the return of the Arab lands to the Caliph. Gandhiji and the Congress supported Ansari's demands.

Later, All India Khilafat Conference was organised in April – May 1919 and an All-India Khilafat Committee was set up with Seth Chhotani of Bombay as President and Maulana Shaukat Ali as Secretary in September 1919 at Lucknow.

In the Khilafat Conference held at Calcutta in February 1920, not only was a resolution in favour of non-cooperation passed but it was decided to observe a Khilafat day. The President of this Conference was Maulana Abul Kalam.

The Central Khilafat Committee meeting at Bombay announced its decision to start its Non-Cooperation movement from 1st August 1920 as a reaction to the Treaty of Sevres with Turkey on 15 May, 1920.

During its December 1920 session in Nagpur, the Congress approved a resolution endorsing the Khilafat Movement. Both the Congress and the Khilafat Committee agreed upon the threefold goal of non-cooperation, which included establishing Swaraj, righting the wrongs of Khilafat, and addressing the concerns of Punjab.

It was quite clear that the support of the Congress was essential for the Khilafat movement to succeed. However, although Gandhi was in favour of launching satyagraha and non-cooperation against the government on the Khilafat issue, the Congress was not united on this form of political action. Tilak was opposed to having an alliance with Muslim leaders over a religious issue, and he was also sceptical of satyagraha as an instrument of politics. According to Professor Ravinder Kumar, Gandhi made a concerted bid to convince Tilak of the virtues of satyagraha and of the expediency of an alliance with the Muslim community over the Khilafat issue. There

was opposition to some of the other provisions of the Gandhi's non-cooperation programme also, such as boycott of councils. Later, however, Gandhi was able to get the approval of the Congress for his programme of political action and the Congress felt inclined to support a non-cooperation programme on the Khilafat question because it was felt that this was a golden opportunity to cement Hindu-Muslim unity and to bring Muslim masses into the national movement; now different sections of society—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, peasants, artisans, capitalists, tribals, women, students—could come into the national movement by fighting for their own rights and realising that the colonial rule was opposed to them; the Congress was losing faith in constitutional struggle, especially after the Punjab incidents and the blatantly partisan Hunter Committee Report; the Congress was aware that the masses were eager to give expression to their discontent.

The Government of India did not respond to this All-India movement. So, the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karachi on 8th July, 1921 asked the Muslim soldiers of the Indian Army to resign.

Eventually, the Khilafat Movement became redundant when there was revolution in Turkey led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha in 1922.

3.7 Jallianwala Bagh Incident

There was mass agitation against the Rowlatt Act in several cities. Police lathi charged and fired upon demonstrators. Therefore, Gandhiji gave a call for big hartal on 6th April, 1919. People responded enthusiastically. Government tried to suppress the protesters. Worst of it happened in Punjab. The area most impacted by violence was Amritsar. The demonstrators did not use violence at first. Indians closed their stores and stopped doing business as usual; their discontent with the British betrayal was evident in the deserted streets.

The meeting place Jallianwala Bagh was enclosed on three sides by buildings and had only one exit. Dyer decided to close the exit and shoot into the crowd with machine guns. Troops fired till their ammunition was over. Thousands were killed and several people were wounded. Later, martial law was declared in Punjab.

The whole country was shocked and the brutality of foreign rule was exposed.

A large crowd had got together on 13th April 1919 at Amritsar in the Jallianwala Bagh to protest against the arrest of their leaders Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal. Military Commander of Amritsar was General Dyer and he decided to terrorise the people of that city.

On April 9, two nationalist leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr Satyapal, were arrested by the British officials without any provocation, except that they had addressed protest meetings and taken to some unknown destination. This caused resentment among the Indian protestors who came out in thousands on April 10 to show their solidarity with their leaders. Soon the protests turned violent because the police resorted to firing in which some of the protestors were killed. Tension ran high. In the riot that followed, five Englishmen are reported to have been killed and Marcella Sherwood, an English woman missionary going on a bicycle, was beaten up. Troops were sent immediately to quell the disturbances. Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer was the senior British officer with the responsibility to impose martial law and restore order. By then the city had returned to calm and the protests that were being held were peaceful. Dyer, however, issued a proclamation on April 13 (which was also Baisakhi), forbidding people from leaving the city without a pass and from organising demonstrations or processions, or assembling in groups of more than three. On Baisakhi day, a large crowd of people mostly from neighbouring villages, unaware of the prohibitory orders in the city, gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh, a popular place for public events, to celebrate the Baisakhi festival. Local leaders had also called for a protest meeting at the venue. It is not clear how many in the 20,000 odd people collected there were political protestors, but the majority were those who had collected for the festival. Meanwhile, the meeting had gone on peacefully, and two resolutions, one calling for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and the other condemning the firing on April 10, had been passed. It was then that BrigadierGeneral Dyer arrived on the scene with his men. The troops surrounded the gathering under orders from General Dyer and blocked the only exit point and opened fire on the unarmed crowd. No warning was issued, no instruction to disperse was given. An unarmed gathering of men, women, and children was fired upon as they tried to flee.



A view of Jallianwala Bagh just after the massacre

According to official British Indian sources, 379 were identified dead, and approximately 1,100 were wounded. The Indian National Congress, on the other hand, estimated more than 1,500 were injured, and approximately 1,000 were killed. But it is precisely known that 1,650 bullets were fired into the crowd. The incident was followed by uncivilised brutalities on the inhabitants of Amritsar. Martial law was proclaimed in Punjab, and public floggings and other humiliations were perpetrated. To take just one instance, Indians were forced to crawl on their bellies down the road on which the English missionary had been assaulted.

The entire nation was stunned. Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood in protest. Gandhi gave up the title of Kaiser-i-Hind, bestowed by the British for his work during the Boer War. Gandhi was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of total violence and withdrew the movement on April 18, 1919. Seen in an objective way, Dyer ensured the beginning of the end of the British Raj. What had happened in Amritsar made Gandhi declare that cooperation with a 'satanic regime' was now impossible. He realised that the cause of Indian independence from British rule was morally righteous. The way to the non-cooperation movement was ready.



Udham Singh

According to the historian, A.P.J Taylor, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre was the “decisive moment when Indians were alienated from British rule”. The events of 1919 were to shape Punjab’s politics of resistance. Bhagat Singh was just 11 at the time of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. For Bhagat Singh’s Bharat Naujawan Sabha, the massacre was to act as a symbol that would help overcome the apathy that came in the wake of the end of the non-cooperation movement. Udham Singh, who bore the name, Ram Mohammad Singh Azad, later assassinated Michael O’Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor who presided over the brutal British suppression of the 1919 protests in Punjab. Udham Singh was hanged in 1940 for his deed. (His ashes were returned to India in 1974.)

3.8 Summary

In this Unit, the aims, work and decline of the Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Tilak and Annie Besant has been discussed. The provisions of the Montague – Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 has been presented including the system of Diarchy. Gandhiji’s entry into Indian Politics has been traced with his role in the Ahmedabad Mill strike, Champaran and Kheda satyagraha in Gujarat. Intricacies of the Khilafat question has been narrated. The horrific Jallianwala Bagh incident that exposed the brutality of foreign rule has been described.

3.9 Key words

Swaraj, Diarchy, Demorcratisation, Satyagraha, Tinakathia, Caliph, Turkey, Hartal, Punjab

3.10 Self – Assessment Questions

1. What were the reasons for starting the Home Rule Movement?
2. Estimate the work of the Home Rule Movement.
3. Explain the provisions of the Montague – Chelmsford Reforms of 1919.
4. Gandhiji's role in Ahmedabad Mill strike and Champaran and Kaira satyagraha in Gujarat had established him as a new leader in India. Elaborate.
5. Why was the Khilafat Movement organised? Give details.
6. Describe the Jallianwala Bagh incident.

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UNIT – IV**Lesson 4.1 - Non-Cooperation Movement****4.1 Objectives**

1. To explain the aims, work and significance of Non-Co-operation Movement.
2. To give reasons for the Simon Commission Agitation.
3. To present the recommendations of the Nehru Report.
4. To describe the work of the Civil Disobedience Movement in detail.
5. To analyse the Round Table Conferences.
6. To present the provisions of the 1935 Act.

4.2 Introduction

This unit describes in detail the Non-Co-operation Movement and the Civil Disobedience Movement. It analyses the Simon Commission Agitation, Nehru Report and the Round Table Conferences. Finally, it presents the provisions of 1935 Act critically.

4.3 Non-Cooperation Movement (1921-22)

Non-Cooperation Movement

An All-Party conference was held at Allahabad in June, 1920 when the British refused to meet the demands of the Congress. The Conference authorized a plan to boycott government-run universities, legal systems,

and schools. Later, there was a special session of the Congress in September, 1920 that decided to start the Non-Cooperation movement and this decision was endorsed at its Nagpur session in December, 1920. After which, Gandhi started the Non-Co-operation Movement in January, 1921.

The demands of the Congress were annulment of the Rowlatt Act, remedying the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and substantial reforms to satisfy the nationalist urge for swaraj.

The movement's primary goals were to boycott government or partially government-run institutions of higher learning, courts, elections, and foreign products. Second, to resign from elected positions in local government and to give up prestigious titles and positions.

Thirdly, to decline to attend events held by the government or semi-government.

Fourthly, the laboring class, clergy, and military had declined to send representatives to Mesopotamia to sign up for service.

Fifthly, to establish national schools and colleges and private arbitration courts, known as Panchayats all over India.

Sixthly, to popularize swadeshi and khadi by reviving hand spinning and hand-weaving.

Seventhly to develop unity between Hindus and Muslims and eighthly, to abolish untouchability and lastly to emancipate women.

There were different phases in the movement. The first part ran from January through March of 1921. It was typified by the teachers' and students' boycotts of government-run colleges and schools as well as the attorneys' boycott of courts. The second part ran from April to June of 1921. Its main objectives were to establish charkhas widely, register common people as members of the Congress, and raise one crore rupees for the "Tilak Swaraj Fund." The third stage took place in 1921, from July to November. Its main objectives were to organize volunteer groups for the statewide hartal on the eve of the Prince of Wales's visit and to boycott foreign goods. The fourth stage lasted from February 1922 to November 1921. In this period, the Government was at loss to handle the movement. The mood of certain sections of the people had changed due to the repressive policy of the Government and so they were in a mood to give up non-violent method of struggle. At this juncture, 22 policemen were burnt alive by peasants at Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh on 5th February,

1922. Gandhi was deeply disturbed by this incident and so had called off the movement on 11th February, 1922.

People's Opinion on the Movement: Diverse segments of society participated in the movement, but to differing degrees. At first, the movement was led by middle class people, but as time went on, many of them expressed reservations about Gandhi's agenda. Gandhi's plea received relatively little response in the centers of elite politics, such as Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The requests for title surrender, resignation from government service, and other similar requests were not given much weight. The movement provided a platform for the relative newcomers to Indian politics to express their interests and goals. Strong support was given by figures like as Rajendra Prasad in Bihar and Vallabhbhai Patel in Gujarat, who considered non-cooperation as a legitimate political alternative to terrorism as a means of resisting a colonial authority.

The Indian business community backed the economic boycott because they had profited from the nationalists' insistence on using Swadeshi. However, several large business continued to be skeptical of the initiative. Labor upheaval at their factories seems to be their fear. The participation of peasants was enormous. The Congress opposed class warfare, but the people overrode this prohibition. The conflict between the "upper and lower castes" in Bihar around the former's alleged theft of the sacred thread was combined with the Non-Cooperation Movement. The peasants generally turned against the traders and landlords. The movement offered the working class a chance to voice their true sentiments against both their Indian oppressors and British overlords.

Thousands of students quit government schools and colleges to enroll in national schools and institutions as active volunteers for the revolution. Numerous students were accommodated in the recently opened national institutions, such as the Jamila Milia Islamia, the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, and the Kashi Vidyapeeth.

Women donated their jewelry to the Tilak Fund and gave up purdah. Large numbers of them joined the movement and actively participated in picketing in front of the stores that sold liquor and foreign clothing.

Despite incidents such as the Moppila Uprisings, the Muslims' widespread participation and the preservation of communal harmony were noteworthy accomplishments. Two-thirds of the people arrested

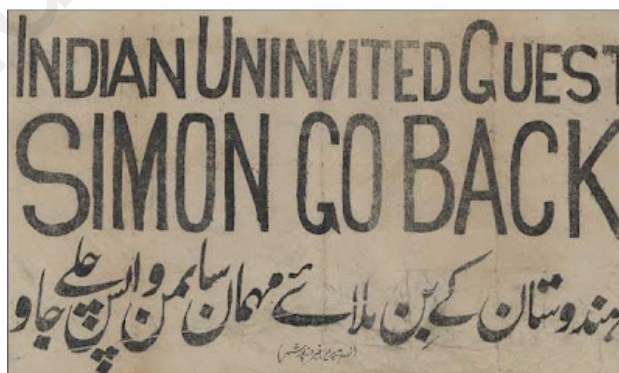
were Muslims in several of the locations, and this kind of participation had never been seen before nor would it happen again. Gandhi, along with other leaders, spoke to the Muslim masses from mosques. Gandhi was permitted to address gatherings of Muslim women, where he was the only man not wearing a blindfold.

The significance of the movement was that for the first time in history it had acquired a real mass base as different sections of the society like peasants, workers, students, teachers, women and merchants had participated in it.

The movement had spread to the remotest parts of the country. As a result, the National Movement shifted from being a contemplative assembly to an action-oriented organization. It saw the unification of Muslims and Hindus, and ultimately, the movement demonstrated the capacity of the common people to bear trials and make sacrifices for their nation.

4.4 Simon Commission Agitation

The British Government had appointed an Indian Statutory Commission known as the Simon Commission after its Chairman in 1927 to study the issue of constitutional reform. All the Commission members were Englishmen. This led to protest by all Indians. The Indian National Congress decided to boycott the Commission and suggested an alternative set of constitutional reforms known as the Nehru Report in 1928.



Simon Go Back Poster

Later, when the Commission reached Bombay on 3rd February, 1928, there was an All-India hartal. It was greeted with black flag demonstrations. The slogan was “Simon Go Back”. The Government in its response tried to suppress the protest brutally using the police.

The 1919 Act stipulated that a Royal Commission would be established to report on the act's operations ten years after it was passed. Two years ahead of schedule, in November 1927, the Indian Statutory Commission was announced as the commission's appointment by the British government. The report was turned in by the panel in 1930. It suggested that communal electorates be maintained, responsible administration be extended to the provinces, dyarchy be abolished, and a federation of British India and the Princely States be established. To discuss the suggestions, the British government convened three Round Table Conferences. Following this, the British government released a White Paper on Constitutional Reforms in March 1933 that included provisions for both provincial autonomy and a federal framework. Lord Linlithgow chaired a joint committee of the Houses of the British Parliament to further examine the proposal. According to its 1934 report, a federation would be formed if at least half of the princely states expressed a desire to participate. The Government of India Act of 1935 is the result of the British Parliament passing the law based on the report.

Impact of Appointment of Simon Commission: The Simon Commission's appointment had two effects on Indian politics. Firstly, radical forces calling for significant socio-economic reforms along socialist lines as well as total independence were given a boost. The Congress, which had no running agenda, had a subject on which it could again mobilize large-scale protest when the Simon Commission was unveiled. Secondly, there appeared to be a good chance for Indian unification at the moment since several political factions embraced Lord Birkenhead's challenge to Indian lawmakers to draft a consensus constitution.

