

❖ **MODERN HISTORY MD TARIQUE SIR**❖ **MODERN FREEDOM STRUGGLE (1886-1947)**❖ **SOURCES**

- Class notes
- Handouts
- Bipin Chandra
 - India's struggle for Independence
- * For a good administrator
 - Principles and Pragmatic approach needed

❖ **THEME OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE**★ **Emergence of Indian Nationalism & formation of INC**

1. Nationalism & Indian Nationalism
2. Factors responsible for the rise of Indian Nationalism
3. Formation of INC- Myth or reality
4. The Moderate Phase of INC 1885-1905
 - a. Demands/objectives/Goals
 - b. Nature of movement/ Method of struggle
 - c. Roles/achievements/Outcomes/ Significance/ critics etc

1. NATIONALISM, INDIAN NATIONALISM

- **Nationalism is a modern ideology. It is a feeling of oneness in geographical border with shared history & culture , shared values and shared aspirations**
- Nationalism is a feeling of oneness, togetherness and common consciousness which may be based on political, historical, religious, linguistic, racial, cultural, psychological or some other identity. The people of one nation may share common aspirations and dreams too. For most scholars, India is a nation in making.
- **Indian nationalism** emerged in 2nd half of 19th century in decades of 1860s-1870s & 1880s. firstly in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras among educated Middle class
- { when, where, among whom done }

2. FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RISE/EMERGENCE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

- * The Revolt of 1857: The people after the revolt became politically conscious
- * **The Imperialistic rule of the British:** National sentiments grew among the Indians because British had a strong hold over the institutions and Indian resources
- * **Economic Exploitation:** The British tried to take away all that was possible from the Indians. They

tried to drain India out of all the wealth that she had

- * **Racial Superiority and discrimination:** The British started to discriminate Indians on the basis of their colour
- * **Literature of Protest and Patriotism:** Bankim Chandra wrote the famous song Vande Mataram; Swami Vivekananda appealed to the spiritual side of nationalism; Bal Gangadhar Tilak organized Ganapati and Shivaji festivals to awaken the masses. He thundered "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it"
- * Although Indian **society was heterogeneous** yet many factors of late 19th century helped in arousing nationalist feelings
- * **Unification of India** through uniform administration & Modern judicial Institutions help in developing a national consciousness
- * **Cultural consciousness** result of socio-religious reform Movements of 19th century gave confidence to educated Indians about their past and culture, particularly among upper caste Hindus. Many of them saw India as a nation even in ancient period , helpful in arousing a national consciousness
- * **Critique on British economic policies** such as Drain of wealth, poverty, high rate of taxation, famine, de-industrialization all helped in arousing a national consciousness among concerned educated Indians
- * **Modern Liberal political thought** like liberty , equality, fraternity, justice, citizenship, helped in arousing a national consciousness among concerned educated middle class Indians
- * **Modern press journals** , magazines both in English & vernacular languages raised important national issues which helped in arousing a political consciousness among readers
- * **Modern means of transportation & communication** such as railways , roads , Post, telegraph helped in uniting Indians both physically and emotionally
- * **English Language** helped in uniting educated Indians of diverse vernacular languages. People could discuss national issues more freely, because English became a lingua franca language.
- * **Ilbert Bill Controversy:** The Indians realized that the British would never let them come on par with them and that they would have to fight for their rights.
- * **The period of Lord Lytton** was marked by many controversies which forced many concerned educated Indians to join hands

➤ PREDECESSORS OF INC

- A. Landholders Society (1838), to promote class interests of Landlords of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. It was first political organization in India
- B. Bengal British India Society (1843), to project and promote general public interest. Both merged in British India Association (1851)
- C. Madras Native Association (1852)
- D. Bombay Association (1852)
- E. East India Association: Dadabhai Nauroji (1866) to discuss Indian question and influence British public men to promote Indian welfare.
- F. Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1876) by Justice Govind Ranade, Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi and S.H. Chiplunkar
- G. Indian Association (1876) by Anand Mohan Bose and Surendra Nath Banerjee, demanded reforms in civil services

★ Characters of these Organisations

- ✓ Dominated by wealthy Zamindars
- ✓ Local in character
- ✓ Worked mainly for administrative reforms
- ✓ They demanded larger employment of Indians in administration, spread of education, etc.

.....1st class ended, 2nd started.....

3. FORMATION OF INC

a) Safety Valve theory (view)

- * Lord Wutenburg claimed about the existence of a secret document consisting correspondence **between** Lord Dufferin (1884-88 Gov-Gen & Viceroy) **and** Allan Octavian Hume (a retired civil servant ICS)
- * Based on this claimed secret document and some other developments the theory evolved regarding Formation of INC – in which it was believed that Congress was formed / founded by British to protect their empire & interest in India (economic, political, cultural)
- * Further later Lala-Lajpat Rai gave a term “Safety Valve” to this theory

Just telling Govt was worried about revolt 1857 & similar can happen in future & let us create a body (INC) to avoid direct conflict between people and Govt but it should be done through a body that represent people to Govt

b) Nationalist theory

- * Indian nationalists before & after Independence have rejected safety valve theory and argued that
 - a. Many political organizations were established in Bombay, Madras, Bengal in 1860s-70s-80s
 - b. The leaders of these all organizations regularly met **Dadabhai Naoroji** at London & **A.O Hume** in India where they exchanged their ideas &

felt a need of all India political organization (gradual process not sudden)

- * The Indian Nationalists felt that some English help was needed as they were close to the Govt. & had experiences in Govt. functioning. they also realized that the presence of few English in INC would not create any suspicion in the mind of authority (Congress founded by India so with the help of British not by British)
- * So far, the claimed secret document has not been found

★ Objectives of Indian National Congress

- To promote friendly relations among nationalist political workers from different parts of the country.
- Formulation of popular demands and their presentation before the government/authorities.
- Mobilizing public opinion.
- Development and consideration of feeling of national unity.

★ Demands of Indian National Congress

- Expansion and reform of the Legislative Council
- Greater opportunities for Indians in the public services by holding ICS examination, simultaneously in England and in India.
- Re-imposition of import duties on cotton goods
- Reduction of military expenditure
- Spread of technical and general education
- Separation of judiciary from executive

★ NATURE OF THE MOVEMENTS

- a) Confined themselves to speeches, meetings and resolution.
- b) Persuasion of the British government, by prayers, petitions, writings, representations.
- c) Believed in constitutional form of struggle only
- d) Confined their political activity to educated class of cities only

★ OFFICIAL ATTITUDE

- a) From the very beginning the government was hostile towards the development of nationalist forces.
- b) The government thought that Congress would confine itself to criticism of policies
- c) The nationalist began to preach the messages of nationalism through meetings and pamphlets. The government did not like it.
- d) Lord Dufferin called INC as political organization of ‘Microscopic Minority’.
- e) Curzon wished to see Congress on its death bed

★ INC AS A TRUE FIRST INDIAN NATIONAL POLITICAL ORGANISATION

- It represented all races, creeds and all communities.
- Its membership was open to persons of all communities.
- All communities have worked for its development.
- It approached the country's problems from an all-India point of view.
- Initially, it was represented by few but represented for all

4. MODERATE PHASE OF INC 1885-1905

→ During this phase movement was confined to a handful of the educated middle class intelligentsia who were inspired by western education and liberal thinkers

a) Demands/objectives/Goals

- They were not demanding the independence
- They demanded in 1906 & 1929
- 1906:-** demanded Swaraj first time by Dada Bhai Naoroji in Calcutta
- 1929:-** poorna swaraj Lahore JL Nehru
- More representations in the imperial council (legislature) & executive bodies both at centre and provincial levels (council)
- Separation of Judiciary from executive (theory given by **Montesque**)
- Indianization of civil services
 - Exam should be held in India also
 - Syllabus should be changed
- To reduce the land revenue or tax
- Reduction in expenditure on administration & army and using the same money in public welfare programs
- To protect Indian industries, Govt should adopt some policies
- Provide freedom of speech and thought
- Implementation of famine code sincerely to check drain of wealth

ANALYSIS OF early nationalists DEMANDS			
ADD IN ANSWERS			
Nationalist	✓	regional	×
Secular	✓	communal	×
Few class	×	All classes	✓
believe in reform	✓	Wanted independence	×
optimistic	✓	pessimistic	×

- 1867:-** Dada Bhai Naoroji in an article "English debt to India" wrote as first document about drain of wealth. Further along with him, RP

Dutt, RC Dutt, Gopal Krishan Gokhale, Dinsha Wacha wrote about this theory

- So** early nationalists were Secular, reformists, optimistic, and raised demands for all the classes

➤ Some of their key demands

- Administrative Demands:** To make bureaucracy more responsive
- Demand for Indianization of civil services through simultaneous ICS examinations in England and India.
- Higher jobs in the army for Indians and the raising of an Indian volunteer force.

★ Economic Demands:

- An enquiry into India's growing poverty and famines
- Abolition of Salt Tax
- Cuts in Home Charges and military expenditure
- More funds for technical education to promote Indian industries
- To end the unfair tariffs and excise duties

★ Civil Rights:

- the moderates firmly opposed the restrictions imposed on the freedom of speech, press and association.
- They demanded the scrapping of the Preventive Detection Act and restoration of individual liberties
- {write these kind of sentences always in beginning}

b) Nature of movement/ Method of struggle

- early nationalists moved into different cities towards the end of the year
- they would elect president initially through consensus and later through voting
- they would discuss various national issues with open mind (drain of wealth, famine)
- they would adopt a resolution at end of the session generally through consensus if required by voting
- resolution would be presented in the form of Prayers, petition, appeal, application etc to the concerned authorities and language used was Soft & Humble (e.g. sorry)

So they are called Moderates because of separate way of demanding (Soft & Humble)

- early nationalists published the proceedings & resolution of INC in different newspaper both in English and vernacular languages

c) Achievements/Outcomes/ Significance / critics etc

- Their demands were not met but they achieved something better & paved an easy

way for later Nationalists to pursue National movement

- * early nationalists created all India political platform (INC) on which leaders of later years played their respective roles (M.Gandhi , JL Nehru)
- * early nationalists developed a democratic , secular, political culture in India
- * early nationalists raised important national issues which awaken millions of Indians & arouse patriotic feelings among them
- * early nationalists pressurized Govt. to bring some reforms as can be seen in Indian Council Acts of 1892, 1909

Add these in Answers

- **Democracy of India** is attributed also to early nationalists
- **India secular** ਤਾਂ ਹੈ ਪਰ **democratic** ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ society India ਚ ਹਜੇ ਬੀ patriarchal ਹੈ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਬਹੁਤ ਕੁਝ । Democracy 1951-52 ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ 1880s ਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਇੰਡੀਆ ਚ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਈ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਇਥੇ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਅਜੇ ਬੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਤਹਿ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ ਲੋਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਪਰ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਚ ਲੋਕ ਅਲਗ ਤੋਂ president ਚੁਣਦੇ ਨੇ so India ਚ ਏਹ legally ਤਾ ਸਹੀ ਹੈ ਪਰ constitutional morality base ਤੇ ਗਲਤ ਹੈ

.....2nd class ended, 3rd started.....

❖ TIME PERIOD OF 1905

* Questions Come like

- Causes {background, context, circumstance }
- Major events /course of the movement
- Salient's features
- Outcome/result/significance etc

A. PARTITION OF BENGAL

★ What do we mean by partition

- * Bengal partitioned into Bengal and east Bengal & Assam (Note:- it was not west Bengal)
- * In 1905 the Govt. of Lord Curzon (1899-1905) announced that Bengal would be partitioned into two parts
 1. East Bengal & Assam with Dhaka As Capital
 2. Bengal with Calcutta as capital

★ Why it is done, What Govt. Of the day said

- * Govt claimed that partition was necessary for administrative convenience as Bengal was Big province
- * **BENGAL** that time was { WB + BANGLADESH + BIHAR + JHARKHAND + ODIHA + CERTAIN PARTS OF ASSAM }
- * Govt intended to claim that the people would benefit

★ What the nationalists of the day said

- * Indian nationalists both moderates and extremists rejected this claim of the Govt.

* They argued that

- a) Partition was based on divide and rule principle i.e. to divide Hindus and Muslims on the one hand & Bengalis and Non-Bengalis on other Hand. So the British policy was **Fissiparous** policy

Note:- Behind every conflict in world there is hidden economic interest , always remember it, religion, race, class , language are only used as identity tools to get economic interest in conflict

- b) Other provinces like Madras Bombay madras Punjab were big, why not these were partitioned
- c) Calcutta was centre of anti-British activities by Moderates , extremists and revolutionaries and Calcutta was also capital of British-India, therefore Curzon Govt. wanted to divide the nationalists

B. SWADESHI MOVEMENT

★ Cause

- * The Swadeshi Movement was both an intellectual and mass reaction against Curzon's reactionary policy and partition of Bengal. It was the first mass movement of the country and in many ways it anticipated Gandhian movement
- * In 1905 the Govt. of Lord Curzon (1899-1905) announced that Bengal would be partitioned into two parts
 1. East Bengal & Assam with Dhaka As Capital
 2. Bengal with Calcutta as capital

★ Major events /course of the movement

- i. **16 oct. 1905** when Bengal was partitioned people of Calcutta came on streets , assembled at town hall , protested against Govt. and burnt English good especially English clothes
- ii. **The protestors** formed Swadeshi Bandhav Smiti and mobilized support in favor of Swadeshi Goods and appeal to the people to boycott English Goods
- iii. they boycotted the English educational institutions and established their own nationalists schools and colleges
- iv. they also boycotted English courts i.e. HC, District and lower courts and used the services of traditional courts
- v. Many Indians Returned their title and honors like Rai Bahadur Khan Bahadur etc
- vi. They also boycotted English colonies , stopped supplying food , milk , vegetables , newspapers, fruits in English colonies

★ **Salient features of Swadeshi movement**

- i. It was a mass movement of **urban areas** in which industrial workers , traders , professionals, intellectuals ,women and students actively participated {peasants and farmers were not there because it was mainly in urban areas)
- ii. To mobilize common people , religious and cultural symbols, slogans and songs were used such as Raksha Bandhan , Ganesh Chaturthi, Durga Pooja and Holy bath in a river, which united a section of majority but divided a section of minority. Tagore, to inspire and unite Bengalis , wrote Amar Sonar Bangla (My Golden Bengal)
- iii. Indian Industrialists and nationalists joined hands together and many indigenous industries were established and promoted such as Handloom , cotton ,textile industries of Bombay and Surat, paper , glass and matches Industry

★ **Important facts about Swadeshi movement**

- a) It was first time in Indian history that **passive resistance and boycott**, picketing of shops, selling foreign goods were used as political weapons to oppose British Raj.
- b) The Bengal National College was founded with Aurobindo Ghosh as its principle, National School at Barisal was also set up.
- c) National Council was set up to facilitate teaching from primary to the university level with emphasis on vernaculars.
- d) The Bengal technical Institute was set up.
- e) Many organizations like 'Swadeshi Bhandav Smiti' , 'The Dawn Society', 'Sadhana', were formed to promulgate the ideology of 'Swadeshi' and 'Swaraj'.
- f) Swadeshi movement gave impetus to the growth of indigenous industries . Lakshmi Cotton Mill and Bengal Chemicals were leading examples of it.
- g) Swadeshi also influenced the realm of Indian Art and Science. Armindra Nath and Nanda Lal Basu revived Ajanta and Rajput style of paintings.
- h) Prafulla Chand Roy and Jagdish Chandra Bose worked on indigenous science.
- i) Literature of India also got a new genus. 'Yugantar' and 'Bande Matram' were the two leading news papers which had great impact on politics.
- j) "Thakur ma Jhuli" of Dakshin Ranjan Majumdar was wonderful literary work written for children.
- k) Bengali theatre, 'Jatra' and 'Baul Geet' were also used to preach patriotism.

- l) Rabindranath Tagore (Gurudev) composed 'Amar Sonar Bangla'(My golden Bengal) in 1905 to arouse patriotic feelings, which later became national song of Bangladesh.
- m) First time industrial workers also participated in political movement. The Printer's Union, Kolkata and Postal Union, Bombay went on strike.
- n) The most substantial legacy of swadeshi movement was the growth of revolutionary groups in Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab.
- o) 'Anushilan Smiti', 'Yugantar', 'Ashram', 'Sadhana', 'Abhinav Bharat', and 'Anujumane Muhibbane Vatan' etc. were the prominent revolutionary groups

★ **Some emerging trends in Indian Politics**

- a) Vande Matram movement spread in south India too.
- b) Industrial workers participated
- c) First time women also participated in a political movement
- d) Constructive Swadeshi was a new political ideal
- e) Passive resistance was used as a political war, boycott was used effectively

★ **Outcome**

- i. Swadeshi movement although united many Indians in Bengal, Bombay , madras ,Punjab and activated leaders and volunteers
- ii. Despite opposition, Govt. partitioned Bengal but in 1911 the two parts of Bengali speaking region , however the Bihar and odisha got separated from Bengal with Patna as common headquarter
- iii. Further Odisha was separated from Bihar 1936 based on GOI Act 1935 {Odisha became new state 1936, but decision was taken in 1935}
- iv. This movement exposed the differences between moderates and extremists , was seen at **Calcutta session 1906** presided by Dadabhai Naoroji in which Swaraj resolution was adopted ,but the **surat session** of congress held in **1907** became violent session famously **called surat split** presided by **Rash Behari Gosh** as the extremists leaders were expelled out from congress. And Govt. also harassed and arrested the extremists and
 - **"Tilak"** was arrested and sent to "Mandley jail (Burma-1908-1914),
 - **lajpat Rai** was exiled and forced to leave Punjab and deported to Kashmir
 - **Aurobindo ghosh** left politics and became Sanyasi in Pondicherry and collection of his letters was published in book form "New lamp for the Old"

★ **Decline of Swadeshi Movement, Causes**

- The government seeing its revolutionary potential came down with heavy hands
- Internal squabbles especially Surat split weakened the movement
- Swadeshi movement lacked an effective organization and party structure
- Failed to reach the rural people, the peasants.

❖ **MODERATES & EXTREMISTS (Dif.)****A. MODERATES**

- Pherozeshah Merwanjee Mehta
- Dada Bhai Naoroji
- Surendranath Banerjee
- Gopal krishan Gokhale

- They believe in Constitutional politics
- Reforms through legislation ,appeal, prayers , petitions , writing in press etc
- They wanted Swadeshi movement should be confined to Bengal

★ **What Moderates wanted?**

- The annual session of Congress should be held at Surat
- Rash Behari Ghosh should be the President
- To drop the resolutions on boycott, Swadeshi and national education

B. EXTREMISTS

- Aurobindo ghosh
- Lala Lajpat Rai (PB)
- Bal Gangadhar tilak (Pune)
- Bipin Chandra Pal (Bengal)

- They believe in **passive** resistance (boycott , strike , public meetings , dharna (court arrest) (none of them is violent), writing in newspapers, pamphlets , posters
- whereas extremists wanted Swadeshi movement should be spread in others parts of India along with Bengal also

★ **What Extremists wanted?**

- The annual session of Congress should be held at Nagpur
- B.G.Tilak or Lajpat Rai as Congress President
- Reiteration of resolutions on Boycott, Swadeshi and National Education

➤ **Calcutta Congress Session in Dec.1906**

- Extremists wanted Tilak or Lajpat Rai as President, Moderates proposed the name of Dadabhai Naoroji, who was finally elected
- Compromise was made: Swaraj was declared as goal of Congress.

- Resolution on 'Boycott', 'Swadeshi' and 'National Education' was passed.

➤ **RISE OF EXTREMISM**◆ **Causes:**

- Emergence of political consciousness about the impact of colonial rule in India, especially the exploitative character of economic policies like 'drain of wealth', 'high rate of taxation', 'deindustrialization', 'poverty', 'regular occurrence of famine' etc.
- Disillusionment from the moderate methods of politics and loss of faith in constitutional politics
- Consistent repressive policy of the government like:
 - ✓ Imprisonment of Tilak and some other editors for preaching nationalism (1897)
 - ✓ Deportation of Nathu brothers without trial (1897)
 - ✓ Enactment of a law making it an offence to preach nationalism (1898)
 - ✓ Enactment of the Indian Official Secrets Act to restrict the freedom of the press (1904)
- Inspiration from Irish Republican's movement, and Japanese victory over Russia (1904)
- The educated youth of Bengal and Poone region were more active in the early phase of Indian nationalism
- Anger, growth of self-respect and self-confidence among section of educated and youth
- Large scale unemployment
- The outbreak of plague in western part of the Bombay presidency also acted as catalyst. The first political assassination took place in India during this time when Chapekar brothers killed Rands, the Plague Commissioner.
- The regressive policy of Lord Curzon like Calcutta Corporation Act,1899, Indian Universities Act of 1904, The Official Secrets Act and the Partition of Bengal (1905) further angered people.

★ **The Methods And Tactics used by the Extremists**

- * Passive resistance (Aurobindo Ghosh & Tilak are regarded as father of passive resistance)
- a. Mass Mobilization
- b. Public Speeches, posters, pamphlets
- c. Boycott of British goods, services, courts, educational institutions
- d. Use of Swadeshi goods, services and institutions
- e. Return of Titles and Honors
- f. Promotion of National Education

★ **Surat Congress Session in Dec. 1907 and Events, which led to Surat Split**

- The extremists wanted to extend the Swadeshi and boycott movement from Bengal to the rest of the country.

- b. They also wanted to gradually extend the boycott from foreign goods to every form of association or co-operation with the colonial government.
- c. The moderates wanted to confine the boycott to parts of Bengal and were totally opposed to its extension to the government.
- d. By the end of 1907 they were looking at each other as political enemy. Moderate leaders such as Firoz Shah Mehta and extremist such as Aurbindo Ghosh felt that the split was inevitable
- e. Although Gokhale tried to avoid the split but there were differences in his camp.
- f. At Surat, the extremist wanted to a guarantee that the four Calcutta resolutions be passed and force it on the moderates
- g. They objected on Ras Bihari Ghosh becoming as Congress President
- h. The split soon became inevitable

★ Outcome of the Surat Split:

- a. With government encouragement moderates adopted compromising attitude
- b. Moderates controlled the Congress fully, extremists were expelled from the party
- c. Extremists were harassed, arrested and deported in different parts of India and Burma. Tilak was sent to Mandalay jail, Burma (Myanmar) where he lived from 1908 to 1914
- d. The moderates too suffered, lost sheen in politics and lost popularity among the masses

.....3rd class ended, 4th started.....

❖ THE INDIAN COUNCIL ACT 1909 (MORLEY- MINTO REFORM)

A. BACKGROUND (in which context)

- The Indian councils Act of 1909 was a political maneuver to win the moderates in the congress to the government side and to divide various communities and interests in India
- Dissatisfaction with Indian Council Act, 1892. The extremists in the Congress advocated the policy of pressure to win political rights. The 1892 Act did not satisfy even the moderates
- In the early years of 20th century political activities in many parts of India especially in Bengal, Bombay and Madras had increased. Anti-British activities of Moderates, extremists and revolutionaries were on full swing
- Curzon's reactionary policies (Frazer Commission, 1902, Indian University Act, 1904) and Partition of Bengal (1905) awoke the national consciousness of Indians
- Some **Muslim leaders** met Governor-General Lord Minto-II (1905-10) at Shimla and

demanding **representation** for Muslims in legislative council

- Economic distress and famines alienated the people from British rule
- The think tank of the Govt. was convinced that some reforms were needed through which they **could pacify** at least the Moderates
- In this background, Minto's plan was to placate political unrest by a dose of political reforms. Morley (the secretary of state) and Minto (Viceroy-Governor General) suggested some reforms which was enacted by British Parliament in 1909 as Indian Council Act 1909
- Government's plan was to use political reforms as a device to drive a wedge between Hindus and Muslims through communal electorates

B. THE PROVISIONS

- The size of Legislative Councils, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, were expanded
- The size of Imperial council (central legislative council) was expanded to 68 members (earlier it was 12 to 18) (Governor General + 7 Executive Counselors + 60 Additional Members)

★ TOTAL=68	
★ ELECTED	★ NOMINATED
* 36	* 32
* <u>Two types</u>	* <u>Two types</u>
• By general electorate	• Officials
• By Separate electorate	• Non-officials
★ Today ↓	★ Today ↓
* 543 LS	* 2
* 238 RJ	* 12

- Tenure of office of 'additional' members was to be 3 years
- Qualifications, both for candidates and for voters. Women, minors, persons below 25 years of age were not eligible to vote
- Separate electorate (based on class or community) would be given to Hindu zamindars, Indian Muslims and Chamber of Commerce Calcutta and Chamber of Commerce Bombay. First time, system of class and communal electorates was introduced in the Legislative Councils. Communal Electorate was provided for Hindu Zamindars, Indian Muslims, Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta and Chambers of Commerce, Bombay
- One Indian would be included in Gov-general Executive council (1st time :- **S.P.Sinha**)

- **Two Indians** would be included in India's council Office London {**K.C.Gupta and Sayed Husain Bilgrami** }
- The legislatures got some more powers , they could discuss on budget and could ask **supplementary questions**. Members could discuss annual financial statement, propose resolutions, but budgets as a whole was not subject to vote of legislative council. Members could ask questions and supplementary questions on matters of public interest.
- Non-official members were in majority in Provincial Legislative Council
- Number of members of Provincial Executive Councils of Bengal, Madras and Bombay was raised to 4 each

Note:- throughout british rule elections was based on **limited suffrage** till **1951-52** elections in India was not based on universal adult suffrage

limited suffrage:- based on

- Education (like certificate, degree)
 - Finance (income tax payers etc)
- This showed how many were voters at that time

Universal adult suffrage based on :-

- citizen of India
- crossed 18 and
- no court of India deprives you from voting

C. CRITICAL EVALUATION / SIGNIFICANCE

- * The act disillusioned nationalists, even the moderates in the Congress were unhappy. Indian council act disappointed Indian Nationalists because the legislators got limited powers .They had no control over budget and executive
- * Self-government not conceded. Morley described it as moon-shine
- * Number of nominated members was **quite high** and with the members from separate electorate. The act injected poison in the Indian body-politic through introduction of class and communal electorates. System of communal electorates slowly and steadily led to the inevitable end- the partition of India
- * Separate electorate was based on **Fissiparous policy** of the Govt. and polarized different religious communities as **J.L Nehru** rightly wrote "**separate electorate institutionalized communalism in India**"
- * Size of electoral or franchise was very limited and majority of people (more than 90%) had no voting rights. Official majority in Central

Legislative Council kept all authority in government hands

- * Disqualification clauses for elections to legislatures kept extremists' nationalists out of councils
- * Legislative Councils resembled durbars, not parliament. The system of government of India remained "benevolent despotism" or "constitutional autocracy".
- * The act failed to produce the satisfactory results, the members were elected indirectly and consequently the people took no active interest in the election of the members.
- * The responsibility in the matter of administration closely lay with the bureaucracy, which could flout the recommendations of the members of the legislature

❖ TIME PERIOD OF 1916

A. THE HOME RULE LEAGUE MOVEMENT - HRL-1916

- * The year 1916 saw the union of the Moderate and radical section of the Congress, and Lucknow pact for the common cause of India.
- * The year 1916 is also memorable for the inauguration of the two Home Rule Leagues, one founded by the Lokmanya Tilak in April and another by Annie Besant in September, 1916.
- * Annie Besant launched her campaign through her two newspapers 'New India' and 'Commonweal' and organized public meetings and conferences and demanded self-government after the war.
- * Tilak's league was active in Central Provinces, Berar, Maharashtra, and Karnataka while Besant's league was active in Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country.
- * Tilak conducted his activities from Poona and Beasant from Adyar (Madras).