Recommendations of The Simon Commission: In May 1930, the Simon Commission released a two-volume report. It advocated for the end of dyarchy and the installation of representative governance in the autonomous provinces. It stated that the governor ought to have administrative authority to safeguard the various communities as well as discretionary authority over internal security. The provincial legislative council ought to have more members. At the center, the study denied legislative responsibility. The whole authority to choose the cabinet's members was to rest with the governor general. Additionally, the Indian government would have total authority over the high court. Additionally, it suggested that distinct electorates for

each community be kept (as well as expanded to include additional populations), but only once tensions between Muslims and Hindus had subsided. There was not going to be a global franchise. The proposal acknowledged the concept of federalism, albeit not for the foreseeable future. It recommended the formation of a Consultative Council of Greater India, with delegates from princely states and British provinces. It recommended that Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province establish local legislatures and that they both be entitled to representation in the central government. As it was not a natural part of the Indian subcontinent, it was suggested that Burma and Sindh be divided from India and Bombay, respectively. It also advocated for the indigenization of the Indian army while maintaining the presence of British personnel.

India received all the necessary equipment. However, a number of events eclipsed the significance of the report's recommendations by the time it was released, making it irrelevant.

Butler Committee (1927): Along with the Simon Commission, the British government also announced the setting up of a three-member committee consisting of Harcourt Butler, W.S. Holdsworth and S.C. Peel to inquire into the relationship between the Indian States and the Paramount Power and to suggest ways and means for a more satisfactory adjustment of the existing economic relations between them and British India. Officially called the Indian States Committee, it visited 16 Indian States. Its report, submitted in 1929, observed that the relationship of the Paramount Power with the States was not merely a contractual relationship, but a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, and resting on a mixture of history and theory. Further, it maintained that in view of this historical nature of the relationship, the States should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature. Later the Simon Commission substantially endorsed the Butler Committee's findings and agreed that the viceroy, and not the governor-general-in-council, should be the 'agent of the Paramount Power' in its relations with the Princes. And the Government of India Act 1935 even stipulated that the two offices of the governor-general and the viceroy were indeed separate and distinct in their functions.

4.5 Nehru Report (1928)

All Parties Conference that met at Bombay on 19th May, 1928 appointed a Committee with Motilal Nehru as its Chairman to consider and determine the principles of the Constitution for India. This Committee presented its report to the fourth session of the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow in August, 1928. Its main assumption was that the country's new Constitution was to be based on Dominion status.



Motilal Nehru

Its important recommendations were:

- (i) guarantees for the freedom of conscience, profession, and practice of one's religion;
- (ii) lower houses of the national legislature and provincial councils to be composed of members chosen by combined mixed electorates, with seats reserved for Muslims or Hindus in areas where they constitute a minority;
- (iii) no seats reserved for Muslims in West Bengal and Punjab.
- (iv) the allocation of seats for a set 10-year period based on population; and
- (v) provisions pertaining to universal adult suffrage.

When M.R. Jayakar of the Hindu Mahasabha and Jinnah of the Muslim League presented the Nehru Report at the All-Parties Conference in Calcutta, there was a violent altercation. Jinnah insisted that Muslims have one-third of the seats in the proposed central legislature, whereas

M.R. Jayakar questioned Jinnah's legitimacy as the Muslim representative and urged the Conference to adhere to the findings. After which, Jinnah's demands were outvoted. Later, the report became a mere historical document.

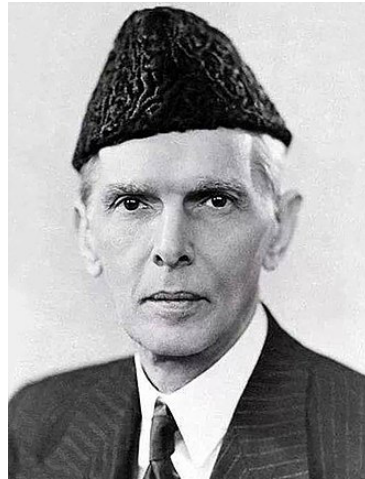
The Nehru Report was limited to British India since it envisioned a federal future for British India and the princely states. For the dominion it recommended:

- (i) Indians preferred a system of governance based on self-governing dominions, much to the dismay of the younger, more militant population, of which Nehru was a leading figure.
- (ii) The rejection of separate electorates, which served as the foundation for previous constitutional reforms, in favor of joint electorates with seats set aside for Muslims at the federal level and in provinces where they were a minority (as opposed to Muslim-majority provinces like Punjab and Bengal), with the ability to run for additional seats in proportion to their population.
- (iii) Provincial linguists
- (iv) Nineteen essential rights, such as the freedom to organize unions, equal rights for women, and adult suffrage for all.
- (v) Responsible government at the Centre and in provinces, The Indian Parliament will be composed of two houses: the House of Representatives, which will have 500 members elected by adult suffrage, and the Senate, which will have 200 members elected by provincial councils. The House of Representatives will serve five-year terms, while the Senate will serve seven-year terms. The governor general, who will be appointed by the British government and paid for with Indian revenues, will preside over the central government and act on the advice of the central executive council, which will report to the Parliament. Provincial councils to have a 5-year tenure, headed by a governor acting on the advice of the provincial executive council.
- (vi) Full protection to cultural and religious interests of Muslims.
- (vii) Complete dissociation of State from religion.

Jinnah Proposal for the Report: Jinnah, speaking for the Muslim League, suggested three changes to the Nehru Report during the All-Parties Conference that was held in Calcutta in December 1928:

- (i) Muslims would have one-third representation in the national legislative; (ii) Muslims would have a reservation in the legislatures of Bengal and Punjab, based on population, until adult suffrage was achieved; and (iii) provinces would have residual powers. These requests were not fulfilled.

Jinnah's Fourteen Points Jinnah: went back to the Shafi faction of the Muslim League and in March 1929 gave 14 points which were to become the basis of all future propaganda of the Muslim League.



Muhammad Ali Jinnah

The 14 points were as follows:

1. Federal Constitution with residual powers to provinces.
2. Provincial autonomy.
3. No constitutional amendment by the centre without the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian federation.
4. All legislatures and elected bodies to have adequate representation of Muslims in every province without reducing a majority of Muslims in a province to a minority or equality.
5. Adequate representation to Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies.
6. One-third Muslim representation in the central legislature.
7. In any cabinet at the centre or in the provinces, one-third has to be Muslims.
8. Separate electorates.
9. No bill or resolution in any legislature to be passed if three-fourths of a minority community consider such a bill or resolution to be against their interests.

10. Any territorial redistribution not to affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal, and NWFP.
11. Separation of Sindh from Bombay.
12. Constitutional reforms in the NWFP and Baluchistan.
13. Full religious freedom to all communities.
14. Protection of Muslim rights in religion, culture, education, and language.

Nehru Report Found Unsatisfactory, not only were the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Sikh communalists unhappy about the Nehru Report, but the younger section of the Congress led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose were also angered. The younger section regarded the idea of dominion status in the report as a step backward, and the developments at the All-Parties Conference strengthened their criticism of the dominion status idea. Nehru and Subhas Bose rejected the Congress' modified goal and jointly set up the Independence for India League.

4.6 Civil Disobedience Movement

Calcutta Session of INC: The Nehru Report was adopted during the Congress meeting in Calcutta in December 1928, but the younger members, including Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Satyamurthy, voiced their displeasure with dominion status as the Congress's ultimate goal. Rather, they insisted that purna swaraj, or total independence, be the Congress's stated objective. Elder statesmen such as Gandhi and Motilal Nehru hoped that the demand for dominion status would not be abandoned too quickly, since a consensus on it had been hard won over the years. The proposal put forth was to grant the government a two-year grace period to accommodate the request for dominion status. This time frame was then shortened to one year due to pressure from the younger components. The Congress now resolved to demand complete independence and to commence a campaign of civil disobedience in order to achieve its objective, provided that the government did not accept a constitution based on dominion status before the end of the year.

Gandhi traveled nonstop in 1929 to prepare people for direct political action. He advised young people to get ready for the arduous journey, assisted in setting up constructive work in villages, and

addressed specific issues (along the lines of the 1928 Bardoli agitation). To promote an aggressive program of boycotting foreign clothing and burning it in public, the Congress Working Committee (CWC) established the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee. In March 1929, Gandhi started the campaign in Calcutta and was taken into custody. Foreign cloth bonfires spread over the nation after this.

Irwin's Declaration: Lord Irwin's declaration was made prior to the publication of the Simon Commission findings. It was the result of the joint efforts of a Conservative viceroy and the Labour administration, which has traditionally been more understanding of Indian aspirations than the Conservatives. "Restore faith in the ultimate purpose of British policy" was the stated goal of the declaration. On October 31, 1929, the proclamation was published as an official statement in the Indian Gazette. The text read as follows: "In light of the doubts that have been voiced in both Great Britain and India regarding the interpretations to be placed on the intentions of the British government in enacting the statute of 1919, I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as they contemplated is the attainment of Dominion status." But no time frame was specified. It would take a very long time to obtain the dominion status that Irwin had promised. The statement didn't actually contain anything novel or groundbreaking.



Lord Irwin

Even more, Lord Irwin was committed to host a Round Table Conference following the Simon Commission's report's submission.

Delhi Proposal A group of well-known national leaders published the “Delhi Manifesto” on November 2, 1929, outlining the requirements for being present at the Round Table Conference.

1. That the Round Table Conference’s goal should be to draft a constitution for the dominion status—thus serving as a constituent assembly—rather than to decide whether or when dominion status should be achieved; additionally, the fundamental idea of dominion status should be acknowledged right away;
2. That at the conference, the Congress ought to be represented by the majority; and
3. Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, and other political figures visited Lord Irwin in December 1929 (after the viceroy had almost escaped after a bomb was detonated aiming to hit the train he was riding in), and they agreed that there should be a broad amnesty for political prisoners and a policy of conciliation. They requested confirmation from the viceroy that the round table conference’s goal was to create a constitutional plan for dominion status. Irwin clarified that wasn’t the conference’s goal. The Delhi Manifesto’s demands were turned down by Viceroy Irwin. This was the moment to set the setting for conflict.

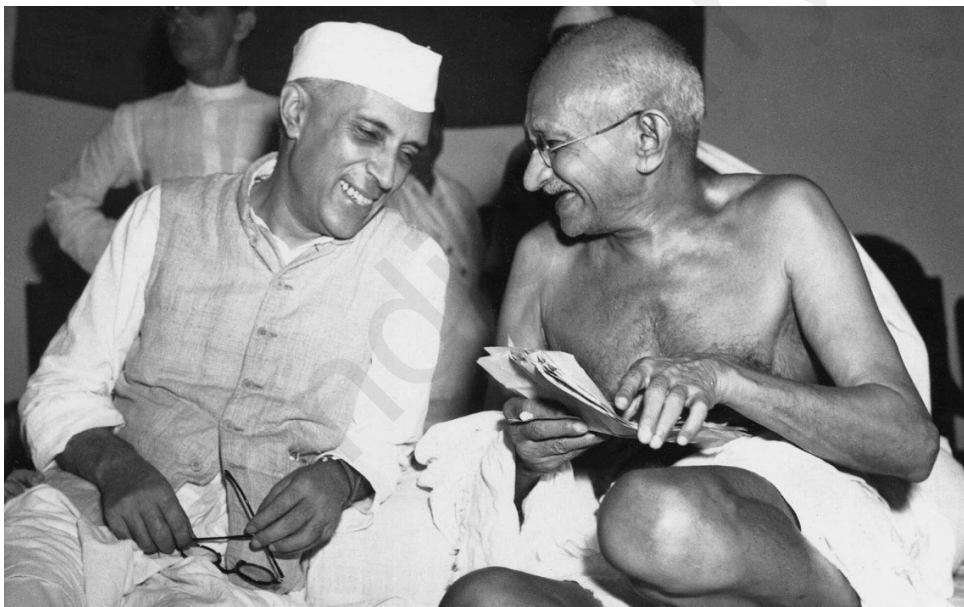
Lahore Session and Purna Swaraj: Jawaharlal Nehru, who was the driving force behind the concept of purna swaraj, received Gandhi’s endorsement when he was nominated as Congress president for the Lahore session in December 1929 (15 out of 18 Provincial Congress Committees had rejected Nehru). Nehru was selected to recognize the youth outburst that had made the anti-Simon campaign a great success, as well as the appropriateness of the event (Congress accepting complete independence as its aim).

Nehru declared in his presidential address: “We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it.” Further explaining that liberation did not mean only throwing off the foreign yoke, he said: “I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican, and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power of the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy.”

Spelling out the methods of struggle, he said, “Any great movement for liberation today must necessarily be a mass movement, and mass movements must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organised revolt...”

At the Lahore session, the following important decisions were made:

- i) There will be no boycott of the Round Table Conference.
- ii) The Congress announced its goal to be complete independence.
- iii) The Congress Working Committee was given permission to begin a campaign of civil disobedience, which included asking legislators to give up their positions and refusing to pay taxes.
- iv) Swarajya Day, which was declared to be observed worldwide on January 26, 1930, was set as the inaugural Independence Day. Jawaharlal Nehru raised the newly accepted tricolor flag of freedom at midnight on December 31, 1929, on the banks of the Ravi River, amid shouts of Inquilab Zindabad.



Nehru and Gandhi

Gandhi had served the ‘Eleven Point Ultimatum’ to the British Government before starting the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The following were the specific grievances of the Indians presented by him

- (1) 50% reduction in land revenue
- (2) abolition of the salt tax and government salt monopoly

- (3) reservation of coastal shipping for Indians
- (4) lowering of the rupee – sterling exchange ratio
- (5) protection of indigenous textile industry
- (6) 50% cut in military expenditure
- (7) 50% reduction in expenditure on civil administration
- (8) total prohibition of intoxicants
- (9) release of all political prisoners
- (10) changes in the Central Intelligence Department
- (11) changes in the Arms Act enabling citizens to bear arms for self-protection.

Since the government was not responding favorably to these requests, the Congress Working Committee gave Gandhi complete authority to start the Civil Disobedience Movement whenever and wherever he pleased. Gandhi made salt the movement's key component by the end of February.

After which, Gandhi waited for 41 days for the Government to respond to his ultimatum. But, when there was no response, he started the movement on 12th March, 1930. The first part of the movement was the Dandi March led by him with 78 followers. The followers were from all over India. Two were Muslims, one Christian and the rest were Hindus. He walked about 375 kms from Sabarmati Ashram to reach Dandi in Gujarat on 6th April 1930. There he picked up salt, thus breaking the salt law to symbolise the refusal of Indians to respect British laws and rule.



Dandi March

Dandi March: Gandhi gave the viceroy his action plan on March 2, 1930. The salt law was to be broken when arriving at Dandi's shoreline by gathering salt from the sand. Thousands flocked to the ashram even before the planned march got underway. The following guidelines for future action were provided by Gandhi. Civil disobedience to the salt law ought to be initiated whenever feasible. Picketing foreign liquor and clothing stores is possible. If we possess the necessary strength, we can choose not to pay taxes. Lawyers are able to stop practicing. The public can abstain from suing in order to boycott the legal system. Employees of the government are free to leave their jobs. All of them should be contingent on fervently adhering to truth and non-violence as means of achieving swaraj. Following Gandhi's imprisonment, local authorities ought to be followed. Gandhi disobeyed the salt ban on April 6 by taking up a lump of salt at Dandi, and on March 12 the historic march that marked the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement got underway. It was believed that breaking the law represented the Indian people's will to resist living under British rule and British-made laws. Gandhi openly urged people to break the salt rule by using seawater in their houses to create salt. The media did a good job of covering the march, its developments, and its effects on the populace. Gandhi's appeal led to the resignation of 300 village officials in Gujarat. Employees of Congress participated in organizational activities at the grassroots level.