★ Reasons for the Emergence of Home Rule Leagues

- * Many Indian nationalists opposed the war, while moderates and liberals backed the war. The issue divided India's political classes.
- * A section of the nationalists felt that popular pressure was required to attain concessions from the government.
- * The Moderates were disillusioned with the Morley-Minto Reforms (Indian Council Act, 1909).
- * People were feeling the burden of wartime miseries caused by high taxation and a rise in prices, and were ready to participate in any movement of protest.

- * The War, being fought among the major imperialist powers of the day and backed by propaganda against each other, exposed the myth of white superiority.
- * Tilak was ready to assume leadership after his release in June 1914, and had made conciliatory gestures to reassure the government of his loyalty and to the Moderates that he wanted, like the Irish Home Rule League, a reform of the administration and not an overthrow of the government. He also said that the acts of violence had only served to retard the pace of political progress in India. He urged all Indians to assist the Government of India in its hour of crisis.
- * Annie Besant, the Irish theosophist based in India since 1893, had decided to enlarge the sphere of her activities to include the building of a movement for Home Rule on the lines of the Irish Home Rule Leagues.

★ Annie Besant and Home Rule League

- * At the annual session of the Congress in 1915 the efforts of Besant met with some success. It was decided that the Extremists be admitted to Congress. Although Besant failed to get the Congress to approve her scheme of Home Rule Leagues, the Congress did commit itself to a programme of educative propaganda and to a revival of local-level Congress Committees.
- * Not willing to wait for too long, Besant laid the condition that if the Congress did not implement its commitments, she would be free to set up her own League—which she finally had to, as there was no response from the Congress.
- * Tilak and Besant set up their separate leagues to avoid any friction.
- * Besant's League was set up in September 1916 in Madras and covered the rest of India (including Bombay city). It had 200 branches, was loosely organized and had George Arundale as the organizing secretary. Besides Arundale, the main work was done by B.W. Wadia and C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar.
- * The move created considerable excitement at the time, and attracted many members of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, who had been allied since the 1916 Lucknow Pact

★ HOME RULE LEAGUE MOVEMENT 1916

1. Objectives and formation of HRL

- April:-1916 **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** established HRL at Poona
- September:- 1916 "**Annie Besant**" established it at Adiyar near Madras
- They were inspired Irish Home rule league & they wanted Swaraj or self rule

- To convey the message of Home Rule to common man in remote and politically not conscious areas, new method of publicity was used.
- Emphasis was on propaganda to make it mass based and stressed on public meeting to spread awareness among people. It got a new dimension with Annie Besant being elected as the President of Indian National Congress (1917). Many Congress leaders supported it and joined the Movement.

2. Nature of the movement

- It was movement of two individuals not of congress party but joined by congress and muslim league leaders
- Tilak recruited volunteers from Poona, Berar (MH), Central province (CP, capital Nagpur) and Karnataka region
- Annie Besant recruited volunteers from Madras, Bombay and other parts of the country
- They held several Public meeting addressed common people, mostly in cities, in their public meeting other leaders also addressed such as **JL Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, MD ali Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad**
- They also use newspapers like Tilak's newspapers were "**Kesari** in Marathi and **Marhatta** in English" and "**new India** and **Common weal** by Annie Besant both are in English"
- They also met different social groups particularly students to mobilize, motivate, to join Home rule league movement
- Major events in short
 - ✓ Promoted political education and discussion
 - ✓ Established libraries containing materials on national politics
 - ✓ Organized classes for students on politics
 - ✓ Printed and circulated pamphlets 5.
 - ✓ Collected funds.
 - ✓ Organized social work.
 - ✓ Took part in local government activities
 - ✓ Arranged political meetings and lectures

3. Outcome / result/ significance etc

- This movement created some impact on youth of some cities who became regular volunteers in subsequent nationalists movements particularly Gandhian movements
- Emphasis on participation in freedom movement shifted from educated elite to masses, which gave it a new dimension

- Swaraj became popular slogan during this period
- Some young leaders emerged from this movements such as JL Nehru, Maulana Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
- Pressure created by this movement made some impact on Government which is reflected in **GOI Act 1919**. (Declaration of Montague – Chelmsford Reforms of 1918)
- It prepared the country for Gandhian style of political action

★ **Government's reaction to the Home Rule League Movement**

- The Government tried to crush the new movement. Tilak's entry into Punjab was prohibited by the Punjab Government on the ground that Home Rule propaganda was threat to the public peace.
- On June 15, 1917 the Madras Government issued orders of arrest of Ms. Besant and her colleagues, B. P. Wadia and G. S. Arundale who were soon released on account of public pressure in September 1917. Ms. Besant was soon elected as the President of the INC, at Calcutta session in 1917

★ **Impact of the Home Rule League**

- Tilak and Besant infused a new spirit and life in the national movement and intensified the demand for the grant of self-government.
- The movement involved the participation of women, revival of swadeshi spirit and spread of the movement far beyond the frontiers of India.
- The Movement brought together the Moderates and the Extremists in the Congress.
- The Congress and the League presented a common demand i.e., Self-Government.
- It created a generation of ardent nationalists who formed the backbone of the national movement when, under Mahatma's leadership, it entered its truly mass phase.

B. LUCKNOW PACT 1916

- **b/w** congress and Indian union muslim league
1. After the beginning of the First World War in 1914, the British asked the Indian leaders for their co-operation. Indian responses were of threefold:
 - a) Moderate Congress leaders wanted to help the government as a matter of duty
 - b) Extremist leaders promised to help in the hope of getting concessions
 - c) Revolutionaries hoped to fulfil their objectives out of England's difficulties
 2. Two major developments during First World War in Indian politics were:

- a) Reunion of the moderates and the extremists
- b) Pact between Muslim League and Congress at Lucknow (1916)

3. Reunion of the moderates and the extremists took place due to following factors:

- a) Tilak clarified his objective of attainment of self-govt. by constitutional means
- b) Death of G.K. Gokhale and F. S. Mehta in 1915 softened moderates' attitude
- c) Annie Besant and Mohammad Ali Jinnah played the role of mediators

a. **Background**

- During course of WW-1 (1914-18), Indians faced many hardships such as Death and Injury of thousands Indian soldiers , high rate of inflation especially of the food articles which jumped almost 400% & curtailment of civil liberties created unrest
 - Initially the leadership of All-India Muslim League was feudal, mostly nawabs, zamindars or elite Muslims. They wished to establish friendly relations with the British to get some political concessions. But, by 1912-13 a new group of Muslim leaders entered in the fold of the Muslim League with a much different view than their predecessors. The new leadership was modern, secular, and progressive. They were lawyers, Doctors, Journalist, teachers, poets, traders etc.
 - Extremists were brought back in congress and many leaders of Muslim league were also members of Congress
 - They wanted swaraj (self-rule), their due place in Indian politics, economy and society with their identity intact. Many of them were members of both Congress and Muslims League (Congress had the policy of dual membership till 1938).
 - A section of Muslims in India was anxious about Ottoman Turks and Caliph's (Khalifa) future. The enmity of England towards the Turks made the Muslims hostile to the British as the Caliph was regarded as religious head of Muslims all over world.
 - At the close of the war, Lord Chelmsford (1916-21) had invited suggestions from the Indians for post-World War I reform.
 - In this background the leadership of congress and muslim league felt the need to join hands together and challenged the imperialist power untidily
- b. **The Pact**
- They (Congress + Muslim league) agreed to hold their annual session jointly
 - They agreed to struggle for Swaraj jointly and wanted India to be treated as an independent

unit of the Empire, as a self-autonomous state with equal rights and responsibility

- Provinces should be autonomous in their respective spheres. The Imperial Government should only have a general right of supervision of the provinces but not to interfere in their local affairs
- Congress agreed **not to oppose** separate electorate
- **1/3rd elected** (1/3rd of 36 = 12) seats of Imperial council should be reserved for Muslims (based on Muslim population).
- The strength of Central Legislative Council should be increased to 150 members out of which four-fifths were to be elected and one-fifth to be nominated
- **If a bill** was opposed to 3/4th majority members of minority community, which may be against their cultural interest, such bill shall not be passed
- The Secretary of State for India should have the same powers as the Secretary of State for other self-governing colonies. He should be assisted by two Under Secretaries, of whom, one should be an Indian
- The Hindu and Muslim leaders would work to promote communal harmony, muslim leaders would request muslim masses not to slaughter cow and Hindu leaders would appeal to Hindu masses not to play music nearby mosques at the time of Prayer
- Half the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be Indians elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.
- Judiciary should be separated from the Executive. Members of the Judiciary in every Province should be placed under the control of the highest court of that Province.
- They would work together to promote communal harmony and to strengthen Hindu Muslim relations.

NOTE IT And USE IT

Democracy is the government elected by majority but elected for all.

.....4th class ended, 5th started.....

c. **Impact/Significance/consequence**

- Lucknow pact was a historic pact which helped in bringing nationalists (Hindus and Muslims) together to face the challenges emerged from WW-1 and various colonial policies
- Together they launched several mass movements such as Rowallt Satayagraha

1919, Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movement 1920-22

- The unity at top percolated at the bottom also and **communal harmony** was seen among Hindus and Muslims, the Muslims stopped slaughtering cows and Hindus stopped playing music nearby mosques
- Both the Congress and the League put forth their demands for political reforms and Self Government
- Lucknow pact and the unity displayed both at top and bottom made Govt. little nervous and Govt. started promising to Indians that after the war a **responsible Govt.** would be established. {also did in 1858 An act for better Govt. in India, it means before British crown, EIC rule was not assured}
- The unity between the Congress and the Muslim League and between Moderates and the extremists shown at the Lucknow session of Congress clearly proved that the government could not repress the nationalist movement by violent means and that the existing system needed to be reformed
- Therefore in 1918, **Montagu-Chelmsford (1916-21)**:-suggested some reforms which was enacted in 1919 as GOI Act

❖ **Note:- (Economic Historic Perspective)**

➤ **1800s**

- India's Contribution to world's GDP was 24%, China's was 20%, England's was 2%

➤ **1947:-**

- India 2%
- England 47%

➤ **2022**

- India:- 1.8-2%
- USA:- 25% alone
- China:- 20%

❖ {Whenever you mention Indian less GDP mention period of 1800-1900 and also 1947-till now what happened in Past and what we did till now}

→ All these reforms were the consequence of compulsion of British in India

❖ **AUGUST DECLARATION 1917**

- In order to pacify the Indians, the Government declared a policy on August 20, 1917. Montagu, Secretary of State, announced in the House of Commons, that the policy of the British Government was to develop self-governing institutions in India, which was enthusiastically received by the Indians.
- The declaration failed to satisfy most people in India who felt that no definite plan was

prescribed, by which India would reach the goal. Nor was there any standard laid down by which one could decide whether a certain stage for further reforms had been initiated or not.

❖ **GOVT. OF INDIA ACT, 1919**

★ **BACKGROUND OF THE ACT**

- Policy of repression failed to contain political unrest. Increased terrorist activities were a manifestation of rising Indian unrest.
- World War I raised Indian hopes for securing right of self-determination.
- Formation of Home Rule Leagues, arrest of Annie Besant and judicial proceedings against Tilak, Ali brothers etc. had embittered political atmosphere.
- A large section of Muslims were angry with the British over Turkey/Italian War (1911) and Balkan War (1912). The Muslim leadership both in Congress and Muslim League responded to this anger and anxieties which is reflected in Lucknow Pact of 1916.
- In this background, Montagu, the Secretary of State and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy and Governor-General (1916-21) suggested some reforms which were enacted as Government of India Act, 1919.

★ **MAJOR PROVISIONS**

- Secretary of state to be henceforth paid salary out of the British Exchequer.
- The power of office of India Council was reduced. Secretary of State was not obliged to consult India council except: i. On financial matters ii. matters concerning to I.C.S.
- Secretary of State retained control over Indian administration except over transferred bloc of subject in the provinces.
- Demarcation of two lists of subjects: Central List and Provincial List.
- Number of Indian members in the governor general's executive council was raised from 1 to 3, out of a total of 8 members.
- Increase in governor general's powers. He could restore cuts in grants; certify bills rejected by the Legislative Assembly and he could issue ordinances.
- Central Legislative Council (Imperial Council) became bicameral:
 - Legislative Assembly – Term-3 Years, 145 members
 - Council of States – Term- 5 years, 60 members
- System of communal and class electorates was further extended to Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

- Powers of Central Legislative Assembly was enlarged but 75% of budget was still not votable

MOHANDAS . K. GANDHI

1. IN SOUTH AFRICA (1893-1914)

A. MAJOR EVENTS

- In 1893, he was invited in South-Africa by his friend “**Dada Bhai Abdulla**” for his business related case.
- He was humiliated in **a train**, was travelling b/w Pretoria to Durban, **this impacted** his thought process

- * {this incident made Gandhi to think why he was humiliated even being so educated, well suited in English culture, so he got it is mindset of upper race and lower race. He also thought “shall he accept it silently or resist it for dignity}
 - * Education is one part, bigger part is the mindset and should be challenged
 - * **Gandhi's Entry** so in Polity is not planned it was **Accidental**
- He wanted to come back after winning the business related case but Indians mostly laborers and traders requested him to stay for some more time
- Gandhi eventually stayed more than 20 years
- He fought against **discriminatory laws** for poor Indians such as “**Pass law & marriage law**”
 - ★ {Indians were not allowed to live inside the city, for work they had to get a Pass inside the city}
 - ★ {All marriages were to be registered as Christian manner}
- To mobilize Indians for their rights and to fight against Racial Discrimination, Gandhi Founded “**Natal National Congress**”-his first political organization in South Africa
- He edited a newspaper “**weekly Indian Opinion**”
- He established an Ashram “**Tolstoy Farm**” At Phoenix
- He gave a new name “**satyagraha**”(means holding onto truth) to his political thought and strategy and on 9th September 1906
- On the advice of **G.K Gokhale**, his political mentor, and **C.F Andrew** (his lifelong friend):- on the advice of these two Gandhi returned to India on **9th Jan.1915** (known as **Parvasi Bhartiya Diwas**)
- ★ **South African experiment of Gandhi (1893-1914)**
 - South African experiment of Gandhi (1893-1914) provided him opportunity for leadership of the

Indian freedom struggle. He had the invaluable experience of leading poor Indian labourers (indented labourers) of seeing their capacity for sacrifice and for bearing hardship, their morale in the face of repression.

2. Gandhi also had the opportunity of leading Indians belonging to different religions; Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis. They also came from different regions of India. They belonged to different social classes; rich merchants combined with poor indentured labourers. Women came along with men.
3. In South Africa he learnt the hardest way that leadership involves facing the ire not only of the enemy but also of one's followers. There were two occasions on which Gandhi faced with a serious threat to his life. Once, when a white mob chased him down a street in Durban in 1896 and surrounded his house. The Second, when an Indian, who was angry with him because of an agreement he had reached with the government, assaulted him on the street. Gandhi learnt that leaders often have to take hard decisions that are unpopular with enthusiastic followers.
4. South Africa provided Gandhi with an opportunity for evolving his own style of politics and leadership, for trying out new techniques of struggle, on a limited scale, untrammelled by the opposition of contending political currents. In South Africa, he had already taken the movement from its 'Moderate' phase into its 'Gandhian' phase. He already knew the strengths and the weaknesses of the Gandhian method and he was convinced that it was the best method around. It now remained for him to introduce it into India

- ★ **Body means:-** temple, mosque, church , rituals , dargah etc}
- The centrality of all religions is same means peripheries may be different
- Different religion are different rules for the same destination

* **Note:-**

- * he did not encourage conversion, says if you are Hindu be a good hindu and etc..even if Conversion happened , He did not object also as he knew destination is same {Gandhi's relevance in 21st century – you can write }
- * first he believed religion should not be separated from politics than in 1940s he said it should be kept separate

b) POLITICAL THOUGHTS

1. Satyagraha (Insist of truth)

- First Search for the truth
 - ◆ Absolute truth:- death
 - ◆ Relative truth:- right for me may be wrong for you
- Now Insist on truth
- Make God as witness
- Fearlessness {having no fear of any consequence(s) }
- To change the heart and mind of the opponent through self suffering {e.g fast}. His this view is **based on philosophy** that
 - a. Man by nature is good
 - b. Means must be right for a right end

.....5th class ended,6th started.....

2. Vows for satayagraha

- * Satya-truth
- * Non-violence:- violence of two types according to Gandhi {**passive**-injustice, atrocities, inequality, discrimination, untouchability **and active**- war, civil war, riots, physical violence, violence against women etc}. Active violence is the result of passive violence. Passive violence is more severe for a society.
- * Control over palate
- * Not to steal:- not to keep more than required {stealing according to Gandhi is the reason for inequality}
- * Bramacharya
- * Use of Swadeshi goods
- * Physical labour
- * Fearlessness
- * To fight against untouchability
- * Tolerance :- just understand the mening by example in tier form following
 - ✓ **Tier-I:-** I am celebrating the differences {best form or highest tolerance}

B. GANDHI'S THOUGHTS ARE :-

a) RELIGIOUS THOUGHTS

◆ Sources impacted his religious thoughts

- Parents
- Bhagwat Geeta
- Jain Literature
- Other religious texts / teachings
- Like **Jesus Christ** in chapter "the mountain" in Bible: - Gandhi got phrase of Christ if anyone slaps you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.

◆ His religious thoughts are

- Truth is god & God is truth
- Service to man is service to God
- **Soul** of a religion is more important than its **body**
- ★ **{Soul means:-** love, humanity, sympathy, Kindness, empathy, Truthfulness , compassion, Justice and

✓ **Tier II** :- I am respecting / honoring your culture, religion, belief etc

✓ **Tier III** :- I am tolerating you

* Note :- Gandhi also said that violence is better than cowardness

2. GANDHI IN INDIA

- Gandhi returned to India on January 09, 1915 at the request of Gokhale, conveyed to him by C.F. Andrews. He brought an international reputation as a leading Indian nationalist, theorist and organizer. His efforts in South Africa were well known not only among the educated but also among the masses. On Gokhale's advise, he decided to tour the country and see for himself the condition of the masses.
- He would never intervene in a situation without first studying it with great care. Initially, he did not take stand on any political issue.
- He spent the year travelling around the country, seeing things for himself, and in organizing his Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad in 1917. (Earlier Ashram was at the Kocharab Bungalow of Jivanlal Desai, a barrister) where he, and his devoted band of followers who had come with him from South Africa, would lead a community life.
- His reasons for not joining the existing political organizations are best explained in his own words: "At my time of life and with views firmly formed on several matters, I could only join an organization to affect its policy and not be affected by it."

★ GANDHI FROM 1917 TO 1919

- Between 1917 and 1918, Gandhi was involved in three struggles: Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda before he launched his first all India movement, Rowlatt Satyagraha in 1919
 - a) 1917- Champaran satyagraha
 - b) 1918- Ahmedabad satyagraha
 - c) 1918-kheda satyagraha
 - d) 1919- Rowlatt satyagraha or jallianwala massacre

a) CHAMPARAN SATAYAGRAHA(BIHAR) 1917

★ Issue

- The peasants of Champaran nowadays (Motihari & Betiya districts) demanded freedom from "**Tin Kathia system**" and contract from indigo planters. The peasants had to grow indigo on 3/20th of the total land (called tinkathia system) under their contract. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, German synthetic dyes replaced indigo; the profit from natural indigo decreased

→ But the planters {either outsider European or Indians} wanted heavy monetary compensation to release the peasants from contract. Besides, the peasants were forced to sell the produce at prices fixed by the Europeans, now a non-profitable business

→ Peasants wanted freedom from indigo cultivation, because it was no longer a profitable enterprise unlike in the past especially after the invention of synthetic dye by the Germans in late 19th century besides the peasants also lost fertility of the soil due to high acidic value which was less than ph-7 in indigo crop

★ Leaders & nature of the struggle

- The local peasant leader "Raj Kumar shukla" invited Gandhi to visit Champaran, who visited after initial reluctance
- Along with Gandhi others leaders who visited Champaran were "
 - ✓ Dr.Rajendra Prashad,
 - ✓ Anugraha Narayan Sinha,
 - ✓ Brajkishore Prasad
 - ✓ Ramnavm prasad
 - ✓ Mazhar-ul-haq,
 - ✓ J.B kripalani,
 - ✓ Narhari Parekh,
 - ✓ Mahadeo Desai"
- They 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 enquiry
- Gandhi & Other leaders met the farmers of Champaran and recorded their statement {principle of search of truth working note it} and after confirmation Gandhi advised them not to cultivate indigo
- He addressed several peasants meeting and taught them the virtue of truth and non-violence and trained them for constructive works in the villages like
 - ✓ to fight against untouchability
 - ✓ to promote hindu muslim unity,
 - ✓ to empower women,
 - ✓ to develop the villages from its own resources and
 - ✓ to clean the villages

★ Outcome/ result / significance?

- The consistent struggle and resistance by the peasants their non violence methods compelled the govt. to appoint an enquiry commission in which Gandhi was also made a member {Note it

principle working :- To change the heart and mind of the opponent}

- The enquiry commission recommended that the force cannot be used to cultivate any crop & the peasants were free to grow crop of their choice
- 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.
- Thus the first Gandhian satyagraha in India ended successfully
- It established Gandhi's credibility and also established faith of people in truth and non-violence

★ Other Works during Champaran Stay

- Gandhi established an ashram in Champaran, organizing scores of his veteran supporters and fresh volunteers from the region. He organized a detailed study and survey of the villages, accounting the atrocities and terrible episodes of suffering, including the general state of degenerate living.
- Building on the confidence of villagers, he began leading the clean-up of villages, building of schools and hospitals and encouraging the village leadership to undo purdah, untouchability and the suppression of women. He was joined by many young nationalists from all over India, including Brajkishore Prasad, Rajendra Prasad, Anugraha Narayan Sinha, Ram Navami Prasad etc

b) AHMADABAD SATAYAGRAHA(Gujarat) **1918-**

- Ahmadabad mill strike
- The mill workers (cotton mill) of Ahmadabad demanded "**plague bonus**" but the industrialists, mostly Indians, did not agree
- Gandhi then led the movement and advised the workers to stop work and go on strike
- He addressed several meetings of the workers and taught them the virtues of truth and non-violence and appealed to them to remain united
- To inspire and motivate the workers especially when he saw the attendance of workers in public meetings was declining, he decided to go on **fast unto death** (aamran Anshan).
- First movement of Gandhi to go on "fast unto death" { why this is done in public, to get attention of govt, public, media and the opponents}

- This attracted large workers, media and compelled the opponents (Indian mill industrialists)
- The opponents or the industrialists agreed to appoint a "tribunal" {one -one representative from both sides and one a neutral either be judge or anyone}
- The tribunal awarded **25-35% as** against 50% bonus demanded by the workers {Gandhi just thought his principle to be accepted & Industrialists did this and Gandhi advised compromise when the case is b/w Indians and Indians. Note these two are the reasons why Gandhi accepted 25-35% against demand of 50% }

c) 1918-KHEDA SATAYAGRAHA(Gujarat)

- Because of drought in 1918, crops failed in Kheda district of Gujarat. According to the **Revenue Code**, if the yield was less than $\frac{1}{4}^{\text{th}}$ of the normal produce, the farmers were entitled to remission.
- The peasants of this district in Gujarat demanded complete exemption from **land revenue or "Malguzari"**, due to failure of crops after severe drought
- But the tax authorities were not ready. With tax withheld, government's collectors and inspectors sent the thugs to seize property and cattle, while police forfeited the lands and all agrarian property
- Gandhi led the movement and told "**Indu Lal Yagnik and Vallabh Bhai Patel**" to visit the villages of Kheda {Note:- search for truth principle was working and these two were locals so Gandhi knew regional leaders are important}
- After confirmation about the "**plight of the peasants**", Gandhi advised the peasants not to pay "land revenue"
- He held several meetings and taught them the virtues of "Truth, non-violence and unity"
- Farmers used their cash and valuables to donate to the Gujarat Sabha (Gandhi was its President) which was officially organizing the protest
- The attendance of peasants in meetings continued, which was a source of motivation for both the leaders and the peasants
- The government finally realized that the farmers and their leaders were firm on their decisions, therefore a "circular" was issued to the tax officials that land revenue should be collected only from those peasants who were in position to pay
- Gandhi advised the peasants to accept the order thus Kheda satyagraha also ended successfully {as per law and ethics Gandhi was demanding tax exemption, principle, }

- During the Kheda Satyagraha, many young nationalists such as
 - ✓ Vallabh Bahi Patel,
 - ✓ Indulal Yagnik.
 - ✓ N.M. Joshi,
 - ✓ Shankerlal Pareekh
 - ✓ and several others became Gandhi's followers.