Progression of Salt Law Violations Nationwide disobedience to the salt regulations began after Gandhi's Dandi ritual opened the path. Defiance of the salt legislation led to Nehru's detention in April 1930, which sparked massive protests in Karachi, Calcutta, and Madras. After announcing that he would lead a raid on the west coast's Dharasana Salt Works, Gandhi was arrested on May 4, 1930. Following Gandhi's incarceration, there were large-scale demonstrations in Sholapur, Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, and Calcutta, to which there was a strong reaction. Following Gandhi's incarceration, the Congress Working Committee approved the following: the Central Provinces' breaking of forest regulations; the ryotwari areas' non-payment of taxes; and the zamindari areas' battle against the chowkidara tax.

Satyagraha at Different Places

In an attempt to disobey the salt ordinance, C. Rajagopalachari organized a march in Tamil Nadu in April 1930 that began at Thiruchirapalli

(known to the British as Trichinapoly) and ended at Vedaranniyam on the Tanjore (or Thanjavur) coast.



C. Rajagopalachari

Following the event, foreign fabric shops were widely picketed; in the more rural districts of Coimbatore, Madura, Virdhanagar, etc., the anti-liquor campaign garnered strong support. Despite Rajagopalachari's best efforts, the movement descended into violence as both public outbursts and police crackdowns were violent. The Choolai Mills strike was broken by the use of police force. In Gudiyattam, unemployed weavers set upon liquor stores and police pickets, while in Madura's Bodinayakanur, the peasantry, battered down prices.

Salt marches were organized in Malabar by K. Kelappan, the Nair Congress leader known for the Vaikom Satyagraha. On the seashore near Calicut in November 1930, P. Krishna Pillai, who would later found the Kerala Communist movement, bravely defended the national flag against a police lathi-charge.

Salt marches were held in Guntur, Krishna, and the east and west Godavari regions of the Andhra region. The Salt Satyagraha was organized into a number of sibirams, or military-style camps. These served as the organization's headquarters. The merchants funded Congress, and the cultivators of Raju and Kamma, the ruling caste, resisted oppressive policies. However, the region lacked the widespread support seen in the non-cooperation movement (1921–2022).

The success of the salt satyagraha in Orissa's coastal districts of Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri was attributed to Gandhian leader Gopalbandhu Choudhuri.

Assamese civil disobedience did not reach the heights of 1921–1922, owing to divisive reasons such as the intensifying conflicts between Muslims and Hindus, Assamese and Bengalis, and the tensions caused by the inflow of Muslim peasants from the densely populated east Bengal. A successful student strike against the Cunningham Circular, which prohibited students from participating in political activities, took place in May 1930. The Assam Congress leadership denied that in December 1930, Chandraprabha Saikiani had incited the native Kachari communities to break forest regulations.

The Calcutta Corporation election involved the Bengal Congress, which was split into two groups under the leadership of J.M. Sengupta and Subhas Chandra Bose. The majority of Calcutta's bhadralok leaders were estranged from the rural populace as a result. Furthermore, there were reports of sectarian clashes in Kishoreganj and Dacca (now Dhaka), with few Muslims taking part in the demonstrations. Bengal nevertheless produced the most violence and the most number of arrests. Strong movements centered on the salt satyagraha and chaukidari tax emerged in Midnapur, Arambagh, and a few other rural areas. The Chittagong uprising group led by Surya Sen declared the formation of a temporary government and launched a raid on two armouries during that same period.

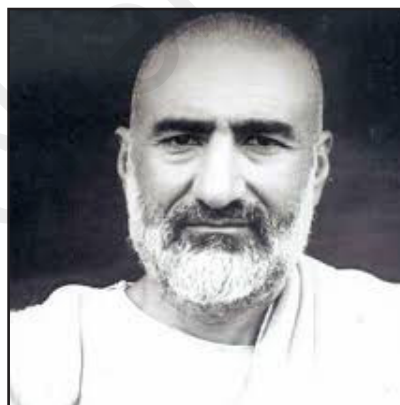
Saran and Champaran were the first two districts in Bihar to launch a salt satyagraha. Large-scale salt production was impractical in landlocked Bihar, and it was mostly done as a show of goodwill. Under Ambika Kant Sinha, Nakhas Pond in Patna was selected as a location for salt production and a breach of the salt rule. But very quickly, the salt satyagraha was superseded by a robust no-chaukidari tax movement (caused by practical limitations in salt production). By November 1930, sales of whiskey and imported clothing had sharply decreased, and numerous areas, including Munger's Barhee region, had seen administrative collapse.

There were incidents of lower-class militancy in the Chhotanagpur tribal zone, which is now part of Jharkhand. Influenced by Gandhianism, Bonga Majhi and Somra Majhi spearheaded a movement in Hazaribagh that combined socio-religious reform along "sanskritizing" lines, urging adherents to replace meat and alcohol with khadi. Under Gandhi's leadership, the Santhals were reportedly starting a large-scale illegal alcohol distilling business! While the majority of large zamindars continued to support the government, it was noted that smaller landlords and more

affluent tenants joined the campaign. However, tiny landlords and better-off renters' enthusiasm was repeatedly dampened by the rise in lower-class militancy.

Through his work on social reform and education, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan had politicized the Pathans in Peshawar, the North West Frontier Province. Along with founding the first Pushto political weekly Pukhtoon and organizing the volunteer brigade "KhudaiKhidmatgars," commonly known as the "Red-Shirts," Gaffar Khan—also known by the names Badshah Khan and Frontier Gandhi—was dedicated to nonviolence and the freedom movement.

Mass protests broke out in Peshawar on April 23, 1930, following the arrest of Congress leaders in the NWFP. The city was essentially overrun by the demonstrators for over a week until May 4, when order was eventually restored. Martial law and a reign of terror followed this. Here, some Garhwal Rifles soldiers declined to open fire on an unarmed throng. This spike in a province where 92% of the population is Muslim alarmed the British government.



Abdul Ghaffar Khan

The most intense reaction to Gandhi's imprisonment was witnessed at the industrial town of Sholapur in southern Maharashtra. Beginning on May 7, textile workers embarked on a strike in which they set fire to liquor stores, law enforcement buildings, municipal buildings, railroad stations, and other symbols of government power alongside other locals. Martial law could only be used to overthrow the activists' essentially parallel administration after May 16.

Sarojini Naidu, Manilal, the son of Gandhi, Imam Sahib, and started the unfinished task of planning an attack on the Dharasana Salt Works in Dharasana on May 21, 1930.

A vicious lathi-charge against the peaceful, unarmed crowd resulted in two fatalities and 320 injuries. People in Wadala (Bombay), Karnataka (Sanikatta Salt Works), Andhra, Midnapore, Balasore, Puri, and Cuttack, Gujarat, enthusiastically embraced this novel type of salt satyagraha. The areas in Kheda district that were affected were Anand, Borsad, and Nadiad; Bardoli in Surat district; and Jambusar in Bharuch district. Here, a resolute movement against taxes was organized, which included refusing to pay land revenue. In order to avoid police persecution, villagers migrated into nearby princely realms (like Baroda) with their families and possessions and set up camp in the open for several months. In retaliation, the police took their land and destroyed their belongings.



Sarojini Naidu

Forest rules pertaining to grazing and wood limits, as well as the sale of illicitly obtained forest produce in public, were disregarded in Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Central Provinces

A no-revenue campaign was launched in the United Provinces, urging zamindars to decline to deliver money to the government. Tenants were urged not to pay rent as part of a campaign against zamindars. The campaign essentially became a no rent campaign because the majority of zamindars were loyalists. In October 1930, the activity increased, particularly in Agra and Rai Bareilly.

Manipur and Nagaland participated in the campaign with courage. Raising the banner of rebellion against foreign rule at the tender age of 13, Rani Gaidinliu was a Naga spiritual leader, having followed her cousin Haipou Jadonang, who was born in the present-day state of Manipur. She proclaimed, "We are free people; white men should not rule over us."

In keeping with the custom set by the liberation movement throughout the rest of India, Rani Gaidinliu exhorted the populace to refuse to pay taxes or labor for the British. In 1931, the reformist religious movement became increasingly political, leading the British authorities to apprehend Haipou Jadonang and execute him on treasonous charges. An investigation was started to find Rani Gaidinliu. She managed to outwit the British until her eventual capture in October of 1932. Later on, she received a life term in prison. She was eventually ordered out of Tura jail by the Interim Government of India, which was established in 1946. This movement had spread fast. Other laws like forest laws and chaukidari tax were also defied in certain regions. All over the country people joined hartals, demonstrations and boycotted foreign goods. Peasants refused to pay land revenue and rent. There was large participation of women.



Rani Gaidinliu

There were different phases in the Movement. The first phase was from March to September 1930 which witnessed the high point of bourgeois participation in towns and peasant mobilization in the villages on issues like salt, no revenue, picketing of liquor shops and non-payment of chaukidari tax.

In the second phase, i.e., from October 1930 to March 1931, it was marked by a decline in the participation of merchants and industrialists and also by their attempts to bring about a compromise between the government and the Congress that resulted in the Gandhi – Irwin Pact of March 1931.

Government Response: The administration was confused and perplexed throughout 1930, which contributed to its equivocal approach. It was faced with the age-old problem of “damned if you do, damned if you don’t.” The Congress yelled “repression” if force was used, and “victory” if little action was taken. In either case, the government’s authority declined. Gandhi was quite hesitant to even be arrested. However, as soon as the repression started, the laws against civil freedoms were applied liberally, and the press was even muzzled. Provincial governments now have the authority to outlaw organizations engaged in civil disobedience. However, it wasn’t until June that the Congress Working Committee was deemed illegal. Thousands of satyagrahis were imprisoned in addition to Gandhi and other Congress leaders, and there were lathi-charges and shootings on unarmed crowds that resulted in multiple deaths and injuries. Even moderate political opinion was further agitated by the government’s repression and the release of the Simon Commission Report, which was a regressive document in other ways and made no mention of dominion status.

The viceroy, Lord Irwin, reaffirmed the objective of dominion status and proposed a round table conference in July 1930. Additionally, he agreed to the recommendation that M.R. Jayakar and Tej Bahadur Sapru be permitted to investigate the prospects of a reconciliation between the Congress and the administration. Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru were brought to Yerawada Jail in August 1930 to meet with Gandhi and talk about the prospects of a settlement. The demands of the Nehrus and Gandhi were unambiguously reaffirmed: 1. the right to secede from Britain; 2. the establishment of an all-encompassing national government with authority over defense and finances; and 3. the creation of an impartial tribunal to resolve Britain’s financial obligations. This was when the talks broke down.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact: Gandhi was released unconditionally on January 25, 1931, along with every other member of the Congress Working Committee (CWC). Gandhi was given permission by the Congress Working Committee to speak with the viceroy. Following these talks, on March 5, 1931, in Delhi, a treaty was signed by Gandhi, on behalf of the Indian people, and the viceroy, on behalf of the British Indian Government. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact, commonly known as the Delhi Pact, gave the Congress equal standing with the government.

Irwin on behalf of the government agreed on:

1. immediate release of all political prisoners not convicted of violence;
2. remission of all fines not yet collected;
3. return of all lands not yet sold to third parties;
4. lenient treatment to those government servants who had resigned;
5. right to make salt in coastal villages for personal consumption (not for sale);
6. right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing; and
7. withdrawal of emergency ordinances.

The viceroy, however, turned down two of Gandhi's demands.

- (i) public enquiry into police excesses, and
- (ii) commutation of Bhagat Singh and his comrades' death sentence to life sentence.

Gandhi on behalf of the Congress agreed on:

- (i) to suspend the civil disobedience movement, and
- (ii) to participate in the next Round Table Conference on the constitutional question around the three linchpins of federation, Indian responsibility, and reservations and safeguards that may be necessary in India's interests.

The third phase was from January 1932 to April 1934. It saw ruthless repression by the government which had imprisoned over 90,000 satyagrahis including Gandhi. The Congress Party was declared illegal. Censorship of news was imposed. Eventually, the Congress withdrew the movement.

Evaluation of Civil Disobedience Movement: Gandhi did not retreat from his decision to halt the civil disobedience movement as stipulated in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact because: (i) mass movements are inherently transient; (ii) the public's capacity for sacrifice, in contrast to that of activists, is limited; and (iii) there were indications of fatigue after September 1930, particularly among the merchants and shopkeepers who had taken part in the movement with such fervor. Youth were obviously dissatisfied because they had passionately engaged and wanted the world to end with a bang rather than a whimper. Gujarati peasants were dissatisfied that their lands were not returned right

away; in fact, they were only returned when the Congress cabinet was in power in the province. However, a great deal of people were happy that the government had been forced to recognize the importance of their organization, respect their leader equally, and enter into an agreement with him. When the political prisoners were released from prisons, they were greeted with heroism.

Differences in Non-Cooperation and Civil-Disobedience Movement:

There were certain aspects in which the Civil Disobedience Movement differed from the Non-Cooperation Movement.

1. The stated objective this time was complete independence and not just remedying two specific wrongs and a vaguely worded swaraj.
2. The methods involved violation of law from the very beginning and not just non-cooperation with foreign rule.
3. There was a decline in forms of protests involving the intelligentsia, such as lawyers giving up practice, students giving up government schools to join national schools and colleges.
4. Muslim participation was nowhere near that in the Non-Cooperation Movement level.
5. No major labour upsurge coincided with the movement.
6. The massive participation of peasants and business groups compensated for decline of other features.
7. The number of those imprisoned was about three times more this time.
8. The Congress was organisationally stronger.

Congress Session, Karachi, 1931: A special Congress session was convened in Karachi in March 1931 to approve the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Three days prior to the March 29 session, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru were put to death.



Sukhdev, Bhagat Singh and Rajguru

Throughout Gandhi's route to Karachi, he was greeted with black flag demonstrations by the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha, in protest against his failure to secure commutation of the death sentence for Bhagat and his comrades. Congress Resolutions at Karachi were as follows: while disapproving of and dissociating itself from political violence, the Congress admired the 'bravery' and 'sacrifice' of the three martyrs. The Delhi Pact or Gandhi-Irwin Pact was endorsed. The goal of Purna Swaraj was reiterated. Two resolutions were adopted—one on Fundamental Rights and the other on National Economic Programme— which made the session particularly memorable.

The Resolution on Fundamental Rights guaranteed: free speech and free press, the right to form associations, the right to assemble, universal adult franchise, equal legal rights irrespective of caste, creed, and sex, the neutrality of state in religious matters, free and compulsory primary education, protection to culture, language, script of minorities and linguistic groups

The Resolution on National Economic Programme included: a substantial reduction in rent and revenue in the case of landholders and peasants, exemption from rent for uneconomic holdings, relief from agricultural indebtedness, control of usury, better conditions of work including a living wage, limited hours of work and protection of women workers in the industrial sector, right to workers and peasants to form unions, state ownership and control of key industries, mines, and means of transport. This was the first time the Congress spelt out what swaraj would mean for the masses, "in order to end exploitation of masses, political freedom must include economic freedom of starving millions." Later on, the Congress's fundamental political and economic agenda would essentially remain the same as the Karachi Resolution.

4.7 Round Table Conferences

The purpose of the first round table conference, which took place in London from November 12, 1930, to January 19, 1931, was to report on the effectiveness of the 1919 reforms and suggest additional constitutional changes. 16 delegates from the Indian states, 57 delegates from British India, and 16 representatives of three British political parties were present. Congress did not approve of the Simon Commission's report, hence it abstained from the Conference. However, the Conference was also

attended by various political groups, including Indian Liberal Federation, the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, and Depressed Castes.



Round Table Conference

Indian Princes had agreed for a Federation in the Conference but whereas communal parties could not agree on minority representation.

Eventually, the British realized that the Conference had failed without the representatives of the Congress.