★ Gains from Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda

- Gandhi demonstrated to the people the efficacy of his technique of Satyagraha.
- He found his feet among the masses and came to have a surer understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the masses.
- He acquired respect and commitment of many, especially the youth.

d) 1919- ROWLATT SATAYAGRAHA OR JALLIANWALA MASSACRE

★ Rowlatt satayagraha

- In early 1919, (January), the controversial Rowlatt act was passed, under which **"any Indian" could have been arrested on the charge of "sedition" even on "suspicious" grounds for "2-years" without "trial"** {issues was its misuse and mis-interpretation and there was not any war, it was peace so clearly it was against movements of Indians}
- The Rowlatt Act was a legislative Act passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in London in 1919, by indefinitely extending "emergency measures" (of the Defense of India Regulations Act) enacted during the First World War in order to control public unrest and root out conspiracy in India. Passed on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee and named after its president, British judge Sidney Rowlatt, the main provisions of this Act were as follows:-
 1. The Act effectively authorized the government to imprison any person, suspected of terrorism living in the Raj, for up to two years without a trial.
 2. It provided for stricter control of the press, arrests without warrant, indefinite detention without trial and juryless in camera trials for proscribed political acts.
 3. The accused were denied the right to know the accusers and the evidence used in the trial.
 4. Those convicted were required to deposit securities upon release, and were prohibited from taking part in any political, educational, or religious activities

- Indian nationalists of all political shade opposed Rowlatt act called it **"draconian law"** and chanted slogans like **"no appeal no wakil no daleel"**
- **Md.Ali Jinnah** protested and resigned from "imperial council"
- Gandhi called for a nationwide protest in February 1919. Gandhi named the Rowlatt Act as **"Black Act"**. Gandhi roped in younger members of Home Rule Leagues and the Pan Islamists.
- Satayagraha was to be launched on April 6, 1919 but even before that, there were large-scale violent, anti-British demonstrations in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Ahmedabad, etc
- Gandhi founded **"Satayagraha sabha"** & to mobilize common people against this act he, started **"Sarva Dharma Prathana Sabha"**
 - ✓ (all religious meetings, it was his novelty, new thing, because Gandhi knew common people were not known about the act and only way to make them aware is to get them together by religious prayers)
- Gandhi gave a call of an **"all India strike on 6th April 1919"** and **1st all India strike** under Gandhian leadership and was successful
- In Delhi, strike was organized by
 - ✓ Asaf Ali
 - ✓ Dr. M.A.Ansari
- In Punjab it was organized by
 - ✓ Dr. Satya Pal Malik
 - ✓ Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew
- **There was a radical change in the situation by now:**
 1. The masses had found a direction; now they could "act" instead of just giving verbal expression to their grievances.
 2. From now onwards, peasants, artisans and the urban poor were to play an increasingly important part in the struggle.
 3. Orientation of the national movement turned to the masses permanently. Gandhi said that salvation would come when masses were awakened and became active in politics

★ What happened at Jallianwala Bagh (April 13, 1919)

- On Baisakhi day, a large crowd of people mostly from neighbouring villages, unaware of the prohibitory orders in the city, had gathered in this small park to protest against the arrest of their leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Satyapal Malik.
- The Army surrounded the gathering under the orders from General Dyer, the military commander of Amritsar, and blocked the only exit point and opened fire on the unarmed crowd killing more than one thousand. After this

massacre, martial law was proclaimed in Punjab. The incident was followed by uncivilized brutalities on the inhabitants of Amritsar for several days.

- The entire nation was stunned. Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood in protest. Gandhi was overwhelmed by the total atmosphere of violence and withdrew the movement on April 18, 1919.
- Congress boycotted the special committee headed by Lord Hunter to enquire into the killings.
- Accepting the report of the Repressive Laws Committee, the Government of India repealed the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act, and twenty-two other laws in March 1922.

★ Jallianwala massacre and aftermath

- On 13th april, the day of vaishaki people of Amritsar and surrounding villages assembled at jallianwala bagh and they were not aware about the imposed curfew in the city
- **Michel-O-Dyre** the governor and **general dyre** in-charge of law & order of Amritsar decided to open the fire on “innocent, un-armed people”
- Without warning or giving time to escape, general dyre opened a fire in which “379” people according to official people died , but local report suggested it was more than 1000 people , mostly women and children
- This incident shocked the nation and the world and later on even “**Churchill (PM of England)**” called it as a **blot of british empire**
- Gandhi immediately withdrew the movement calling it his “Himalayan blunder”
- The govt. Removed “General dyre” and appointed an enquiry commission called “**Hunter commission**”. Indian nationalists called the report of commission as “**eye wash**”
- However, general dyre was clearly saved and protected
- “**house of lords** “ praised general dyre and called his act as “**brave act**”
- “**the morning post**” an English daily even collected Pounds 30,000 to defend general dyre, all these episodes invited anger and upset
- Ravindra nath Tagore who returned his knighthood title

.....6th class ended, 7th started.....

❖ INDIA COUNCIL ACT, 1919

A. BACKGROUND OF THE ACT

- a) During the course of 1914-18= WW-I:- British needed help of India for both men and material

(resources-food, clothes, kits, arms). So they needed leaders support (Gokhale, Gandhi, Feroz shah Mehta). British started promising our leaders to give a “**responsible govt**” after the completion of war to Indians. So many Indian leaders started supporting British during the war with the hope to get a better deal after the war. World War-I raised Indian hopes for securing right of self-determination.

- b) A group of Indians had also launched anti-british movement. Tilak and Annie Besant through home rule league movement and muslim leaders through Khilafat committee I defense of ottoman turks and caliph (Abdul Majid III)
- c) Policy of repression failed to contain political unrest. Increased terrorist activities were a manifestation of rising Indian unrest.
- d) Formation of Home Rule Leagues, arrest of Annie Besant and judicial proceedings against Tilak, Ali brothers etc. had embittered political atmosphere.
- e) A large section of Muslims were angry with the British over Turbo/Italian War (1911) and Balkan War (1912).The Muslim leadership both in Congress and Muslim League responded to this anger and anxieties which is reflected in Lucknow Pact of 1916.
- f) In this background, govt had to ensure the Indians that a responsible govt would be established
- g) In this background, Montagu, the Secretary of State and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy and Governor-General (1916-21) suggested/ recommended some reforms in 1918 which were enacted as Government of India Act, 1919.

1. SOME FACTS ABOUT BRITISH INDIA

- 1947= 11 provinces
- 6= Hindu majority
- 5= muslim Majority
 - ✓ Assam + Bengal= Muslim majority
 - ✓ Odisha + Bihar= Hindu Majority
 - ✓ UCP= Hindu Majority
 - ✓ Bombay+ Madras= Hindu Majority
 - ✓ Punjab + Sind= Muslim majority
 - ✓ NWFP=Muslim majority

2. SOME FACTS ABOUT PRINCELY STATES

- 565= some say
- 564= some say
- 563= some say
- 562= some say
- So write always 560+ as JL Nehru did not know

B. MAJOR PROVISIONS

- 1) Demarcation of two lists of subjects: Central List and Provincial List.
- 2) Diarchy was to be introduced in the provinces (state list)

→ Governor now heading two bodies

a) Executive council

→ Reserved subjects

→ Number of Indian members in the governor general's executive council was raised from 1 to 3, out of a total of 8 members.

→ Includes subjects Finance, police, irrigation, power / electricity {note stronger ministry was kept in British side always note to make difference for exam perspective}

b) Council of ministers

→ Transferred subjects

→ The people (Indian) here as of moderate background whose intention More concerned about concerns of people

→ Includes subjects Education Agriculture, Industry, Local self govt, Health etc

→ These subjects are transferable to executive council {keep in mind always for exam perspective as here weak ministries were given in hands of people (Indian ministers)}

3) **Bicameral legislature** was to be introduced at center. The earlier Central Legislative Council (Imperial Council) now became bicameral:

a) Legislative Assembly (Lower House)

✓ Term-3 Years,

✓ 145 members

a) 104 = elected

b) 41 = nominated

b) Council of States (upper house)

✓ Term- 5 years,

✓ 60 members

a) 36 = elected

b) 24 = nominated

4) **Separate electorates** were given to others also (along with Muslim). System of communal and class electorates was further extended to Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

5) **Legislatures** got some more power especially on budget. Powers of Central Legislative Assembly was enlarged but 75% of budget was still not votable. Size of electorate was slightly broadened

6) **Secretary of state** to be henceforth paid salary out of the British Exchequer.

7) The power of office of India Council was reduced. Secretary of State was not obliged to consult India council except:

a) On financial matters

b) Matters concerning to I.C.S.

8) Secretary of State retained control over Indian administration except over transferred bloc of subject in the provinces.

9) Increase in **governor general's powers**. He could restore cuts in grants; certify bills rejected by the Legislative Assembly and he could issue ordinances.

C. CRITICAL ANALYSIS / SIGNIFICANCE OF GOI ACT 1919

a) GOI Act 1919 Failed to satisfy Indian's because the core demand of Indians i.e. "swaraj" was not met. Neither the responsible govt, as was promised, was given to Indians

b) Diarchy in provinces was opposed by Indians Nationalists because it was not practical

c) Separate electorates was further broadened which polarized elections on communal identity

d) There was no check on powers of Governor general and he always behaved as an absolute ruler

e) The size of electorate was still very small and majority Indians did not have right to cast their vote

❖ KHILAFAT & NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT 1920-22

1. CAUSES

A. THE PUNJAB WRONGS

★ **What happened at Jallianwala Bagh (April 13, 1919)**

→ On Baisakhi day, a large crowd of people mostly from neighbouring villages, unaware of the prohibitory orders in the city, had gathered in this small park to protest against the arrest of their leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Satyapal Malik.

→ The Army surrounded the gathering under the orders from General Dyer, the military commander of Amritsar, and blocked the only exit point and opened fire on the unarmed crowd killing more than one thousand. After this massacre, martial law was proclaimed in Punjab. The incident was followed by uncivilized brutalities on the inhabitants of Amritsar for several days.

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B. KHILAFAT WRONGS

- It is a pan Islamic movement launched in India in 1919-20 by Muslim leaders in defense of Ottoman turks and caliph (Abdul Mazid III)
- They have three major concerns
 - a) What would be the fate/ future of caliph
 - b) What would be the fate of ottoman turks or Turkish empire
 - c) What would be the fate of holy Islamic places like Mecca & Medina and Jerusalem
- Ali Brothers (Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Shaukat Ali) along with some other Muslim leaders such as Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Raees-ul-Muhajireen, Barrister Jan Muhammad Junejo, Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Hakim Ajmal **Khan demanded non-cooperation movement against british and appealed Mahatma Gandhi to lead the movement**
- Ali brothers and Gandhi travelled India extensively and they sensed the mood of the people therefore in September 1920 the special session of congress was called & non-cooperation resolution was discussed strongly backed by ali brothers and other khilaftists along with mahatma Gandhi.

- But other group of congress opposed this Idea and they believed that masses are not disciplined and a mass movement could be dangerous and decided Khilafat issue was a religious issue and congress was a political party. The leaders who **opposed** were Md Ali **Jinnah, Motilal Nehru and CR das.**
- In Dec 1920 , at Nagpur , annual session of congress was held and in which two historic resolutions were passed
 - a. Constitution of congress was amended
 - b. Non-cooperation resolution was passed and adopted, which was moved by **CR Das.** (Jinnah still opposed)

❖ KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

- 1) The Khilafat issue was not directly linked to Indian politics but it provided the immediate background to the movement and gave an added advantage of cementing Hindu-Muslim unity against the British.
 - 2) The Khilafat issue paved the way for the consolidation of the emergence of a radical nationalist trend among the younger generation of Muslims and the section of traditional Muslim scholars who were becoming increasingly critical of the British rule. This time, they were angered by the treatment meted out to Turkey by the British after the First World War.
 - 3) Many Muslims in India, as the many Muslims of other countries, regarded the Sultan of Turkey as their spiritual leader (Khalifa) so their sympathies were with Turkey. During the War, Turkey had allied with Germany and Austria against the British.
 - 4) When the War ended, the British took a stern attitude towards Turkey—The movement gained force after the Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920) which imposed the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire and gave Greece a powerful position in Anatolia, to the distress of the Turks. This incensed Muslims all over the world.
 - 5) In India, Ali Brothers (Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Shaukat Ali) along with some other Muslim leaders such as Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Raees-ul-Muhajireen, Barrister Jan Muhammad Junejo, Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Hakim Ajmal **joined hands and created an AllIndia Khilafat Committee**, at Lucknow in 1919 with Seth Chotani as president. It had two main demands, which were never accepted:
 - a) Caliph Sultan must retain sufficient territories so that he is able to defend the Islamic Faith.
 - b) The places which are called Jazirat-ul-arab, including the Arabia, Syria, Iraq and Palestine must remain under Muslim suzerainty.
- 6 October 17, 1919 was observed as Khilafat Day. Hindus also joined hands with the Muslims and a

strike was called for.

★ CONGRESS STANDS ON KHILAFAT QUESTION

- 1) It was quite clear that the support of Congress was essential for the Khilafat movement to succeed. Although Gandhi was in favour of launching Satyagraha and non-cooperation against the Government on Khilafat issue, the Congress was not united on this form of political action.
- 2) There was opposition to some of the other provisions of the Gandhi's non-cooperation programme also, such as boycott of Councils.
- 3) Later, however, Gandhi was able to get the approval of the Congress for his programme of political action and Congress felt inclined to support a non-cooperation programme on the Khilafat question because—
 - a) The anger of Muslims against the British could be channelized into a national movement
 - b) It was felt that this was a golden opportunity to cement Hindu-Muslim unity
 - c) 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 realizing that the colonial rule was opposed to them
 - d) The Congress was losing faith in constitutional struggle, especially after the Punjab incidents and the blatantly partisan Hunter Commission Report
 - e) The Congress was aware that the masses were eager to give expression to their discontent.