The second round table conference was held between 7th September and December, 1931. Gandhi attended it as the sole representative of the Congress. Representatives of other political parties were also there. Conference was deadlocked on the minorities issue and separate electorates were demanded by the Depressed Castes, Indian Christians, Anglo Indians and Europeans.

Gandhi made an attempt to break the deadlock by saying he would accept any and all Muslim claims as long as they backed the Congress's quest for independence. However, the offer was turned down by the Muslim delegates, and the Mahasabha of India and the Sikhs were against it.

Indian Princes were also less enthusiastic in this Conference with regard to the idea of Federation.

At the conclusion of the conference, British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald declared the creation of two new provinces with a majority of Muslims, namely Sind and North Western Frontier Province. In addition, he established three expert panels on franchise, finance, and states in

addition to the Indian Consultative Committee. Moreover, he declared that a unilateral British Communal Award would be declared if Indians could not come to an agreement about the minorities' issue.

Thus, Gandhi after being outmaneuvered returned to India to be arrested and imprisoned.

Gandhi asserted that he spoke for all Indians against imperialism, and by extension, the Congress did too. Nonetheless, this opinion was not held by the other delegates. Historians note that a large number of the delegates were communalists, conservatives, and supporters of the colonial authority, all of which the colonial authorities utilized to undermine Gandhi's efforts. The British administration asserted that the Congress did not fully represent the interests of India due to the involvement of other groups. Gandhi made the point that Britain and India needed to work together as equal partners.

He demanded that a responsible government be immediately established both at the national level and in the provinces. He further restated the fact that political India was represented only by the Congress. He rejected the notion of a separate electorate for the untouchables, claiming that they should not be classified as a minority because they were Hindus. Additionally, he stated that special protections for Muslims and other minorities, as well as distinct electorates, were unnecessary. Gandhi was not in agreement with many of the other delegates. The minority issue quickly brought the proceedings to a standstill. Christians, Anglo-Indians, Muslims, and the lower classes were demanding separate electorates. Together, these formed a "Minorities' Pact." Gandhi battled valiantly to prevent this coordinated attempt to tie any advancements in the constitution to the resolution of this problem. The princes were also not very excited about a federation, particularly after the cessation of the civil disobedience movement and the potential for the formation of a Congress government in the center had diminished.

The third round table conference was held between 17th November and 24th December, 1932. It was attended by less number of representatives who agreed to almost all the issues. The Government of India Act of 1935 was passed by the Parliament of India following the proper procedures followed by the British Government when it presented its suggestions for amending the Indian Constitution.

As with the last two conferences, not much was accomplished. Following their publication in a White Paper in March 1933, the suggestions were discussed in the British Parliament. In order to examine the suggestions and create a new Act for India, a Joint Select Committee was established. In February 1935, the committee presented a draft Bill, which was enacted in July 1935 as the Government of India Act of 1935.

Outcomes of Round Table Conference: The conference produced nothing in the way of results. Everyone agreed that India would become a federation, that defense and financial safeguards would be in place, and that other departments would be transferred. However, there was little action taken to put these suggestions into practice, and civil disobedience persisted in India. The Indian National Congress had to be involved in any conversation about India's future constitutional governance, the British authorities realized.

4.8 Government of India Act 1935

The aim of this Act was to create a federal structure of government and ensure provincial autonomy. The Federation was to include the princely states and the provinces of British India. A bicameral federal legislature was to be formed, with Princely India being represented. The rulers had appointed directly their representatives. The right to vote was given only to 14 per cent of the total population in British India. There was no real power for the Legislature. For example, it had no control over Defence and foreign affairs. Even other subjects were under the control of the Governor – General. Moreover, British Government appointed the Governor – General and the Governors and they were responsible for it.

Local power was increased in the provinces. Provincial administration was under the control of the local ministers, who were responsible to Provincial assemblies. Governors could veto legislative action and legislate on their own. Civil service and Police were also under their control.

Congress criticized the Act and felt that except for a few popularly elected ministers, there was no major change in the British Administration.

Publication of Newspapers and Journals: The important newspapers and journals published during this period were:

- Yugantar (1906) by Barindrakumar Ghosh and Bhupendranath Dutta in Bengal.

- Sandhya (1906) by Brahmabandhab Upadhyay in Bengal.
- Kal (1906) in Maharashtra.
- Indian Sociologist by Shyamji Krishna Varma from London.
- Bande Mataram by Madam Cama from Paris.
- Talvar by Virendranath Chattopadhyay from Berlin.
- Free Hindustan by Taraknath Das from Vancouver.
- Ghadar by Ghadar party from San Francisco.
- Langal and Ganabani (1927) by Gopu Chakravarti and Dharani Goswami in Bengal.
- Kirti (1926) by Santosh Singh in Punjab.
- Kranti (1927) by S.S. Mirajkar, K N Joglekar and S.V. Ghatge in Maharashtra.
- Bandi Jivan by Sachindranath Sanyal in Bengal.
- Atmashakti. Sarathi. Dhumketu. Bijoli, etc. in Bengal.

Summary

Non-Cooperation Movement has been studied in detail. Reasons for the Simon Commission Agitation have been analysed. Recommendations of the Nehru Report have been presented. The reasons and course of the Civil Disobedience Movement have been discussed. The deliberations of the Round Table Conference have been narrated. A critical account of the 1935 Act is given.

Key Words

Rowlatt, Khilafat, Chauri Chaura, Dandi, Federation

Self – Assessment Questions

1. What were the aims and programmes of the Non-Co-operation movement?
2. Estimate the significance of the Non-Co-operation movement.
3. Give reasons for the Simon Commission Agitation.
4. What were the recommendations of the Nehru Report?
5. Why was the Civil – Dis-obedience Movement launched?
6. Explain the various phases of the Civil Dis-obedience Movement.
7. Narrate the deliberations of the Round Table Conference.
8. Elucidate the provisions of the 1935 Act.

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UNIT – V**Lesson 5.1 - Rise of Communalism****5.1 Objectives**

1. To understand the reasons for the rise of Communalism.
2. To explain the reasons for the demand for Pakistan.
3. To analyse the proposals of the Cripps Mission.
4. To describe the Quit India Movement.
5. To estimate the contribution of Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army (INA) to the freedom movement.
6. To narrate the events of the Naval Mutiny.
7. To give details of the Cabinet Mission Plan.
8. To record the transfer of power leading to Partition and Freedom.
9. To highlight the dawn of Indian Republic.
10. To present the features of the Indian Constitution.

5.2 Introduction

This Unit traces the circumstances for the rise of Communalism and the demand for Pakistan. It analyses the recommendations of the Cripps Mission. It describes the Quit India Movement. A life sketch of Subhas Chandra Bose and the role of the INA to the freedom movement are provided. Events during the Naval Mutiny are presented. Details of the Cabinet Mission Plan are given. Partition and attainment of freedom including the dawn of Indian Republic are narrated. Features of the Indian Constitution are presented.

5.3 Rise of Communalism

Creation of separate electorates and restricted franchise in elections gave rise to communal feelings. Moreover, the Congress was not able to win the confidence of the Minorities completely as proved in the elections.

Landlords and moneylenders started supporting communal parties when they realized that the Congress had adopted radical agrarian programme. At this stage, Muslim League started opposing the Congress

by spreading the fear among the Muslims about the Hindu majority. It also propagated the Two Nation theory and demanded the partition of the country and the creation of a new state called Pakistan.

Hindu Communalists also accepted the two-nation theory. They even helped the Muslim League and other communal groups to form ministries in the North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, Sind and Bengal in competition to the Congress.

These Communal groups had pro-Government attitudes and they also did not take active part in the freedom struggle.

Towards the end of the 19th century, communalism emerged along with the growth of nationalism. It turned out to be a serious danger to the national movement and the cohesion of the Indian people. Sadly, the legacy still exists.

Indian Communalism and its Features: In India, communalism has undergone three major phases and is essentially an ideology that prioritizes one's own ethnic or religious community over the larger society.

Communal Nationalism: The notion that because they belong to the same religious community, a group or segment of the population has similar secular interests; that is, they are all equally affected by issues that have nothing to do with religion.

Liberal Communalism: the notion that two religious communities should have separate secular interests (i.e., different goals in the political, economic, and cultural domains) because they have different religious goals.

Extreme Communalism: the idea that distinct religious communities have conflicting interests, which makes it impossible for two communities to coexist. In other words, the idea holds that religious communities are incompatible when their interests differ.

A contemporary phenomenon, communalism has its roots in the contemporary social, economic, and political colonial framework that resulted from public participation and mass mobilization in modern politics. People now need to build strong identities and have broader affiliations and allegiances due to modern politics. Modern concepts of nation, class, and cultural-linguistic identity were disseminated

during this period. In certain regions of the nation and among certain demographics, religious consciousness in India gave way to communal consciousness. The sociological foundations of it rested in the rising middle classes who, in order to serve their own economic goals, promoted fictitious communal objectives. To the Left, communalism was the quintessential bourgeois problem. The colonial government supported communalists in their community campaign. It served as the means by which colonialists broadened their social circle. The fact that socio-economic divisions in Indian society frequently corresponded with religious divisions aided colonialists and communalists in their evil intentions. The vested interests gave the innate contradictions between classes a post-facto community coloring. Communism received full backing from conservative social reactionary elements. Although religiosity in and of itself did not equal communalism, it could and was utilized as a means of achieving it in a nation where illiteracy and a lack of understanding of the outside world were depressing realities.

Growth of Communalism: Talking about the contemporary political, social, and economic institutions, communalism flourished as new identities haphazardly emerged while the pre-modern, ancient identities remained strong. An ideology of the community emerged from a collision of these basic opposites. Socioeconomic Reasons: Muslims and Hindus' political and economic goals were not genuinely determined by their religion. There were differences between two communities of Muslims and Hindus in terms of language, culture, caste, social standing, eating and clothing habits, social conventions, and so forth. Even in terms of social and cultural norms, the masses of Muslims and Hindus had come to share similar lifestyles: a Muslim from Bengal has far more in common with a Muslim from Bengal than with a Muslim from Punjab. Furthermore, Muslim and Hindu tyranny and exploitation were caused by British imperialism on an equal footing. Muslim scholars remained conservative and retrograde, not absorbing modern Western philosophy or scientific ideas. Even after reformers' efforts helped modern education expand among Muslims, the percentage of educated Muslims was still far lower than that of Hindus, Parsis, or Christians. When it came to taking part in the expansion of trade and industry, Muslims likewise fell behind. The conservative large landlords and the wealthier classes found it easy

to maintain their power over the Muslim masses because there were relatively few educated Muslims as well as men in trade and industry.

For personal gain, zamindars and landlords—Muslim or Hindu—supported British rule. However, among the Hindus, the old landlord class had been supplanted by the new intelligentsia and the growing commercial and manufacturing elite. The educated Muslims eventually turned to government jobs since they could not find many prospects in industry or the professions. The educated Muslims were incited by British officials and loyalist Muslim leaders against the educated Hindus. Syed Ahmad Khan and other Muslims said that the British would provide government positions and other special favors to educated Muslims if they remained loyal to them, despite their demands for preferential treatment when it came to government service. Some loyalist Hindus and Parsis made similar claims about their people, though they were the minority. Due to colonial policies that prevented industrial development, India had severe unemployment, particularly among educated workers, and fierce competition for the few jobs that were available.

There were proponents of ill-considered, temporary fixes, like job reservations based on caste, community, or province, given the current situation. In an effort to obtain a greater portion of the scarce job prospects that were already available, these people incited communal, religious, and eventually caste and provincial passions. Such concepts were easy to fall for, especially for individuals who were looking for work desperately. The colonial authority had plenty of opportunity to exploit concessions, favors, and reservations to feed separatist and sectarian sentiments because of India's economic backwardness and high rate of unemployment.

Additionally, Muslims were slow to develop a modern political consciousness, and the prevalence of old reactionary elements within the Muslim populace facilitated the emergence of a communal outlook. Both Muslim and Hindu nationalism were discussed. Many Hindus and Muslims, being politically immature, were unaware that the economic, educational, and cultural challenges they faced originated from their submission to foreign control and economic underdevelopment.

Divide and Rule Policy of Britishers: At first, Muslims were viewed with distrust, particularly in the wake of the Wahabi and 1857 uprisings.

The British administration also discriminated against and repressed them. Furthermore, the advent of English education weakened the study of Arabic and Persian, which made Muslims even less employable and farther economically inferior. Following indications of the rise of Indian nationalism and the increasing politicization of the educated middle classes in the 1870s, the government abandoned its policy of repression of Muslims and instead chose to use them to consolidate support for the government through concessions, favors, and reservations, which it then used to counter nationalist forces. To offset the Congress's increasing power, the government turned to individuals such as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. At first, Syed Ahmed Khan was a reformist with a broad mind, but he soon turned to embrace the colonial authority and advised the Muslim populace to avoid politics and the Congress. Additionally, he began discussing the distinct interests of Muslims and Hindus.

History Writing and Communalism: The common understanding of Indian history portrayed the ancient era as the Hindu phase and the medieval era which includes the Mughal, Turk, and Afghan dynasties as the Muslim phase. It was initially put forth by historians who supported imperialism, and certain chauvinist Indian historians eventually adopted it. The disputes between the governing classes in the Middle Ages were misrepresented and overblown as disputes between Muslims and Hindus. Historians choose to disregard the reality that political decisions were made primarily on economic and political grounds, not religious ones, in both ancient and medieval times as well as any other period. Rejecting the idea of a composite culture in India suited the interests of both British and community historians. The Hindu communal perspective on history, on the other hand, choose to portray Indian civilization and culture as having peaked in antiquity and then starting to deteriorate due to "Muslim" dominance in the medieval era. This was an attempt to deny the ways in which Indian economics and technology, philosophy and religion, literature and the arts, culture, and society had all evolved and improved during the Middle Ages.

Side-effects of Socio-religious Reform Movements: The role of religion became more susceptible to communalism as a result of reform movements with militant connotations, such as the Wahabi Movement among Muslims and the Shuddhi among Hindus. Reforms were occasionally perceived as a means of shielding one religious community from the influence of another.

The early nationalists deliberately tried to allay the anxieties of the minorities. During the second Congress session in 1886, Dadabhai Naoroji said that the Congress would refrain from discussing socio-religious matters in its forums. The Congress resolved in 1889 not to address any matter that the Muslims opposed. However, as violent nationalism emerged later, there was a noticeable Hindu nationalist undertone to nationalist politics. For example, Tilak's anti-cow slaughter activities and the Ganapati and Shivaji festivities aroused a great deal of skepticism. It seems unlikely that Muslims were particularly inspired by Aurobindo's vision of an Aryanized world, the Swadeshi Movement, which included aspects like oath-taking before goddesses and dips in the Ganga, or revolutionary activities.

The communal component of the Khilafat agitation (1920–22) and the Lucknow Pact (1916) was too evident to have negligible effects. Some Congressmen felt uncomfortable when the Khilafat matter was raised since they didn't think it was a particularly nationalistic topic. In this instance, the conflict with imperialist Britain was based on the threat to the Caliph and several Islamic holy sites rather than the political and economic ramifications of imperialism. Muslims have religious reasons for supporting Turkey. The heroes, myths, and cultural traditions that the Muslims invoked even later were rooted on West Asian past rather than Indian history. Long-term, this trend fostered the practice of viewing political issues from a religious perspective, even if it did not directly conflict with Indian nationalism—in fact, it made its adherents anti-imperialist.

The dominant community reacted to the communalism of the minority. Some Hindu zamindars, moneylenders, and middle-class professionals started expressing anti-Muslim sentiments as early as the 1870s. They even went so far as to say that the British had freed the country from Muslim rule and rescued the Hindu population from Muslim persecution.

The sectarian coloring of Hindi was imparted by the historically inaccurate claim that Urdu was the language of the Muslims. Next emerged organizations that supported a collective perspective. Founded in 1909 by U.N. Mukherjee and Lal Chand, the Punjab Hindu Sabha rejected the Congress's attempt to bring Indians of all colors together to form a united nation. They maintained that Hindus ought to support the colonial authorities in their conflict with Muslims.

The Maharaja of Kasim Bazar served as president of the inaugural meeting of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, which took place in April 1915. In 1925, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was founded. But for a long while, Hindu communalism was not a powerful force because the middle class and contemporary secular elite had more sway over Hindu society. This was not the case with the Muslims, who were greatly influenced by the Muslim communal forces, including bureaucrats, landlords, and traditional religious leaders. Any effective counteroffensive against communalism was thwarted by the one-upmanship of various kinds of community tendencies.

The theory of Two-Nation: The two-nation hypothesis has evolved as follows over time:

1887: Viceroy Dufferin and Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces Colvin launched a frontal assault on the Congress. As an anti-Congress front, the government backed Syed Ahmed Khan and Raja Shiv Prasad of Bhinga.



Syed Ahmed Khan

While some Muslims did join the Congress, Syed Ahmed Khan urged the educated Muslims to distance themselves from it. Hamid Ali Khan, A. Bhimji, Badruddin Tyabji, and Mir Musharraf Hussain were among them.

1906: Agha Khan led a Muslim delegation, known as the Shimla delegation, to the viceroy, Lord Minto, with the demands that Muslims be given separate electorates at all levels and that their representation be based on their “political importance and their contribution to the British Empire,” in addition to their numerical strength. Minto promised them special communal representation beyond their population size

in return for their “extraordinary service” to the empire. The All-India Muslim League was founded by Agha Khan, Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, and Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk with the goals of fostering loyalty to the British government and preventing the Muslim intellectual class from joining the Congress.

1909: The Morley-Minto Reforms granted separate electorates.

1915: Under the direction of the Maharaja of Kasim Bazar, the All India Hindu Mahasabha convened its inaugural session.

1912–24: Younger Muslim nationalists controlled the Muslim League during this time, but their nationalism was motivated by a shared understanding of political issues.

1916: The Muslim League’s demand for separate electorates was granted by the Congress, and the two organizations jointly presented proposals to the government. However, the Congress granted the Muslim League political legitimacy when it came together as distinct political entity from the League.

1920–22: Muslims took part in the Rowlatt and Khilafat Non-Cooperation agitations, although their political orientation included a communal component.

1920s: Community riots cast a long shadow across the nation. Shuddhi (purification) and Sangathan (organization) activities were initiated by the Arya Samajists. The goal of the Shuddhi movement was to bring back Hindus who had converted to Islam. In reply, the Muslims launched the Tanzeem and Tabligh movements. Additionally, some nationalists became communal. Following communal divisions, a large number of the Responsivists within the Swarajist ranks joined the Hindu Mahasabha. Following their impressive show of unity with the Congress, the Ali brothers accused the party of standing up exclusively for Hindu interests. The Congress was unable to come up with a workable plan to stop communalism from spreading.

1928: The Sikh League and fundamentalist Muslims opposed the Nehru Report, which recommended constitutional amendments based on recommendations from the Congress. In his 14-point proposal, Jinnah called for separate electorates, Muslim reservations in public office, and self-governing bodies.

By negotiating with the Muslim League, the Congress made a number of mistakes:

1. It recognized the segmentation of society into distinct communities with distinct interests and gave legitimacy to the League's policies.
2. It undermined the role of secular, nationalist Muslims.
3. Concessions to one community prompted other communities to demand similar concessions.
4. Launching an all-out attack on communalism became difficult.

1930–34: Some Muslim groups, such as the Jamaati-ulema-i-Hind, State of Kashmir and KhudaiKhidmatgars participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement, but, overall, the participation of Muslims was nowhere near the level of the Khilafat agitation. While the Congress stayed away from two of the three round table conferences held in London to discuss further constitutional reforms, the communalists attended all three of them.

1932: The Communal Award accepted all Muslim communal demands contained in the 14 points. After 1937: After the Muslim League performed badly in the 1937 provincial elections, it decided to resort to extreme communalism. There began a tendency to project the Muslims, not as a minority but as a separate nation, in the early 1930s this idea of a separate Muslim nation was proposed by a young Muslim intellectual Rahmat Ali and later developed further by the poet Iqbal and got leadership from Jinnah.



Muhammad Iqbal

From now onwards, communalism was organised as a mass movement with its base among middle and upper classes. Vicious propaganda was launched against the Congress by Z.A. Suleri, F.M. Durrani, Fazl-ul-Haq, etc. Extreme communalism was based on fear, hatred, and violence of word and deed. Till 1937, there had been liberal communalism, centred around safeguards and reservations. It was communal while upholding certain liberal, democratic, humanistic, and nationalistic values and the notion that these diverse communities could be welded together into one nation in one national interest. The extreme communalism of Muslims found its echo in the militant communal nationalism of Hindus represented by organisations such as the Hindu Mahasabha and RSS and in the thoughts of leaders like Golwalkar.

There were several reasons for the advent of extreme communalism.

1. With increasing radicalisation, the reactionary elements searched for a social base through channels of communalism.
2. The colonial administration had exhausted all other means to divide nationalists.
3. Earlier failures to challenge communal tendencies had emboldened the communal forces.

1937–39: Jinnah blocked all avenues for conciliation by forwarding the impossible demand that the Congress should declare itself a Hindu organisation and recognise the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims.

March 24, 1940: The ‘Pakistan Resolution’ came into effect at the Lahore session of the Muslim League calling for “grouping of all geographically contiguous Muslim majority areas (mainly north-western and eastern India) into independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign, and adequate safeguards to Muslims in other areas where they are in a minority”.

In terms of political settlement, the British India Government effectively vetoed the League during World War II. During the negotiations under the August Offer, Cripps’ proposals, Shimla Conference, and Cabinet Mission Plan, the League fully utilized this prerogative and persisted in its desire for an independent Pakistan. In 1947, it attained its long-held goal of having an independent Pakistan

that included regions with a majority of Muslims, including Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and the North West Frontier Province.

5.4 Demand for Pakistan

As the Second World War began and when the end of British rule was foreseen, the Muslim Communalists adopted the idea of Pakistan and the two-nation theory. Later, when differences between the Congress and the Government erupted during the Second World War, Muslim League supported the war efforts.

Afterwards, Muslim League made the acceptance of Pakistan as a pre-condition for any constitutional advancement. It observed 16th August, 1946 as the Direct Action Day to achieve its goal i.e., Pakistan. This was virtually a declaration of Civil War.

5.5 Cripps Mission (1942):

The British tried to break the political impasse in India by sending Sir Stafford Cripps on a mission. Two components made up the Cripps plan. The process for drafting the Dominion Status constitution was outlined in the first section. The Government of India Act of 1935 and the British government's authority over the nation's defense were not to be significantly altered by the second section of the plan, which dealt with short-term and temporary arrangements during the war.



Stafford Cripps

Congress was unhappy with certain parts of the scheme. It was stated that the reforms would be insignificant in the absence of the transfer of de-facto power. So, it demanded assurances on the question of the proposed 'National Government' and as there was no response from the

Government on its reaction, Gandhi rejected the Cripps proposals as 'a postdated cheque on a crashing bank'.

Stafford Cripps was a left-wing Labourite, the leader of the House of Commons, and a member of the British War Cabinet who had actively supported the Indian national movement.

Reasons behind Cripps Mission: It came because of the reverses suffered by Britain in South-East Asia, the Japanese threat to invade India seemed real now and Indian support became crucial. There was pressure on Britain from the Allies (USA, USSR, China) to seek Indian cooperation. Indian nationalists had agreed to support the Allied cause if substantial power was transferred immediately and complete independence given after the war.

Important Proposals: The main proposals of the mission were as follows: 1. An Indian Union with a dominion status would be set up; it would be free to decide its relations with the Commonwealth and free to participate in the United Nations and other international bodies. 2. After the end of the war, a constituent assembly would be convened to frame a new constitution. Members of this assembly would be partly elected by the provincial assemblies through proportional representation and partly nominated by the princes. 3. The British government would accept the new constitution subject to two conditions: (i) any province not willing to join the Union could have a separate constitution and form a separate Union, and (ii) the new constitutionmaking body and the British government would negotiate a treaty to effect the transfer of power and to safeguard racial and religious minorities. 4. In the meantime, defence of India would remain in British hands and the governor general's powers would remain intact.

Departures from the Past and Implications: The proposals differed from those offered in the past in many respects: The making of the constitution was to be solely in Indian hands now (and not 'mainly' in Indian hands—as contained in the August Offer). A concrete plan was provided for the constituent assembly. Option was available to any province to have a separate constitution—a blueprint for India's partition. Free India could withdraw from the Commonwealth. Indians were allowed a large share in the administration in the interim period.

Failure of Cripps Mission: The Cripps Mission proposals failed to satisfy Indian nationalists and turned out to be merely a propaganda device for the consumption of the US and the Chinese.

On various grounds, the following parties and groups objected to the proposals:

The Congress had issue with:

- (i) the princely states' representation by nominees rather than elected representatives;
- (ii) the offer of dominion status rather than a clause granting total independence;
- (iii) the provinces' right to secede as doing so would have violated the idea of national unity; and
- (iv) the governor general's hegemony had been preserved; there was no immediate plan for power transfer; and the governor general's constitutional requirement to be the only head of state had not been met. Nehru and Maulana Azad were the official negotiators representing the Congress.

The Muslim League:

- (i) criticised the idea of a single Indian Union;
- (ii) disliked the processes involved in deciding which provinces should join the Union and the mechanism used to create a constituent parliament; and
- (iii) believed that the plans rejected the Muslims' right to establish Pakistan and their own self-determination.

The provinces' right to secede was also contested by other parties. The secession plans were seen by the Liberals as being opposed to India's security and unity. The foundation for the right to secede was criticized by the Hindu Mahasabha. The lower classes believed that they would be at the mercy of Hindus from higher castes after division. The Sikhs protested that they would lose Punjab as a result of the division. The British objectives were called into question when it was explained that the plans were intended to provide precise language to generic provisions rather than to replace the August Offer. A "take it or leave it" mentality and Cripps' inability to stray from the Draft Declaration contributed to the impasse. After initially referring to the "cabinet" and the "national government," Cripps later clarified that he merely meant an extension of the executive council.

Lack of clarity around the admission process. In the legislature, a resolution with a 60% majority was to be used to decide whether or not to secede. A plebiscite of the province's adult male population was to make the choice if less than sixty percent of the participants supported it. A simple majority would then have to decide. Bengali and Punjabi Hindus faced obstacles in their bid to join the Indian Union because of this plan. The treaty that affected the transfer of power was unclear as to who would interpret and carry it out. The British prime minister, Churchill, the secretary of state, the viceroy, Linlithgow, and the commander-in-chief, Ward, continuously thwarted Cripps' efforts. Concerning the viceroy's veto, discussions broke down.

Gandhi described the scheme as "a post-dated cheque"; Nehru pointed out that the "existing structure and autocratic powers would remain and a few of us will become the viceroy's liveried camp followers and look after canteens and the like". After Stafford Cripps left, the Indian people became resentful and frustrated. While they continued to sympathize with the victims of fascist aggression, they believed that the country's current state was untenable and that a last offensive against imperialism was necessary.

5.6 Quit India Movement

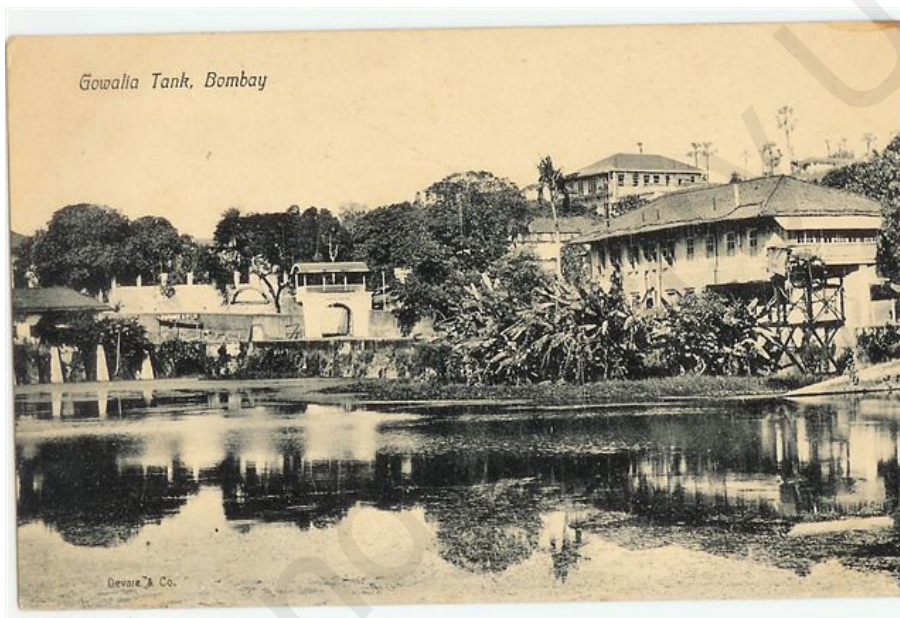
There was no meeting ground between the Congress and the British Government after the failure of the Cripps Mission. Gandhi had lost his patience. He and the Congress wanted to act fast to attain complete independence from the British.

The reasons for the beginning of the Quit India Movement:

1. The Cripps Mission's inability to break the impasse over the constitution revealed Britain's unwavering stance against constitutional advancement and demonstrated that any further quiet would equate to acknowledging the British government's right to choose Indians' fate without their consent.
2. The public was unhappy due to escalating costs, scarcity of goods like rice and salt, and other issues like boats being commandeered in Bengal and Orissa. In Assam, Bengal, and Orissa, there were concerns that Britain would use a scorched earth strategy in response to a potential Japanese assault.
3. The public's readiness to voice their dissatisfaction was increased by news of the British Empire's setbacks in South-East Asia and

impending collapse. The Japanese army was drawing near India's frontiers. Individuals were taking their money out of post offices and banks due to a lack of confidence in the stability of British administration.

4. The way the British left South-East Asian subjects to fend for themselves during their evacuation (two roads were constructed, one designated for Indian refugees and the other for European refugees), the defeat of a European power by an Asian power, and the British treatment of Indian subjects in South-East Asia exposed the rulers' racist views all damaged white prestige.
5. The goal of the leadership was to prepare the populace for a potential Japanese invasion.



Gowalia Tank, Bombay

Therefore, the All-India Congress Committee passed the “Quit India Movement” resolution on 8th August, 1942 to start a non-violent mass struggle. Gandhi advised all Indians to achieve this aim or die in the bargain. His slogan was “Do or Die”. The British on its part, acted swiftly and by the morning of 9th August, 1942, they arrested all important leaders. On August 8, 1942, at the Congress gathering in Gowalia Tank, Bombay, the Quit India Resolution was approved. The meeting also decided to: call for the immediate end of British rule in India; declare that a free India would defend itself against all forms of imperialism and fascism; establish a provisional Indian government following British withdrawal; and support a movement of civil disobedience against British rule.

Gandhi was named the leader of the struggle. Gandhi's special instructions were spelt out at the Gowalia Tank meeting but not actually issued. They were directed at various sections of societies. These are:

Government servants: Do not resign but declare your allegiance to the Congress.

Soldiers: Do not leave the army but do not fire on compatriots.

Students: If confident, leave studies.

Peasants: If zamindars are anti-government, pay mutually agreed rent, and if zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent.

Princes: Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people.

Princely states' people: Declare yourself to be a part of the Indian nation and support the ruler only if he is against the government.