2. MAJOR EVENTS/ NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT

- On 1st January 1921, non-cooperation movement started **officially**, though people already started in 1920
- 1) They started burning English goods and clothes and propagated the use of Swadeshi goods like khadi products
 - 2) English educational institutions were also boycotted. Many educational institutions were established by Indian Nationalists such as
 - a. Kashi Vidyapeeth
 - b. Bihar Vidyapeeth
 - c. Gujarat Vidyapeeth
 - d. Jamia Milia Islamia (first at Aligarh later 1925 to Delhi)
 - 3) Many lawyers resigned bar council and left practice such as
 - a. C.R Das
 - b. Motilal Nehru
 - c. Asaf Ali
 - 4) Many returned their titles and honors like Gandhi returned "**Kaisr-i-Hind**" on Khilafat issue

- 5) English colonies were also boycotted, goods and services were also boycotted

3. THE SALIENT FEATURES OF THE MOVEMENT

- 1) Khilafat / non-cooperation movement was an all India mass movement in which the peasants, traders, industrial workers, professionals, intellectuals, religious leaders, women and students actively participated {Gandhian Impact}
- 2) Constructive programs of Gandhi were Linked with this Movement such as
 - a) Village development program
 - b) Anti-liquor program
 - c) Anti-untouchability program
 - d) Hindu muslim unity program
 - e) Khadi program (weave Khadi)
- 3) Many Muslim leaders addressed hindu from Birla temple like Ali brothers (that time inn Delhi) and Hindu leaders like Swami Shrada Nand addressed Muslims from Jama Masjid in Delhi
- 4) Non-cooperation movement changed the pattern of mass movement in India, the congress party was better organised due to new structure created after Nagpur session and the congress workers at village block and district level established connections with common people

4. CONTROVERSY AND WHY WAS IT WITHDRAWN/ CONSEQUENCES

- a) On 5th Feb. 1922, an angry mob consisting of peasants and khilafists chased policemen and burnt police station at Chauri Chaura, Gorakhpur (UP) and killed
- b) This incident shocked Mahatma Gandhi, who decided to call off this movement on 12th February at Bardoli (GJ), which was against his principle of satyagraha {Note it for answer writing and interview in exam as unpopular decisions can be taken by not compromising the principles}
- c) His unilateral decision shocked, surprised & angered many nationalists especially Ali brothers, J.L. Nehru, S.C. Bose etc
- d) Nationalist historian defended Gandhian decision on two major grounds
 - a. Chauri Chaura incident was against Gandhian principle of satyagraha
 - b. Non-cooperation was losing its shine and early enthusiasm, therefore withdrawal was natural and just a matter of time besides Gandhian Strategy of mass movement was "**Struggle-truce-struggle**"
- e) But the Marxist historians Have criticized Gandhian decision of withdrawal and argued that the peasants of eastern UP and Bihar had adopted radical strategy and they wanted no tax against

jamidars , whereas many congress leaders were either jamidars or were supported by jamidars

❖ **NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT**

A. CAUSES

- 1) Rowlatt Act was passed, which robbed the people of their freedom. Jallianwala Bagh massacres and atrocities in Punjab had made the people angry
- 2) Khilafat Issue- as discussed above
- 3) Economic hardship in India due to price rise during First World War and the slump after 1918.
- 4) Hunter Committee report was a whitewash on Michael O' Dwyer's deeds.
- 5) No compensation was given to the victims of Jallianwala Bagh's genocide. Successful satyagraha of Champaran, Ahmadabad and Kheda also must have boosted confidence of Mahatma Gandhi.

B. DEMANDS OF CONGRESS

Congress put three demands before the British:

- 1) Annulment of Rowlatt Act and remedying Punjab wrong
- 2) Remedying the Khilafat wrong i.e. British should adopt a lenient attitude towards Turkey
- 3) Satisfying the nationalist urge for Swaraj

C. THE LAUNCHING NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

- 1) When the British refused to meet any of the demands of Congress, a Party Conference was held at Allahabad in June 1920 and a programme of boycott of government schools, colleges and law courts was approved.
- 2) The Congress met in a special session in September 1920 at Calcutta and agreed to start the Non-Cooperation Movement unless the British met the demands.
- 3) This was endorsed at Nagpur session (December,1920) and thus Non Co-operation Movement started in January 1921.

D. PROGRAMMES :- NON-COOPERATION

- 1) Surrender of Government titles and honours.
- 2) Congressmen not to attend Government durbars, official functions etc.
- 3) Boycott of
 - (a) Legislatures—Central and provincial
 - (b) Government Courts
 - (c) Government educational institutions.
- 4) Boycott of foreign goods.

E. CONSTRUCTIVE ASPECT

- 1) Use of Swadeshi goods
- 2) Hand spinning and hand wearing
- 3) Removal of social evils like untouchability
- 4) Hindu-Muslim unity
- 5) Collection of money for Tilak Swaraj fund
- 6) Setting up national educational institutions

F. PROGRESS OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- 1) Gandhi returned his title Kaiser-i-Hind
- 2) Congressmen boycotted election
- 3) Bycott of government courts
- 4) C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru left their lucrative practice
- 5) Students boycotted schools and colleges, law courts
- 6) Bonfire of foreign goods
- 7) Ashramas were opened
- 8) Visit of Prince of Wales was boycotted
- 9) Picketing of shops selling foreign cloth. Value of imports of foreign cloth fell from Rs.102.00crore (1920-21) to Rs.57.00 crore (1921-22). Khadi became popular.

G. DIFFERENT PHASES

- 1) Marked by boycott of government schools, colleges and courts
- 2) Concentration on raising funds for Tilak Swaraj Fund, enrolling common people as members of Congress and installing charkha.
- 3) Concentration on the boycott of foreign goods and on organization of volunteer bands to organize a nationwide hartal on the eve of visit of Prince of Wales.
- 4) Some militant sections demanded complete independence.

H. THE SPREAD OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- 1) This movement was very powerful in Bihar and Gujrat. In Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu, there was very effective mass agitation.
- 2) In Andhra Pradesh, it was led by Venkatppaiya and Silir Kammiya, while in Tamilnadu it was led by C. Rajgopalchari.
- 3) In central province, it was led by Jawahar Lal Nehru and in Bihar, Rajendra Prasad and Abdul Bari were the leaders of the movement. In Gujarat, Sardar Vallabha Bhai Patel was the most important leader.

I. SUSPENSION OF KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- 1) On February 5, 1922, in Chauri Chaura, after violent clashes between the local police and the protesters in which three protesters were killed by police firing, police chowki (station) was set on fire by the mob, killing 22 police men. This incident forced Gandhi to call off the movement.
- 2) Gandhi felt that people had not learnt or fully understood the method of nonviolence. Incidents like Chauri-Chaura could lead to excitement and fervour turning the movement generally violent. 3. A violent movement could be easily suppressed by the colonial regime that could use the incidents of violence as an

excuse to use the armed might of the state against the protestors. 4. The movement was also showing signs of fatigue. This was natural as it is not possible to sustain any movement at a high pitch for very long time. The government seemed to be in no mood for negotiations.

- 3) In the wake of these disturbances, Ali's brothers began distancing themselves from Gandhi and the Congress. Ali brothers criticized Gandhi's stand.
- 4) Although holding talks with the British and continuing their activities, the Khilafat struggle weakened as Muslims were divided between working for the Congress, the Khilafat cause and the Muslim League.
- 5) The Khilafat leadership fragmented on different political lines. Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari created Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam with the support of Chaudhry Afzal Haq. Leaders such as Dr. Ansari, Maulana Azad and Hakim Ajmal Khan remained strong supporters of Gandhi and the Congress. Ali brothers became more active in Muslim League than in Congress.
- 6) The central theme of the agitation- 'The Khilafat question' dissipated soon. In November 1922, the people of Turkey rose under Mustafa Kamal Pasha and deprived the Sultan of political power. Turkey was made a secular state. Thus, the Khilafat question lost its relevance. A European style of legal system was established in Turkey and extensive rights granted to women. Education was nationalized and modern agriculture and industries developed. In 1924, the Caliphate was abolished.

J. THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

FAILURES :-

- 1) Government did not pay heed on Punjab wrongs
- 2) Khilafat grievances were not redressed
- 3) Gandhi's promise of Swaraj within a year was not achieved

K. SIGNIFICANCE OF KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- 1) Proponent of the Khilafat see it as the spark that led to the non-cooperation movement in India and a major milestone in improving Hindu-Muslim relations
- 2) With the Non-Cooperation Movement, nationalist sentiments reached every nook and corner of the country and politicized every strata of population—artisans, peasants, students, urban poor, women, traders etc. It was this politicization and activeness of millions of men and women which imparted a mass character to the national movement.
- 3) The movement was successful enough to send strong signals in the minds of British about the awakening of Indians.
- 4) Colonial rule was based on two myths one, that such a rule was in the interest of Indians and two, that it was invincible.
- 5) The first myth had been exploded by the economic critique by the moderate nationalists. The second myth had been challenged by satyagraha through mass struggle. Now, the masses lost the hitherto all pervasive fear of the colonial rule and its mighty repressive organs

.....7th class ended, 8th started.....

❖ THE SWARAJ PARTY Feb 1922

- The withdrawal of the Non-cooperation movement in February, 1922 and the arrest of Gandhi led to the spread of disintegration, disorganization and demoralization in the nationalist ranks.
- A new line of political activity was taken by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru. They suggested that the nationalists should end the boycott of the legislative council, enter them, expose them as 'Sham parliaments' and as a mask which the bureaucracy has put on, and obstruct every work of the council.
- **C.R. Das** put forward this programme at the Gaya Congress Session in December 1922. Another section of the Congress headed by Vallabh Bhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari opposed the proposal and the proposal was defeated.
- **Das and Motilal resigned** from their respective offices in the Congress and on 01 January 1923, announced the formation of **Congress-Khilafat Swarajist Party** better known later as the **Swaraj Party**. Das was the President and Motilal became one of the secretaries. The adherents of the council entry came to be known as **pro-changers** and those opposing it as **no-changers**.
- The Swaraj Party accepted the Congress Programme in its entirety except in one respect- it would take part in elections due later in the year. Later, Hakim Ajmal Khan joined the Swarajists while Vallabhbhai was of the no-changers which also included Mazharul Huq and M.A. Ansari.
- After the withdrawal of non-cooperation movement, two camps emerged within the congress
 - a) **Pro-changers:-** group of these was led by CR Das and Motilal Nehru
 - b) **No-changers:-** this group was led by Gandhi
- The **pro-changers** founded "**Congress-Khilafat Swarajist party** (famously known as **Swaraj party** 31dec 1922, in some prelims it is 1923)
 - a) **CR Das** became President
 - b) **ML Nehru** became secretary
 - c) Swarajist wanted to contest the election scheduled to be held in 1923
 - d) Their plan was to enter into the **houses** and to wreck the house from within
 - e) They were doing because of commitment to a certain ideology
 - f) At the Delhi special session of the Congress in 1923, a compromise formula was adopted whereby the Swaraj Party was to fight elections to the councils and the assembly on its own. At the Kakinada session of Congress

of 1923, the Swarajists were permitted to enter the councils.

- The **no changers**, on the other hand, led by Gandhi has decided to boycott the elections, which was going to be based on GOI Act 1919 & the congress has already **opposed** various provisions of the Act especially the **diarchy**
- Thus a parting of ways was avoided. In the Belgaum Congress session of 1924, Gandhi himself approved the compromise formula evolved earlier whereby the Swarajists could carry on their work in the Legislature on behalf of the Congress.
- At the Kanpur session of Congress held in 1925, in which **Sarojini Naidu** presided, full reconciliation was brought about between the Swaraj Party and the Congress
- Swarajist also supported the Khilafat movement but this movement died by its own when Turkish muslims led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, or **Mustafa Kemal Pasha** established a modern secular nation state, so institution of khalifa was came to an end

❖ MAIN TECHNIQUES OF ACTION WERE:

- a) Refusal to pass the budget
- b) Cooperation in passing social welfare legislation
- c) Occasional acceptance of offices
- d) Quitting the offices and resigning the membership when asked to do so by the Congress
- e) In the 1923 and the 1926 elections, the Swaraj Party captured a fairly substantial number of elected seats. In 1923 elections the Swarajists got a majority in Bengal and Central Province
- f) In the central legislative Assembly Motilal Nehru was chosen the leader of the Swarajists. On 24 August 1925 Vithalbhai Patel was elected as the first non-official President (speaker) of the Indian Legislative Assembly and was re-elected to this office on January 20, 1927.

❖ ACHIEVEMENTS

- 1) They certainly did not become a limb of imperial legislation and carried the policy to the point of defiance.
- 2) Outvoted government many times and took up five major sets of issues:
 - a) Constitutional advance leading to Self-government
 - b) Civil liberties
 - c) Release of political prisoner
 - d) Repeal of reprieve laws
 - e) Development of indigenous industries
- 3) Inspired the politicized persons to keep their political interests alive
- 4) Dominated large number of municipality and other local bodies
- 5) Did excellent work in the field of sanitation,

education, to fight against untouchability and to promote Khadi.

❖ SWARAJIST MANIFESTO FOR ELECTIONS (RELEASED IN OCTOBER 1923)

- a) The Swarajists would present the nationalist demand of self-government in councils
- b) If this demand was rejected, they would adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the councils to make governance through councils impossible
- c) Councils would thus be wrecked from within by creating deadlocks on every measure

❖ PROGRAMME OF SWARAJISTS

- 1) Attainment of dominion status
- 2) Right to frame a constitution
- 3) Control over bureaucracy
- 4) Establishment of a principle that bureaucracy derived its power from people
- 5) Right of people to control machinery and system of government
- 6) Full provincial autonomy
- 7) Attainment of swarajya
- 8) Organisation of labour— Industrial and Agricultural
- 9) Establishment of control over local and municipal body
- 10) Agency for propaganda outside India
- 11) Federation of Asiatic countries for promotion of trade and commerce
- 12) Constructive programme of Congress

❖ DECLINE OF SWARAJISTS

- 1) Two important expressions of the rift and defection were emergence of the Nationalist Party under Malviya, N C Kelker etc. and the Independent Party under M.A. Jinnah.
- 2) By 1924, the Swarajist position had weakened because of widespread communal riots, split among Swarajists themselves on communal and Responsivist-Non-responsivist lines, and the death of C.R. Das in 1925 weakened it further.
- 3) The Responsivists among Swarajists—Lala Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya and N.C. Kelkar— advocated cooperation with the government and holding of office wherever possible to protect the so-called Hindu interests.
- 4) They accused the Non-responsivists like Motilal Nehru of being anti-Hindu and a beef-eater. Thus, the main leadership of the Swarajya Party reiterated faith in mass civil disobedience and withdrew from legislatures in March 1926, while another section of

Swarajists went into the 1926 elections as a party in disarray, and did not fare well.

- 5) Coming of Simon Commission gave rise to a new political situation— parties joining hands as a result of anti-Simon agitation. Constitutional programme lost its relevance.
- 6) In 1930, the Swarajists finally walked out as a result of the Lahore Congress resolution on purna swaraj and merged with Congress and the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-31).

❖ CAUSES OF DECLINE - SWARAJ PARTY

- 1) Death of C.R. Das in June 1925
- 2) Motilal Nehru's inability to keep party together
- 3) Swarajists accepted positions in government committees, in Assemblies and Executive Councils
- 4) Appearance of splinter groups in the party

❖ CONTRIBUTION OF SWARAJ PARTY TO FREEDOM STRUGGLE

- a) Pressurized the British Government into acceptance of some Indian demands
- b) Party kept up the political struggle for freedom during 1923-28
- c) British labour party accepted Dominion status as goal of constitutional development in India
- d) Legislatures used as platforms for national propaganda
- e) Exposed the autocracy of British Government and callousness of I.C.S.
- f) Promoted the cause of Indian freedom and added parliamentary dimension to freedom struggle after 1922.

❖ REVOLUTIONARIES/MILITANT NATIONALIST:-

A. ORIGIN/EMERGENCE OF THEM

Cover in this topic:- When, where, among whom, why, individuals and organisations, sources of their inspirations and their activities

- In late 19th and early 20th century, revolutionaries activities among young politically conscious men emerged in east Bengal & Poona region
- The major causes of emergence of revolutionaries activities were anger and frustration caused by exploitations and atrocities done by british, police officials, money lenders, jamidars, & controversial English officials
- This youth were disappointed with criminal justice system as they failed to get justice, they were also disappointed by the political leaders of congress both moderated and extremists

→ They were inspired by gods and goddess like Kali, durga, Bhawani. They were also inspired by Irish republican army and Japanese victory over Russia in 1904-05.

→ In 1897, Chapekar brothers, {Damodar and Bal Krishna} killed an **British official W. C. Rand** in plague commissioner at Poona This incident is regarded as first political murder of modern India. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak defended Chapekar brothers. {Also killed his military escort Lieutenant Ayerst at Pune, Maharashtra}**. This was the first case of militant nationalism in India after the 1857 Revolt.

→ In east Bengal and Poona, some revolutionaries organisations were established such as

- a) Anushilan samiti
- b) Sandhya
- c) Yugantar
- d) Mitra mela (Poona)
- e) Abhinav bharat of V.D Savarkar (Poona)

→ In 1908 two revolutionaries, **Khudi ram bose and Prafula Kumar Chaki** attempted to kill Kingsford, the controversial magistrate at Muzzafarpur Bihar, but two English women died in the attack. Khudiram bose was given death sentence (youngest Indian to be hand) whereas Prafula kumar Chaki committed suicide to avoid arrest. Soon they become household names and patriotic songs were written in their honor.

→ In 1912, an attempt was made to **kill lord Harding-II** (1910-16, the viceroy & governor general) at chandni chownk, by a group of revolutionaries **led by Ras Bihari Bose** (not gosh note it). But the governor general survived with a minor injury, his elephant rider died.

❖ KAMAGATA MARU INCIDENT

- ☑ Komgata Maru was a Japanese ocean ship which had been hired by Gurudit Singh, to transport Punjabi's (mostly Sikhs) from Singapore to Vancouver (Canada).
- 1. The ship reached Vancouver on May 23, 1914. But the Canadian authorities refused permission to the ship to land there, although it followed the Canadian rule that such immigrants would be allowed in Canada whose ship came direct from port to port. This rule had been made specifically, to put obstacles against the Indians because in going to Canada their ships used to touch Chinese or Japanese ports.
- 2. To get over this Canadian rule, Gurudit Singh, an Indian businessman of Singapore, had directly come with immigrants in a Japanese ship without touching any intermediate port on the way.
- 3. The tired and angry passengers had to return from Vancouver. The Indian government also gave them a rough treatment on return to Calcutta on September 27, 1914. There were nearly 250 Sikhs who got down from the ship and an armed engagement took place with the police at Budge Budge, Calcutta, leading to 22 deaths (as per the official records), mostly Sikhs.

4. The embittered Sikhs persecuted by the Police spread anger in Punjab. Another Japanese ship Tosa Maru, brought another batch of Indians from the U.S.A, many of whom had been indoctrinated with the teachings of the Ghadar Party.
5. In 1914, nearly 8000 Punjabi's returned from the U.S.A. and Canada and spread revolutionary feeling among the people. They embittered returners spread the tales of the cruel and racist character of imperialism.

B. REVOLUTIONARIES AFTER 1947 OR POST WORLD WAR-I

a) Ideological & social base of these revolutionaries

- a. Impact of Russian Revolution (October, 1917)
- b. Impact of Communist ideology, Marx and Lenin
- c. Impact of Trade Union Movements
- The October 1917 revolution of Russia also known as "**Bolshevik revolution**- a party of workers and peasants", led by **Lenin**, believed in originally the Manifesto of German philosophers **Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels** of the Communist Party called **communist manifesto in 1848**. Their ideas were First revolution should take place all over the world
- This Russian revolution attracted and appealed millions of youth across the globe including thousands of Indians
- They (Russian revolutionaries in Russian revolution) were inspired by Karl Marx and Lenin and wanted to protect the rights of workers and peasants
- They (Russian revolutionaries in Russian revolution) also wanted a secular republic
- This Russian revolution attracted and appealed millions of youth across the globe including thousands of Indians

b) Organisations & individuals & their activities

- In **1924**, Meeting of revolutionaries at Kanpur in October 1924 to form HRA (Hindustan Republican Association), some group of revolutionaries **founder HRA (Hindustan republican association) at Kanpur**. Chandra shekar azad, Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashraf-ul-lah-khan, Rajendra Lahiri, Sachindra Sanyal etc were prominent members of HRA
- **1925 (9th August)**:- Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashraf-ul-lah-khan and others were involved in **Kakori rail Dacoity** case (Lucknow)
- Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashraf-ul-lah-khan were given death sentence, many more got life imprisonment
- **1928 (September)**:- HRA was transformed as HSRA (Hindustan Socialist republican association) at Firozshah Kotla-Delhi.
 - a) Bhagat singh (wrote why I am atheist and "the lost leader" pamphlet on Lala lajpat Rai, he also founded naujawan sabha),

- b) Raj guru, Sukhdev, , Jatin Das, batukeshwar dutta,
- c) Bhagwati Charan Vohra (he wrote the philosophy of Bomb) etc
- d) They believed in direct action
- e) They believed in socialist ideology

- **1929 (8th April)**:- Bhagat singh and batukeshwar dutta threw two bombs in central legislative assembly Delhi. They were protesting against the controversial bills
 - a. Trade dispute bill, which curbed the rights of workers
 - b. Public safety bill, which gave more power to british state (allowed to detain suspects without any trial)
- ♦ **After this they surrendered because**
 - a. They wanted to use the platform of court to propagate their ideology
 - b. They have decided to give violent means and had plan to work politically
 - c. But the police charged them also on murder case of **saunders a police officer** (killed at Lahore on 17th December, 1928) who was killed by some revolutionaries at Lahore in 1928, who (saunders) was responsible for the death of Lala laj pat Rai ,this case is called "**Lahore conspiracy case**" and
 - d. Bhagat singh, raj guru, Sukhdev were given death sentence in Oct 1930 and sent for execution 23 march 1931 in Lahore central jail.
- Chittagong Armoury raid case on 18th April, 1930 by Surya Sen and his students 12.
- Execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru on 23rd March, 1931 at Lahore Central Jail

C. REVOLUTIONARIES OUTSIDE INDIA, ACTIVITIES, ROLE/ CONTRIBUTIONS

- Many Indian revolutionaries left India in different phases to avoid arrest but they continued their mission to free India from abroad or to take revenge
- **1913 (2 june January)**:- Ghadar party was one such organisations founded for preparing for India's liberation at **san Francisco USA** by "**Lala hardyal**, Sohan Singh, Barkat-ul-lah etc
 - a) They wanted to free India by arms struggle
 - b) They published two newspapers called Ghadar one in Punjabi and other in Urdu language. Since November 1913, the weekly Ghadar (Urdu and Punjabi languages) began to be published for spreading revolutionary ideas. The name Ghadar reminded the people of the great patriotic rebellion of 1857.
 - c) They also raised funds , met local leaders, mobilized support for India's freedom
 - d) Hardyal, fearing trial and imprisonment in U.S.A. went to Germany jumping the bail he was granted after being arrested in the U.S.A. under British instigation.
- Many individuals like Uddam singh, ajit singh (uncle of Bhagat Singh) and Madam Bhikaji cama were active in England, France and Germany. They attacked, killed some controversial officers. Madam Bhikaji cama hoisted tri-color flag in France and Germany

→ **1942-1944:-**

- Some Indian revolutionaries in Southeast Asian countries became active to free India or liberate India from British rule.
- 1942:-** Ras Bihari Bose, founded **Indian Independence league (IIL= political wing)** at Tokyo, Japan. They also raised an **army called INA** (Indian National army), consisting of former prisoners of wars (PoWs= were more than 50,000 in south-asian countries).
- 1943:-** **INA** was formed at Singapore, due to the efforts of captain Mohan singh (Indian) and major Fujiwara (Japanese). The name of battalion was named after heroes of freedom struggle **such as** "Gandhi Battalion, Nehru battalion, Subhash battalion, azad battalion, Rani Laxmi bai battalion (female battalion led by Capt. Laxmi Sehgal).

❖ **SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE AND INA**

- 1941 he escaped from house arrest
- He traveled extensively from Afghanistan to Russia, Germany to Italy and finally landed up at Tokyo and met Tojo the Japanese PM, who promised all help
- 1943:- became commander of INA at Singapore & established an interim government
- He gave some slogans like
 - "**Jai Hind**" along with **Aabid ali**. Both are given credit for this slogan
 - Give me blood and I will give you freedom
 - Delhi chalo
- His interim govt was called "**Aarzi hakumat Azad hind**"
- The Japanese to win confidence of INA, handed over Andaman and Nicobar islands , which were renamed as "**Shaheed Dweep and swaraj Dweep**" respectively.

- **April 1944:-** one battalion of INA led by captain "**Shah Nawaz Khan**" with the help of Japanese attacked India through Burma and entered **Manipur**, captured many posts and seized imphal, but two factors led to their defeat

- sudden withdrawal by Japanese from India
- bad weather

- **1945:-** INA Trial also known as "**Red fort Trial**"

- Captain shah Nawaz Khan
- Capt Prem kumar Sehgal
- Captain Gurbaksh singh Dhillon
- This was time of Hindu-muslims riots and demand of separate state for muslims
- Their case was defended by a team of layers led by Bhula Bhai desai (leader of lawyers team), other layers were Asaf ali, Sir Tej Bahadur , Kailash Bahadur Katju and J,L Nehru

.....8th class ended, 9th started.....

❖ **SUMMARY OF REVOLUTIONARIES PHASE**

➤ **THE RISE OF REVOLUTIONARIES/MILITANTS**

- Revolutionary terrorism was one of the ways of expressing patriotism and anger. The moderates had failed to achieve much with their constitutional agitation.