Gandhi followed up with the now-famous exhortation: "Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is: 'Do or Die'. We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery."

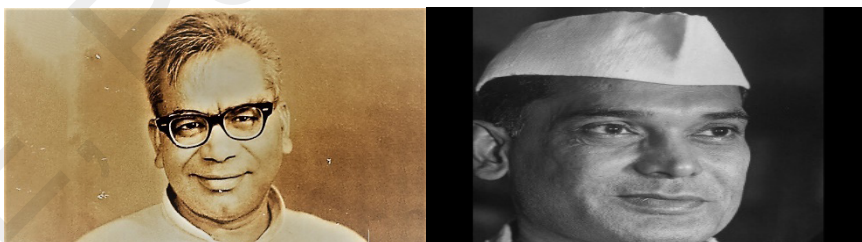
Growth of the Movement Gandhi had methodically increased the pace with a series of coordinated propaganda campaigns, organizational makeovers, and small-scale civil disobedience campaigns known as satyagraha. But the government had no intention of waiting for the movement to be formally started or engaging in negotiations with the Congress. In a single sweep early on August 9, 1942, all of the Congress's leading officials were detained and transported to unidentified locations. The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 deemed the Congress Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and the Provincial Congress Committees to be unlawful associations. Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules forbade the gathering of public assemblies. The younger and more militant groups were left to fend for themselves when the established leaders were removed. On August 9, with the main leaders absent, the then relatively unknown young Aruna Asaf Ali led the Congress committee meeting and raised the flag.



Aruna Asaf Ali

The public threw rocks at authority figures and forcibly raised national flags on public structures. Bridges were demolished, railroad tracks were dismantled, telegraph lines were severed, and Satyagrahis put themselves up for arrest. Bihar and the eastern United Provinces had the highest levels of this kind of activity. In response, students staged processions, went on strike in universities and colleges, published and distributed unauthorized news articles, and served as emissaries for covert networks. In Ahmedabad, Bombay, Jamshedpur, Ahmednagar, and Poona, workers went on strike.

Many nationalists turned to subversive operations and went into hiding. The Forward Bloc, Gandhi Ashramites, revolutionary nationalists, socialists, and local organizations from Bombay, Poona, Satara, Baroda, and other regions of Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra, United Provinces, Bihar, and Delhi participated in these events.



Rammanohar Lohia and Jayaprakash Narayan

After the arrest of the important national leaders, the leadership was taken by the local leaders, and to avoid arrest, they started underground activities all over the country: Jayaprakash Narayan, Rammanohar Lohia, Usha Mehta, Biju Patnaik, Aruna Asaf Ali, Chhotubhai Puranik, Achyut

Patwardhan, Sucheta Kripalani, and R.P. Goenka. Usha Mehta started an underground radio in Bombay. This phase of underground activity was meant to keep up popular morale by continuing to provide a line of command and guidance to distribute arms and ammunition.

At several places Parallel governments were established by the leaders:

In **Ballia**, in August 1942 for a week—under Chittu Pandey. He got many Congress leaders released.

In **Tamluk**, Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944, Jatiya Sarkar undertook cyclone relief work, sanctioned grants to schools, supplied paddy from the rich to the poor, organised Vidyut Vahinis, etc.

In **Satara**, from mid-1943 to 1945, “Prati Sarkar”, was organised under leaders like Y.B. Chavan, Nana Patil, etc. Village libraries and Nyayadan Mandals were organised, prohibition campaigns were carried on, and ‘Gandhi marriages’ were organised. Businessmen offered material support, shelter, and donations; students served as messengers; simple villagers withheld information from authorities; pilots and train drivers transported bombs and other materials; and government employees, including the police, supplied the activists with confidential information.

There were many levels of participation. Young people continued to be at the forefront, particularly college and high school students. Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kripalani, and Usha Mehta were among the women who actively engaged, notably the schoolgirls and college females. Workers were repressed when they went on strike. The movement’s core constituents were peasants from all social classes. Some zamindars took part as well. There was no anti-zamindar violence at all, and the peasants focused their onslaught on symbols of authority. Government allegiance was eroded as a result of the participation of government officials, particularly those from lower administration and police ranks. Muslims assisted by providing activists in hiding. Conflicts between groups did not arise during the movement. The Communists did not join the movement; instead, they supported the British fight against Germany, which turned the “Imperialist War” into the “People’s War,” after Nazi Germany attacked Russia, the country where the communists were in power. The Muslim League opposed the campaign because they believed that the Hindus would oppress the minority if the British left India at that time. The movement was boycotted by the Hindu Mahasabha. The Princely states responded in a reserved manner.

Despite the absence of martial law, there was a great deal of repression. Lathi-charges, tear gasses, and gunfire were all used against agitated mobs. One estimate puts the death toll at 10,000. The media was restrained. Many cities were taken over by the military, and the police and secret service were in charge. Villages that disobeyed were subject to harsh fines and, in many cases, public whipping.

Gandhi began a fast in February 1943 in response to the government's call for condemnation of violence; the fast was intended to combat state aggression. When word spread of the fast, the public's reaction was swift and tremendous. Strikes, demonstrations, and hartals were used to organize protests both domestically and internationally. The viceroy's executive council saw the resignation of three members. The following goals were accomplished by the fast: The mood of the public improved. Feelings against the British were stronger. A chance for political action was presented. The tyranny of the government was made clear. Gandhi defeated his adversaries and refused to comply by taking his own life. The day Pakistan Day was observed was March 23, 1943.

The 1943 hunger added to the horrors and inconveniences of war. The most severely impacted regions were Dacca, Tippera, Faridpur, Noakhali, and south-west Bengal, which includes the Tamruk-Contai-Diamond Harbour region. This largely man-made famine, the diseases (smallpox, cholera, and malaria), and starvation claimed the lives of 1.5 to 3 million people. Gross mismanagement and intentional profiteering made the famine worse; rationing techniques were delayed and limited to large cities.

There were different phases in the movement:

The first phase was from 9th August to 15th August, 1942. It was massive and violent but was quickly suppressed. The movement exhibited a mostly urban character. In most cities, there were brazen confrontations with the army and police, along with hartals.

The second phase was from 15th August to 30th September, 1942. During this time, the emphasis switched to the countryside as militant students dispersed from urban centers to rural areas with the goal of organizing peasant uprisings and widespread communication destruction.

The third phase of the movement was from October to December, 1942. It was typified by the actions of educated youth terrorists targeting army, police, and communications facilities. These actions, meanwhile, did not endanger British rule.

The significance of the movement was that the British succeeded in suppressing the movement. However, they realized from the experience that the way forward would be only a negotiated settlement. Secondly, the imprisonment of the Congress leaders was advantageous to them as they were not forced to take a stand on the Japanese war issue and it would have been embarrassing for them to do so as Subhas Chandra Bose's Indian National Army (INA) was trying to enter Indian borders in 1944.

Moreover, the Quit India Movement weakened the influence of the leftist groups and parties in India as they were supporting the Allies.

The Rajagopalachari Formula: In the meantime, attempts were made to find a solution to the ongoing constitutional dilemma, and some people also made attempts to draft new constitutions.

C. Rajagopalachari, the veteran Congress leader, prepared a formula for Congress-League cooperation in 1944. It was a tacit acceptance of the League's demand for Pakistan. Gandhi supported the formula.

The main points in the CR Plan were:

Muslim League to endorse Congress demand for independence. League to cooperate with Congress in forming a provisional government at centre. After the end of the war, the entire population of Muslim majority areas in the North-West and North-East India to decide by a plebiscite, whether or not to form a separate sovereign state. In case of acceptance of partition, agreement to be made jointly for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications, etc. The above terms to be operative only if England transferred full powers to India.

Objections to Formula: Jinnah wanted the Congress to accept the two-nation theory. He wanted only the Muslims of North-West and North-East to vote in the plebiscite and not the entire population. He also opposed the idea of a common centre. While the Congress was ready to cooperate with the League for the independence of the Indian Union, the League did not care for independence of the Union. It was only interested in a separate nation. Hindu leaders led by Vir Savarkar condemned the CR Plan.

Desai-Liaquat Pact: Efforts continued to end the deadlock. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, met Liaquat Ali Khan, deputy leader of the Muslim League in that Assembly, and both of them came up with the draft proposal

for the formation of an interim government at the centre, consisting of: an equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the central legislature. 20% reserved seats for minorities. No settlement could be reached between the Congress and the League on these lines, but the fact that a sort of parity between the Congress and the League was decided upon had far-reaching consequences.

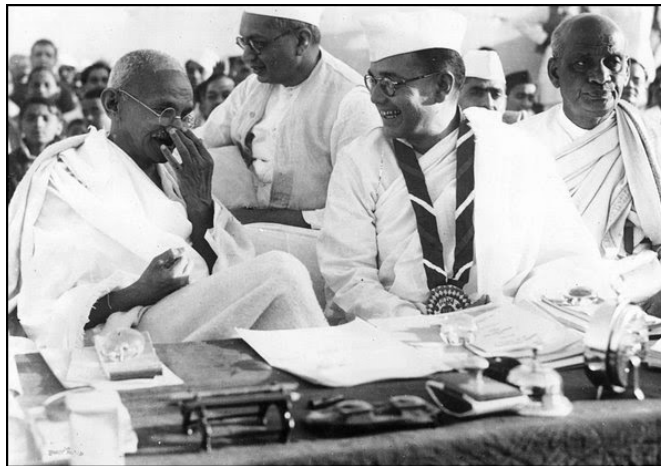
5.7 Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army (INA)



Subhas Chandra Bose

Subhas Chandra Bose was born in 1897. Bengal's intellectual and cultural climate had an impact on him. His sense of mission was clear when he qualified for the Indian Civil Service. He had always had a militant inclination, reacting angrily to any slight against Indians by Europeans. After placing fourth on the Indian Civil Services test, he left the post in 1921 to join the independence movement and join the Congress. His teacher in politics was Chittaranjan Das. In 1923, he was elected mayor of Calcutta. The British had him imprisoned numerous times. Despite spending a lot of time behind bars, he was very influential in the labor, youth, and student movements.

Subhas Chandra Bose chose to fight for independence in his own way after realizing that he could not get independence through Gandhianism and that the Congress was adamant about doing so.



Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose during INC meeting

In March 1940, Bose convened an Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh; it was a joint effort of the Forward Bloc and the Kisan Sabha. It was resolved at the conference that a worldwide struggle should be launched on April 6, the first day of the National Week, with a call to the people not to help the Imperialist War with any resource—men, money, or materials. He called for resistance to be offered to all forms of exploitation of Indian resources for the imperial cause. There was enthusiastic participation by the people in the struggle launched on April 6. Bose was arrested in July when he protested and tried to launch a satyagraha against a proposed monument for Holwell in Calcutta. He was released from prison and placed under house arrest in December 1940 after a hunger strike. In January 1941, it was reported that Bose had escaped. On January 26, 1941, he reached Peshawar under the name Ziauddin, helped by Bhagat Ram. Later it was heard that he had left India “to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home”. He was reported to have approached Russia for help in the Indian struggle for freedom from Britain. But, in June 1941, Russia joined the Allies in the war, which disappointed Bose. He then went to Germany. Bose met Hitler under the pseudo name, Orlando Mazzotta.

With the help of Hitler, the ‘Freedom Army’ (Mukti Sena) was formed, which consisted of all the prisoners of war of Indian origin captured by Germany and Italy. Dresden, Germany, was made the office of the Freedom Army. Bose came to be called ‘Netaji’ by the people of Germany. He gave the famous slogan, ‘Jai Hind’ from the Free India Centre, Germany. He began regular broadcasts from Berlin radio in January 1942, which enthused Indians. In early 1943, he left Germany and travelled by German and later by Japanese submarines to reach Japan and then Singapore in July of the

same year. He was to take over command of the Indian independence movement from Rashbehari Bose.

He believed in attaining complete independence for India. He spoke often for the rights of women, depressed classes and the labouring classes. Although he was poor in health, he travelled all over Europe and North Africa seeking help for the Indian cause.

He rose to the position of Indian National Congress President. However, during his second term, he developed differences with Gandhi and resigned.

In Europe, Subhas's main work was to gain access to Indian soldiers in the British Indian Army. But after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, he left Europe for South East Asia by submarine.

Although INA was founded by Captain Mohan Singh in 1942, it was taken over and re-organised by Subhas Chandra Bose in 1943. He was helped by Rash Behari Bose.

Subhas formed the Provisional Government of Free India in Singapore. Subsequently, in May 1944, the INA joined the Japanese Army and took Kohima. But the INA turned itself in to the Allies together with Japan in 1945. In the annals of the Indian national struggle, the INA has grown to be of immense significance. It had made the debate over India's independence more international. It demonstrated that Indian soldiers were more than just hired guns. It set an example for violent method of struggle. INA also stood for communal harmony, comradeship and women's role in the freedom struggle.



Indian National Army

5.8 Naval Mutiny

It was on 18th February, 1946, that the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy went on strike in Bombay. They were 1100 of them from HMIS Talwar. They protested against racial discrimination, bad food and abuses. Another reason for the strike was the arrest of a rating called B.C. Dutt for writing 'Quit India' on HMIS Talwar.

When ratings from Castle and Fort Barracks heard that the ratings of HMIS Talwar were fired upon, they also struck work the very next day. Riders in lorries displaying Congress flags marched through Bombay. They even threatened Europeans, policemen and broke few shop windows.

This revolt accounted for destruction of thirty shops, ten post offices, ten police chowkies, sixty-four food grain shops and 200 street lamps. Normal life in Bombay was disrupted. Lakhs of workers came out of their factories when communists joined them. Other sections of society like shop keepers, merchants, hotel owners and students also joined the strike. Stopping of trains, stoning and burning of police and military lorries and closing down of traffic in certain streets also happened.



Naval Mutiny

Karachi was also a major center of the revolt. HMIS Hindustan, another ship and three shore establishments went on a strike. There were token strikes in several other military areas like Madras, Visakhapatnam, Calcutta, Delhi, Cochin, Jamnagar, Andamans, Bahrain and Aden. 78 ships, 20 shore establishments with 20,000 ratings were affected. There were several more sympathetic strikes involving RIAF men and sepoys.

5.9 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

On March 24, 1946, a special delegation of British Cabinet Ministers, including Lord Patrick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps, and A.V. Alexander, arrived in India to assist in expediting the country's attainment of independence. The leaders of the Congress and the League met in a Conference at Shimla on 5th May, 1946 to consider the grouping of provinces, character of the federal union and the setting up of a constitution making machinery. But, as the leaders could not agree, the Conference was closed.

Later, the Cabinet Mission published its recommendations, which became known as the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Congress and the League had conflicting feelings about the Plan. Regarding the matter of appointing officials to the planned interim government, there was dispute. Eventually, the Cabinet Mission members left for England on 29th June 1946, as they could not bring about an agreement between the Congress and the League.



A.V. Alexander, M.A. Jinnah, Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Stafford Cripps

While Congress decided to run for office and participate in the Constituent assembly, the Muslim League declined to join the provisional administration. The Cabinet Mission Plan was later endorsed by the Muslim League, which anticipated a request to establish a temporary administration by the Viceroy. However, the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan when the Viceroy refused.

Wavell invited the Congress to form the interim government on 12th August, 1946. So, the Congress changed its earlier decision and agreed to

form the interim government. Muslim League on its part did not take part in the interim government initially, but later it joined the government. However, the Muslim League did not participate in the Constituent Assembly that met to draft the Constitution and insisted on dissolving it and demanded the creation of Pakistan.

The situation ripped for British Withdrawal: By the time the War ended, it was clear that nationalist forces had prevailed in their bid for hegemony. Everywhere in the country, there were protests going on and nationalism was at its peak and penetrated every section of the society. There was a demonstration in favour of nationalism among the bureaucracy and the loyalist sections because the paucity of European ICS recruits and a policy of Indianisation had ended the British domination of the ICS as early as the First World War, and by 1939, there existed a British-Indian parity. The long war had caused weariness and economic worries. Now, only a depleted, war-weary bureaucracy battered by the 1942 events remained. The British strategy of conciliation and repression had its limitations and contradictions.

After the Cripps' Offer, there was little left to offer for conciliation except full freedom. When non-violent resistance was repressed with force, the naked force behind the government stood exposed, while if the government did not clamp down on 'sedition' or made offers for truce, it was seen to be unable to wield authority, and its prestige suffered. Congress Government had proved to be a big morale-booster and helped in deeper penetration of patriotic sentiments among the masses. Demands of leniency for INA prisoners from within the army and the revolt of the RIN ratings had raised fears that the armed forces may not be as reliable if the Congress started a 1942-type mass movement, this time aided by the provincial ministries. The only alternative to an all-out repression of a mass movement was an entirely official rule, which seemed impossible now because the necessary numbers and efficient officials were not available. The government realised that a settlement was necessary for burying the ghost of a mass movement and for good future Indo-British relations. Now, the overarching aim of the British policymakers was a graceful withdrawal after a settlement on the modalities of the transfer of power and the nature of post-imperial India-Britain relations.

The Congress demanded that power be transferred to one centre and that minorities' demands be worked out in a framework ranging

from autonomy to Muslim-majority provinces to self-determination from the Indian Union—but only after the British left. The British bid for a united and friendly India and an active partner in defence of the Commonwealth, because a divided India would lack in defence and would be a blot on Britain's diplomacy. The British policy in 1946 clearly reflected a preference for a united India, in sharp contrast to earlier declarations.

On March 15, 1946, the Prime Minister of Britain, Clement Attlee declared that: "...though mindful of the rights of minorities... cannot allow a minority to place their veto on advance of the majority." This was a far cry from the Shimla Conference where Wavell had allowed Jinnah to wreck the conference.

The Arrival of Cabinet Mission: The Cabinet Mission reached Delhi on March 24, 1946. It had thorough discussions with Indian leaders of all parties and groups on the issues of: (i) interim government; and (ii) principles and procedures for framing a new constitution giving freedom to India. As the Congress and the League could not come to any agreement on the fundamental issue of the unity or partition of India, the mission put forward its own plan for the solution of the constitutional problem in May 1946.

Important Points of Cabinet Mission Plan

Rejection of the demand for a full-fledged Pakistan, because:

- (i) the Pakistan so formed would include a large non-Muslim population—38 per cent in the North-West and 48 per cent in the North-East;
- (ii) the very principle of communal self-determination would claim separation of Hindu-majority western Bengal and Sikh- and Hindu-dominated Ambala and Jullundur divisions of Punjab (already some Sikh leaders were demanding a separate state if the country was partitioned);
- (iii) deep-seated regional ties would be disturbed if Bengal and Punjab were partitioned;
- (iv) partition would entail economic and administrative problems, for instance, the problem of communication between the western and eastern parts of Pakistan; and

- (v) the division of the armed forces would be dangerous.

Grouping of existing provincial assemblies into three sections:

Section-A: Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar, and Orissa (Hindu-majority provinces)

Section-B: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Sindh (Muslim-majority provinces) **Section-C:** Bengal and Assam (Muslim-majority provinces).

Members of groups A, B, and C were to meet separately in the constituent assembly to decide on the constitution for the provinces and, if feasible, for the groups as well. The union constitution would then be drafted by the entire constituent assembly, which would consist of the three parts A, B, and C put together. Defense, communication, and exterior affairs would all be managed by a single center. In India, a federal system was intended.

In the central legislature, decisions about communal matters had to be made by a simple majority of the voting and present communities.

The provinces were to have residual powers and complete autonomy. Princely states were to no longer be subject to British government supremacy. They might freely make a deal with the British government or with any subsequent governments.

A province was to be permitted to leave a group following the first general elections and to request a review of the union constitution or the group after ten years.

Concurrently, the constituent assembly intended to establish a provisional administration. The Grouping Clause: Diverse Interpretations From their individual perspectives, each party or group examined the plan.

The Cabinet Mission Plan, according to the Congress, was against Pakistan's establishment because it only stipulated a single constituent assembly, grouping was optional, and the League was no longer veto authority. Muslim League: The necessary grouping implies Pakistan, according to the Muslim League. (The Mission subsequently clarified that grouping was necessary.)

Acceptance and Rejection of the Plan: The Cabinet Mission's long-term strategy was approved by the Congress on June 24, 1946, and the Muslim League on June 6, 1946. Provincial assemblies held elections

for the Constituent Assembly in July 1946. "We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided to go into the Constituent Assembly," Nehru declared on July 10, 1946. The likelihood of there being no grouping is very high because Assam and NWFP would protest to being included in sections B and C. In reaction to Nehru's statement, the League called for "direct action" starting on August 16 to establish Pakistan on July 29, 1946, withdrawing its approval of the long-term plan.

Formation of the Interim Government and Communal Holocaust:

With effect from August 16, 1946, the Indian scenario changed drastically. Unprecedented community rioting occurred, resulting in several thousand fatalities. The United Provinces' Calcutta, Bombay, Noakhali, Bihar, and Garhmukteshwar were the worst-affected districts.

Wavell had changed his stance from the Shimla summit and was now keen to find a way to include the Congress in the Interim Government, even if the League remained out. This stance ran counter to the League's demand that all settlements be approved by it, as well as to previous government positions that supported communal groups, rejected nationalism's legitimacy, and downplayed Congress's representative role. As a result, maintaining British authority had required one position from Britain, while its exit and post-imperial ties required a different one.

Interim Government: On September 2, 1946, an Interim Government led by Nehru and dominated by the Congress was sworn in out of fear of widespread action by the Congress. Nehru insisted that his party oppose the mandatory grouping. Notwithstanding its name, the Interim Government amounted to nothing more than the viceroy's previous executive branch (Wavell overruled the ministers in his final cabinet meeting, held in March 1947, on the release of INA prisoners). On October 26, 1946, Wavell discreetly invited the Muslim League into the Interim Government. Though the League insisted on mandatory grouping with decisions made by a majority vote by a section as a whole (which would reduce Pakistan's opponents in Assam and NWFP to a position of helpless minority), and despite rejecting the Cabinet Mission's long- and short-term plans, it was permitted to join without giving up "direct action."

When the Constituent Assembly met for the first time on December 9, 1946, the League was not present. As a result, the Assembly was limited

to adopting a broad “Objectives Resolution” written by Jawaharlal Nehru that outlined the principles of a social, political, and economic democracy as well as an independent, sovereign republic with self-governing units and sufficient protections for minorities. The League declined to attend unofficial cabinet sessions where decisions were made. The Congressmen’s choices and nominations were questioned by the League. As the minister of finance, Liaqat Ali Khan imposed limitations on other ministries’ ability to operate effectively. The League’s sole goal in fighting for Pakistan was to gain a position in the government. They saw it as just another way that the American Civil War would continue.

In a letter to the viceroy sent in February 1947, nine members of the Congress cabinet asked that League members resign and threatened to withhold their own selections. The League’s demand that the Constituent Assembly be dissolved was the last straw. It appeared like a crisis was emerging quickly.

5.10 Partition and Freedom



Lord Mountbatten

In March 1947, Lord Mountbatten came to India as Viceroy. He had discussions with the Congress and the Muslim League. After which, he worked out a compromise: the country was to be free but not united. After Partition, a new state of Pakistan was to be created. Congress agreed to the separation of only those areas where Muslim League was influential. Punjab, Bengal and Assam were to be partitioned. A plebiscite was to be

held in the North – West Frontier Province and the Sylhet district of Assam as the Muslim League was not dominant in these places.

On 3rd June, 1947, announcement was made that India and Pakistan would be free. Later, India celebrated its first day of freedom on 15th August, 1947.



Clement Attlee

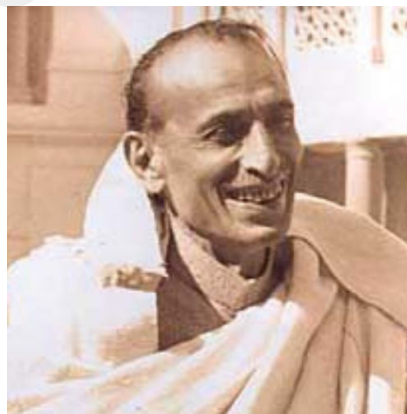
Sensing trouble everywhere, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee issued a statement on February 20, 1947. The British resolve to withdraw from the Indian subcontinent was announced by the House of Commons. Key Element of Attlee's Declaration: Even if the Indian lawmakers had not reached a consensus on the constitution by then, a deadline of June 30, 1948, was set for the transfer of power. In the event that the constituent assembly was not entirely representative, that is, if the provinces with a majority of Muslims chose not to participate, the British would cede control to either a central administration or, in some cases, the current provincial governments. The transfer of power would result in the lapse of British powers and obligations towards the princely states; however, these would not be passed on to any subsequent government in British India. Wavell would be replaced as viceroy by Mountbatten. In effect, the declaration was a reversion of the Cripps Offer, with overt references to the country's split and even the creation of multiple Balkanized nations.

Importance of a Fixed Date by Government for Withdrawal: The administration believed that by setting a deadline, the parties would be forced to agree on the key issue. The administration was anxious to

stop the impending constitutional crisis. The government wanted to show the Indians how sincere the British were. It was now impossible to dispute Wavell's assessment's veracity—that the government's power had irreversibly declined.

The transfer of power to many centers was approved by Congress because it allowed the current parliament to continue working on drafting a constitution for the regions it represented and provided a means of breaking the impasse. The declaration turned out to be a preamble to the decisive battle, though, dashigning the fanciful dreams of a peace. Inspired by this declaration, the League in Punjab began a campaign of civil disobedience with the aim of toppling the coalition government.

Independence and Partition: Early in 1947, the Congress and League coalition's unworkability and the communal rioting forced many to consider considering the hitherto unimaginable thought of partition. The Hindu and Sikh communal groups in Bengal and Punjab made the most persistent demand at this point because they were afraid that they may be forced into grouping and sent to Pakistan. A separate Hindu province in West Bengal was being considered by the Hindu Mahasabha in Bengal. Nehru declared on March 10, 1947, that the division of Punjab and Bengal was the only viable option and that the Cabinet Mission's plan was the best one, if implemented.



J.B Kriplani

In April 1947, the Congress president, Kripalani, communicated to the viceroy— “... rather than have a battle, we shall let them have their Pakistan provided you allow Bengal and Punjab to be partitioned in a fair manner.”

Given a wider scope to make choices on the spot, Mountbatten shown greater firmness and agility in decision-making than his predecessors. He

was also fortunate in that the British government was adamant about his leaving as soon as possible. He was to advise the British government on the manner of power transfer after investigating the possibilities of unity and division through October 1947. Yet he soon found that even before he traveled to India, the general outline of the event that would unfold was apparent.

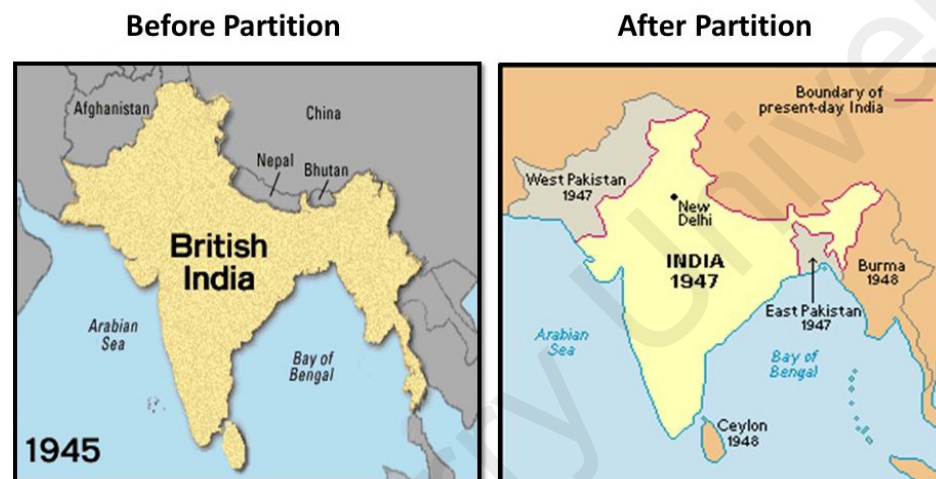
Jinnah was adamant about demanding to be treated as an independent state and saw the Cabinet Mission Plan as a dead horse. However, a true endeavor at unification would entail opposing those who opposed a united India and assisting those who did. Mountbatten wished to appease all parties.

Mountbatten Plan: On June 3, 1947, it arrived. Many had begun to embrace the freedom-with-partition formula long before Mountbatten arrived in India. One significant invention proposed by V.P. Menon was the instantaneous transfer of power based on the grant of dominion status (with a right of secession), eliminating the need to wait for the constituent assembly to reach a consensus on a new political framework.

One of the main features of the plan was that the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and Punjab would vote for partition in two groups: Hindus and Muslims. These provinces would be divided if a simple majority of voters in each group supported it. Two dominions and two constituent assemblies would be formed in the wake of a partition. Sindh would decide for itself. The future of Myanmar's North West Province and Bengal's Sylhet district would be determined by referendums. All other points raised by the Congress would be satisfied since they had conceded a unified India. These included the rejection of independence for princely states, which would join either India or Pakistan, the rejection of independence for Bengal, the rejection of Hyderabad's accession to Pakistan (on which Mountbatten had backed the Congress), the acceptance of freedom to come on August 15, 1947, and the creation of a boundary commission if partition was to have an impact. In order to minimize Pakistan's size, the Congress' stance on unity was taken into consideration and the League's demand was therefore partially granted. Divide India while maintaining as much unity as possible was Mountbatten's formula.

The strategy was implemented without any delay at all. Bengal and Punjab's legislative assembly made the decision to divide these two

provinces. As a result, West Bengal and East Punjab left the Indian Union and became part of Pakistan. The district of Sylhet was incorporated into East Bengal as a result of the vote. To draw the borders of the new provinces, two boundary commissioners were established, one for each province. The Provincial Congress abstained from the poll, and Pakistan won the North West Frontier Provinces referendum. Sindh and Baluchistan joined forces with Pakistan.

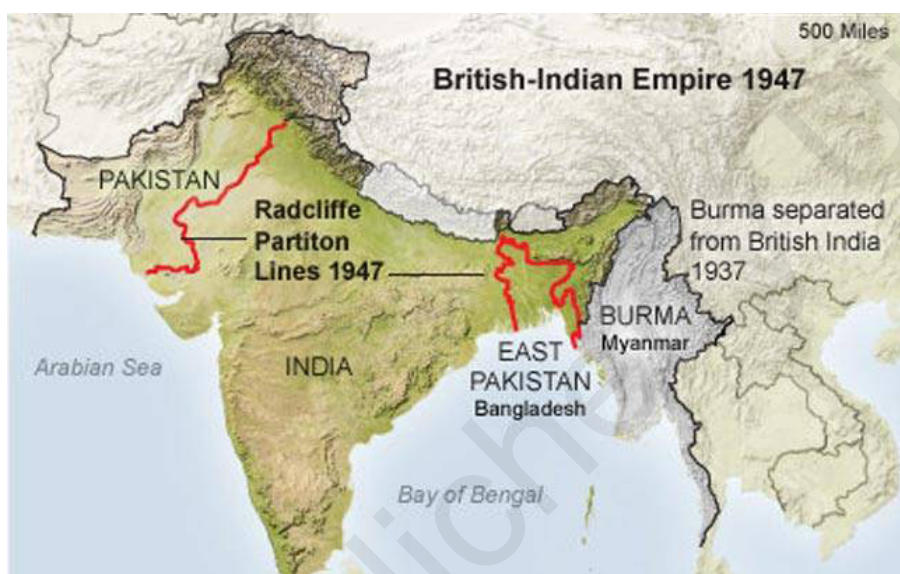


India Before and After Independence

Act for India's Independence: Based on the Mountbatten Plan, the Indian Independence Act was enacted by the British Parliament on July 5, 1947, and it was formally ratified on July 18 by the monarch. August 15, 1947, was the day the Act went into effect. With effect from August 15, 1947, the Act established India and Pakistan as two sovereign dominions. A governor general was assigned to oversee the efficient implementation of the Act in each dominion. The Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of States were to be immediately dissolved, and the legislative authority of each newly created dominion was to be exercised by its constituent assembly. The governments of the two dominions were to continue operating under the terms of the Government of India Act, 1935, during the transitional period, or until each dominion established a new constitution. Pakistan gained independence on August 14, 1947, whereas India gained independence on August 15, 1947, in accordance with the terms of the Indian Independence Act, 1947. The first Governor General of Pakistan was M.A. Jinnah. Nonetheless, India made the decision to ask Lord Mountbatten to stay on as India's Governor General.

Early Withdrawal and its Problems: The quick speed of Mountbatten's administration resulted in inconsistencies in the arranging of the specifics of division and ultimately failed to stop the Punjab slaughter since there were no transitional institutional structures in place to address partition issues. Jinnah desired to hold the post in Pakistan for himself, but Mountbatten had intended to act as the common governor general of India and Pakistan, creating the required connection.

The Boundary Commission Award under Radcliffe was not made public until after August 15, 1947, although being complete by then. This was done to absolve the British of any culpability for the unrest.



Radcliffe Partition Line, 1947

The State People's Movement saw a resurgence in 1946–1947, calling for political rights and elective representation in the Constituent Assembly. Nehru chaired the sessions of the All-India State People's Conference in Gwalior (April 1947) and Udaipur (1945). He said that harsh treatment would be meted out to the states that declined to join the Constituent Assembly.

Vallabhbhai Patel became the head of the newly formed States Department in July 1947. Under Patel's leadership, the assimilation of Indian states occurred in two stages, each including a deft use of mass pressure threats and baits.

In Phase I, With the exception of Kashmir, Hyderabad, and Junagagarh, all states had signed an instrument of accession with the Indian government by August 15, 1947, recognizing central control over communication,

defense, and foreign affairs. Because they were merely “surrendering” what they had never done before and the internal political system remained intact, the princes consented to this rather readily.

In Phase II, the process of “integrating” states with neighboring provinces or creating new units such as the Kathiawar Union, Vindhya and Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, or Himachal Pradesh involved significant challenges. Additionally, internal constitutional modifications were necessary in states that, for a while, kept their previous boundaries (e.g., Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin). This stage was completed in less than a year. A substantial privy purse was the main lure, and some princes received appointments to governor and rajpramukh positions in independent India. Patel’s greatest accomplishment following independence was the country’s quick political unification.

5.11 The Dawn of Indian Republic

The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held on 9th December, 1946. It took almost three years for it to draft the Constitution of Independent India.

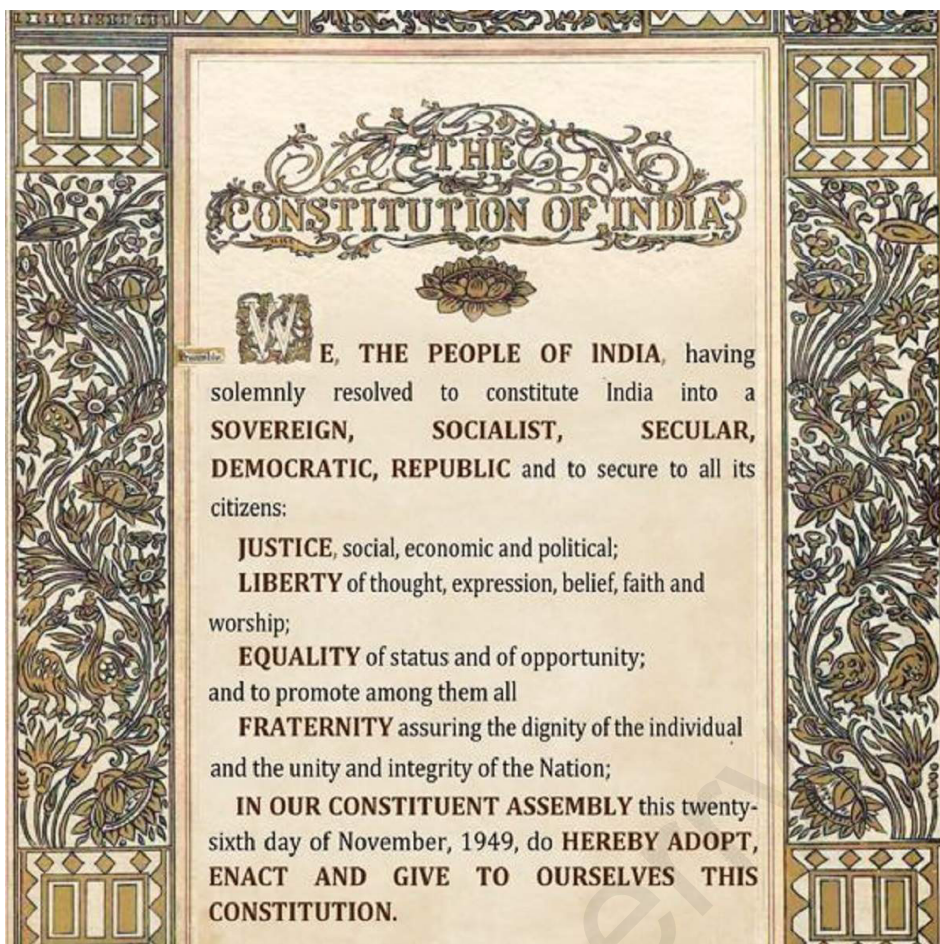
This Assembly met late in the evening of 14th August, 1947 and took over as the Legislative Assembly of independent India. It set up a Drafting Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to prepare a Draft Constitution for India.

On 26th November, 1948, the Constitution of India was adopted. The Assembly members appended their signatures on 24th January, 1950, as sign of approval.

Finally, it was on 26th January, 1950, that the Constitution of India came into force and India became a Republic.

5.12 Constitution of India

Because of the size and diversity of the country, the Indian Constitution, which went into effect on January 26, 1950, has the distinction of being the longest in the world in terms of length, content, and complexity. India was huge and diversified at the time the constitution was drafted, but it was also fiercely divided, thus it was written to keep the nation united. In addition to fostering democratic institutions in what had long been a culture of authority and deference, it also attempted to bring Indians from various classes, castes, and communities together behind a common goal.



Preamble

The Indian Constitution was drafted between December 1946 and December 1949, but its foundations are found in both the national movement within India against colonial authority and the struggles for accountable and constitutional governance within the princely kingdoms.

In her book *India Since Independence*, Mridula Mukherjee challenges the idea that the British imposed a modern, responsible, and constitutional government on India and that the 1950 Constitution was merely the outcome of a series of constitutional attempts made by the British in 1861, 1892, 1909, 1919, and 1935. She argues that none of the British compromises came close to meeting the demands of nationalists. First introduced in 1895, the Constitution of India Bill—also known as the Home Rule Bill—established basic human rights for all Indian residents, such as the freedom of speech, equality before the law, the right to one's own property, and the right to live in an inviolable home.

In an article titled “Independence” that was published in *Young India* in 1922, Mahatma Gandhi declared that Swaraj would not be a free gift

from the British Parliament but rather a declaration of India's full self-expression as well as that the Indian Constitution would be drafted following Indian wishes. The Parliamentary Labour Party's executive committee overwhelmingly approved the Commonwealth of India Bill, which was written in India and to which Annie Besant, Tej Bahadur Sapru, and V.S. Srinivasa Shastri made significant contributions. After receiving strong support from a broad swath of Indian thought and clearly stating that "India shall be placed on an equal footing with the self-governing dominions," the bill was defeated during its first reading in the House of Commons in December 1925.

Following the Non-Cooperation Movement, Motilal Nehru presented the National Demand, a resolution that recognized the rights and interests of minorities, to the Central Legislative Assembly in February 1924. A resounding majority in the Assembly voted it down. A clear demand for a constitution and the process for adopting it were made for the first time in history. In November 1927, Britain created the all-white Simon Commission to suggest additional constitutional amendments in response to the National Demand. The Nehru Report, submitted in August 1928 as a response to Lord Birkenhead's challenge, contained a proposed Indian constitution's blueprint. Later on, many of its important features were included in the Indian Constitution. The report was important to understand the view of the contemporary leaders, however, it also provided an outline of the draft of the constitution. The latter was founded on the idea of a parliamentary system of fully responsible administration under dominion status. A federal system with maximum autonomy granted to the units and residual powers vesting in the central government and joint electorates for elections to the federal lower house and the provincial legislatures—with seats reserved for minorities in specific cases for a limited period of time—was established, along with the principle that sovereignty belongs to the Indian people. A set of fundamental rights were also established.

Following the release of the Nehru Report, the Congress announced total independence as its ultimate goal in December 1929 and boycotted the Simon Commission. The notion that the Indian Constitution ought to be drafted by a Constituent Assembly chosen with the greatest possible franchise and for this specific purpose, acquired backing. While M.N. Roy had proposed the notion before, Jawaharlal Nehru was the first national leader to officially announce it in 1933.

The Congress rejected the 1933 proposals of the Simon Commission as not reflecting the desire of the people, and in 1934 it adopted the demand for a constituent assembly as part of its official policy. Jawaharlal Nehru declared that the Congress had proposed “the Constitution of India must be framed, without outside interference, by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise”, and, the Working Committee of the Congress reiterated the stand. At the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1936, it was declared that “no constitution imposed by an outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people” would be acceptable to the Congress. In July 1937, after the Congress accepted office in a majority of provinces, Nehru pressed the legislators to introduce resolutions in the assemblies rejecting the present constitution and demanding a Constituent Assembly.

In August, a draft resolution drafted by Acharya Kripalani was approved by the Congress Working Committee. All the Congress-ruled provinces, including Sind, passed this resolution and called for the repeal of the Government of India Act, 1935, between August and October 1937. In September 1937 itself, a resolution recommending the replacement of the 1935 Act by a constitution framed by a constituent assembly was introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly by S. Satyamurti. The same demand was reiterated in the Haripura session of 1938. The Cripps Proposals of 1942, though rejected by the Congress as unacceptable, had one redeeming feature in that it conceded the request of Indians to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly. In September 1945, the newly elected Labour government in England announced that it planned to create a constituent assembly in India. On March 15, 1946, the Cabinet Mission came to India and, in the course of its stay, recommended the forming of the Constituent Assembly, and an interim government.

Formation of Constituent Assembly: It was decided that the Constituent Assembly was to be elected indirectly by the Provincial Assemblies. According to the plan, the provinces of British India were grouped into three categories, A, B, and C. Each province was allotted seats on the basis of the population, in the ratio of one member for a million. The seats given to a province were decided among three communities on the basis of their number, the three communities being the Muslims, Sikhs, and General including Hindus and all others who were not Muslims and Sikhs. They were to be elected by the representatives of each community in their respective legislative

assemblies by the method of proportional representation with single transferable vote. The number of members allotted to the Indian states was also to be fixed on the same basis of population as adopted for British India, but the method of their selection was to be settled later by consultation.

The strength of the constitution-making body was to be 389. Of these, 296 representatives were to be from British India, 292 representatives drawn from the eleven Governors' Provinces of British India and a representative each from the four Chief Commissioners' Provinces of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, and British Baluchistan and 93 representatives from the Indian states. The leaders of each state were to propose candidates for the position of representative. By July or August of 1946, elections for the 296 seats allotted to the British Indian Provinces had been concluded. With the exception of nine General seats, the Muslim League secured 73 seats, meaning that all but five of the seats allocated to Muslims were gained by the Congress, which now has 208 seats. In addition to the princely states' decision to abstain from the Constituent Assembly, the 93 seats designated for state delegates remained empty. All the states had sent delegates to the Assembly by August 15, 1947, but only after representatives from a few states (Baroda, Bikaner, Jaipur, Patiala, Rewa, and Udaipur) had joined by April 1947.

The Muslim League boycotted the Assembly and Jinnah withdrew his acceptance, so it was unable to begin work right away. Following through on its proposal, the Congress formed an expert group to prepare the Fundamental Rights and called an early assembly session. In addition, the party accepted the viceroy's invitation to form a provisional administration headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. On December 9, 1946, the Constituent Assembly convened in what is now the Central Hall of Parliament House in New Delhi, formerly known as Constitution Hall. After a few days of sessions, Jawaharlal Nehru moved the historic Objectives Resolution on December 13, 1946. The resolution envisioned a federal government in which the people would retain sovereignty and the autonomous units would have residual powers. The resolution presented the Assembly with the idea and guiding principles of the process of creating a constitution.

It is an original document that combines the features of the American federal system and the British parliamentary system.

There is a difference between the Indian Constitution and the British Constitution and i.e., in India, the Constitution is supreme and not the Parliament. Moreover, Supreme Court of India is vested with the authority to adjudicate on the constitutionality of any law passed by the Parliament.

Indian Constitution has many unique features. It is not only a written constitution but also the lengthiest constitution in the world. It contains three hundred and ninety-five articles and twelve schedules. It provides for a parliamentary system of government, both at the center and at the states level. The amendment of the Constitution is possible within reasonable limits. Its procedures are for a federal government. It guarantees to all citizens freedom of conscience and are free to profess, practice and propagate religions of their choice. It professes that India is a secular state. It has a chapter on fundamental rights. These rights are contained in Articles 12 to 35. These rights have been made justiciable.

Another unique feature is the Chapter on Directive Principles of State Policy, contained in Part IV (Articles 36 to 51). These principles are for the Government to ensure the welfare of the people through its policies. The judiciary has been made independent to protect individual rights. There are certain provisions like Article 124, 221, 360, 112, 121, 211 that guarantee the independence of the judiciary. The Supreme Court acts as the guardian of the Constitution. All the citizens above the age of 18 can participate in the elections. There is only single citizenship. The Constitution protects the backward classes through its special provisions. Seats have been reserved for them in the state legislative assemblies, the parliament and government services.

5.13 Summary

This Unit has described the last days of the British rule in India. It starts with the role of Communalism and the demand for Pakistan. Plans and proposals like Cripps Mission and Cabinet Mission Plan have been discussed. Events like the Naval Mutiny and the march of INA into India have been presented. Contribution of Subhas Chandra Bose has been estimated. Details of Quit India Movement have been narrated. Happenings before the Transfer of Power like Partition have been recorded. The emergence of India as a Republic has been described. In addition, the salient features of the Constitution of India have been analysed.

5.14 Key Words

Communalism, Two Nation theory, Dominion Status, Indian National Army, Ratings, Federation.

5.15 Self-Assessment Questions

1. What were the reasons for the rise of Communalism in pre-independent India?
2. Why was there demand for Pakistan?
3. Explain the reasons for the failure of the Cripps Mission.
4. Write an essay on the Quit India Movement.
5. Give an estimate of Subhas Chandra Bose and the INA.
6. Describe the various events during the Naval Mutiny.
7. Cabinet Mission Plan led to the Interim Government in 1946. Do you agree? Elaborate.
8. Analyse the reasons for India's partition.
9. Narrate the process that led to the dawn of Indian Republic.
10. State the features of the Constitution of India.

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