- The revolutionaries had no place for compromise; they wanted complete independence and they believed their goal could be achieved only by violent method by overthrowing of an alien government.
- The partition of Bengal and the swadeshi movement had facilitated the growth of revolutionary/militant movement
- Moreover, contemporary international events had made a strong impact on the young patriots. The defeat of the Italians at Adowa in 1894 at the hands of the Abyssinians, the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904-05, the rise of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland as well as the Young Turk revolt, encouraged patriotic Indians to look forward with confidence.
- The young conspirators derived inspiration from the Bhagvad Gita as well as from the lives of Mazzini, Garibaldi (Italy) and Russian methods of revolutionary activities.

➤ **CRITIQUE ON REVOLUTIONARIES/MILITANTS**

- They lacked mass base, despite remarkable heroism displayed by the revolutionaries, organized themselves in small secret societies
- Initially, they had only anger and revenge in their mind
- They used religious and cultural symbols to unite and mobilize the youth

❖ **CHRONOLOGY OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES, THE FIRST PHASE**

A. MAHARASHTRA

- Chapekar brothers (Damodar and Balkrishna) killed Rand, the plague commissioner at Poona on 22 June, 1897 because he forced house to house search (recall some harsh measures during the period of Pandemic 2020-21and recall your angers and frustrations)
- Shyamji Krishna Verma set up on 18 Feb, 1905 India Home Rule Society in London to work for Indian's freedom
- Madan Lal Dhingra shot dead Col. William Curzon Wylie at India House, London on 01July, 1909
- Jackson, District Magistrate of Nasik was shot dead on 21 Dec. 1909

B. BENGAL & DELHI

- Agitation against partition of Bengal stirred political consciousness at an unprecedented pitch during the early 20th century.
- Violent activities and robberies erupted in different parts of Bengal during 1906-07.
- Muzaffarpur (Bihar) bomb case on 30 April, 1908 by Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Kumar Chaki, when they attempted to kill controversial magistrate, Kingsford, but two English women were killed
- Public prosecutor was shot dead in Calcutta in February 1909
- Deputy Superintendent of police, Calcutta was killed on 24 February, 1909
- Bomb thrown at Lord Harding on 23 December 1912 at Chandni Chowk by revolutionaries led by

Rash Bihari Bose

C. GHADAR (REVOLT) MOVEMENT, 1913

- Lala Har Dyal went to U.S.A. in January 1911 and founded the Ghadar party, on June 2, 1913, in San Francisco (USA) for preparing for India's liberation.
- Since November 1913, the weekly Ghadar (Urdu and Punjabi languages) began to be published for spreading revolutionary ideas. The name Ghadar reminded the people of the great patriotic rebellion of 1857.
- Har Dayal, fearing trial and imprisonment in U.S.A. went to Germany jumping the bail he was granted after being arrested in the U.S.A. under British instigation.

D. AREAS OF WORK

To expose the true nature of British rule in India such as the drain of wealth, low expenditure on health and high on arms the destruction of Indian industries, the divide and rule policy etc. This was to be done by Katcha Chittha (crux) which appeared in the newspapers daily

- Poems were written, which was marked by their secular tone and revolutionary zeal
- The newspaper evoked unprecedented response and in a very brief time changed the image of the Punjabi immigrants from a loyal soldier to a rebel.
- At the outbreak of the 1st World War (1914-1918) they decided to set the opportunity and organised an armed revolt by going down to India and win over the Indian soldiers. Many leaders persuaded Indians living in Japan, Singapore, China and Hong Kong to join the rebels at home.
- These Ghadarites were closely monitored and watched by the British. The response for an armed revolt among the Punjabis was very poor.
- The plan leaked out and the movement was crushed ruthlessly.

E. IMPACT

- Although the movement failed, it was in the realm of ideology that it was the greatest success. This huge propaganda effort motivated and educated an entire generation of workers and immigrants.
- Another marked feature was its democratic and egalitarian control
- Hardayal's work led to the creation of a truly international outlook among the Ghadar revolutionaries.

F. WEAKNESSES

- Underestimated the extent and amount of preparation at every level – organizational, strategic, tactical, financial – that was necessary for an armed revolt
- Underestimated the strength of British in India both their armed and organizational might
- Failed to generate an effective and sustained leadership that was capable of integrating the various aspects of the movement
- Nonexistent organizational structure – It was sustained more by the enthusiasm of the militants than by their effective organization.

.....8th class ended, 9th started.....

D. OUTCOME / CONSEQUENCE / SIGNIFICANCE OF REVOLUTIONARIES / MILITANT NATIONALIST IN HISTORY OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF INDIA

- Revolutionaries or militant nationalist both in India and abroad played a significant role in history of freedom struggle of India. Their **contributions** of late have been **acknowledged** by both historians and common people.
- Their **supreme sacrifices, courage and conviction** became a source of inspiration for millions of the Indians to become patriotic, active in national movement both directly & indirectly.
- Their activities were not only confined to taking revenge and indulging in a violent act But many of them like members of HSRA also raised **the issues of workers, peasants and communal politics**. Which gave a new dimension to freedom struggle.
- They also helped in **strengthening the communal harmony** with their actions, slogans, songs and issues which they took up. They themselves came from diverse socio-cultural background which became natural for them to think beyond their own religion, caste or any other ethnic identity.
- Their **continuous action** based activities were **serious concern** for both the governments and mainstream political leaders, who had to act in response and reaction to the activities of revolutionaries

→ **Note:-** any conflict related to caste, class, religion, language is not of either of these, but in fact is a conflict of control off resources, power, opportunity

1. SIMON COMMISSION:-

- ☑ Simon Commission, group appointed in November 1927 by the British Conservative government under Stanley Baldwin to report on the working of the Indian constitution established by the Government of India Act of 1919 and to suggest further reforms in the system of administration
- ☑ Original name is "**Indian Statutory commission**"
- ☑ In 1927 the British govt appointed "**Indian Statutory commission**" with 7 members to be headed by Sir John Simon, therefore popularly called "**Simon commission**".
- ☑ The objectives of Simon commission were
 - To review the workings of the Government of India Act of 1919 and
 - To suggest constitutional reforms (for future)
- ☑ Members arrived in early 1928 (February), the Indian protested, displayed black flags and chanted slogans like "**Simon Go Back**"
- ☑ Indian were protesting because "**no Indian was involved**" in the commission, which became an "**All white commission**"

- ☑ In different parts of the country members have to travel and meet the stakeholders (could be English, Indians) and the protesters chased them on their roots by train or by road and even waited several hours at railway platform to protest & burn English Clothes in front of the members
- ☑ In one such protest at Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai was injured and later he died. his death was revenged by group of revolutionaries (Lahore conspiracy case)

→ **Simon Commission, its objective and the protests**

☑ **Objectives**

1. Under section 84 of the Government of India Act, 1919 a Statutory Commission was to be appointed at the expiration of 10 years after the passing of the act for the purposes of:
 - a. To enquire the workings of the Government
 - b. To suggest the ways and means for the development of representative institutions in India
2. Therefore, Indian Statutory Commission was appointed in 1927, with seven members, headed by Sir John Simon.
3. Indians opposed and boycotted the Commission because no Indian was included in the Commission and it was termed by Indians as "All White Commission"

☑ **Recommendations of Simon Commission:**

- Dyarchy should be scrapped and the wide field of provincial administration must be entrusted to minister responsible to the Legislature
- A unitary type of Government was considered unsuitable for India
- Franchise should be extended, and the Legislature should be enlarged
- A strong and stable government at the centre was considered essential. The method of periodical parliamentary inquiry should be abandoned, and the new constitution should be so elastically framed as to enable it to develop by itself.
- The power of the Indian Council was to be limited.
- Central legislature was to be enlarged and elected by the provincial councils.
- Burma was to be separated from India and Sind from the Bombay Presidency.

☑ **Protest by Indians**

- When the commission members landed in Bombay on February 7, 1928, it was greeted with a countrywide hartal. The boycott of the commission was successful beyond all expectations.
- Congress and all other parties opposed Simon Commission at every stage and in every form
- Hartals were observed in towns, and black flag demonstrations took place countrywide. Slogans of "Simon Go back" was chanted wherever the

members went.

- Many took innovative ways to protest, like protester chased, chanted slogans against the commission members from Poona to Lonavla on road when the members were in train
- In Lahore, Lajpat Rai led a mammoth procession of demonstration against the commission. He was given several Lathi blows by the police as a result of which, he died after few days.
- Police oppression angered the people and this further alienated the people from colonial rule.

☑ **NOTE:-**

- ✓ Indian council, Act = 1909
- ✓ GOI Act = 1919
- ✓ Next ACT supposed to be passed in 1929
- ✓ So 1927 British appointed commission
- ✓ 1928 feb they sent members to India
- ✓ 1929:- supposed to pass, but happened a great depression (The Great Depression was the worst economic downturn in the history of the industrialized world, lasting from 1929 to 1939. It began after the stock market crash of October 1929, which sent Wall Street into a panic and wiped out millions of investors.)

2. **NEHRU COMMITTEE REPORT**

- ☑ It is Moti-lal Nehru committee (note, not J.L Nehru)
- ☑ After 1922, the demands of Swaraj were raised from various quarters
- ☑ **Lord Birkenhead** :- (Frederick Edwin Smith, 1st Earl of Birkenhead) Secretary of State for India: 1924–28. From 1924 to 1928 Birkenhead served as Secretary of State for India.
 - ⇒ **He challenged Indians** to make a draft constitution which was acceptable to all Indians .
 - ⇒ he said "whatever you say true about India , the opposite is always true".

Note:- never ever be stereotype and never ever do generalize especially about India. Means if there is poverty like African countries in India , there is opposite also true means there are some areas in India as rich as USA and many more.

- ☑ At the Madras Congress Session (1927) and All Parties Meet of 1928 it was decided to appoint a sub-committee, with Motilal Nehru as the President to frame a Constitution of India
- ☑ Indian leadership of different political parties held an all party meeting in Delhi in February 1928, than in Bombay & Lucknow.
- ☑ At Lucknow, a "**Sub-committee**" was formed under the Chairmanship of "**Moti-lal Nehru**". Others members were
 - ⇒ Motilal Nehru- President of the Sub-Committee
 - ⇒ Tej Bahadur Sapru – Member, Liberal Party
 - ⇒ Sir Ali Imam, and Suhaib Qureshi – Members, Muslim League
 - ⇒ M.S. Aney and M.R. Jaykar – Members, Hindu Mahasabha

- ⇒ Mangal Singh- Member, Sikh League
- ⇒ N.M. Joshi- Member, Labour group
- ⇒ G.P. Paradhan – Member, Non- Brahmin
- ⇒ Subhash Chandra Bose- Member, Congress
- ⇒ Jawaharlal Nehru- Member, Constitution Making Committee

☑ The Nehru report was approved by the All-Parties Conference in August 1928, at Lucknow. In August 1928, they presented the report & recommended the followings

- ⇒ Dominion status should be given to India (on the lines of self-governing dominions) (Governor-general could be English, crown could be English, Parliament should be of Indians)
- ⇒ Secular state :- disassociation of the state from religion in any form
- ⇒ Fundamental rights like “freedom of speech & thought, freedom of movements, freedom of occupation” (today under Art-19) should be given to Indians
- ⇒ Universal adult suffrage should be provided
- ⇒ Declaration of Rights, including equal rights for women, universal adult suffrage, and right to form unions
- ⇒ Joint Electorate for both Central and Provincial Legislature . Separate electorates should end.
- ⇒ Seats should be reserved for minorities { Seats should be reserved for Muslims at the centre and provinces where they were in minority but not in those areas where they had a numerical majority}
- ⇒ Cultural rights of the minorities should be protected (today Art29,30)
- ⇒ Parliamentary form of government should be established:
 - a. Indian Parliament should consist of two houses- The House of Representatives (Lower House), with total 500 members, to be elected through universal adult suffrage for 5 years and The Senate (Upper House), with 200 members, to be elected by the members of provincial councils for 7 years
 - b. The Central Government was to be headed by Governor-General, appointed by the British, but paid out of Indian revenues, who would act on the advice of Executive Council, responsible to the Parliament
 - c. Provincial Councils, to be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, with a tenure of 5 years.
 - d. The Provincial Government to be headed by a Governor, acting on the advice of Executive Council
- ⇒ Allocation of Subjects between the Union and the Provinces and residuary power should be with the Centre.
- ⇒ Redistribution of provincial boundaries on linguistic basis
- ⇒ Independence of Judiciary with Supreme Court as its head

☑ The **Nehru Report** of 10 August 1928 (approved on 28 August) was a memorandum to appeal for a new dominion status and a federal set-up of government for the constitution of India. It also proposed for the Joint Electorates with reservation of seats for minorities in the legislatures. It was prepared

by a committee of the All Parties Conference chaired by Motilal Nehru with his son Jawaharlal Nehru acting as a secretary. There were nine other members in this committee. The final report was signed by Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru, Ali Imam, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Madhav Shrihari Aney, Mangal Singh, Shuaib Qureshi, Subhas Chandra Bose, and G. R. Pradhan

3. JINNAH'S DEMAND 1929:-

- ☑ The Muslim league meeting at Delhi (28 March 1929) rejected the Nehru Report and Mohammad Ali Jinnah presented “fourteen points programme”
- ☑ In response to Nehru committee report, muslim league led by Md. Ali. Jinnah presented 14 points program , out of which 5 demands or programs were most important which were the basis of muslim league politics , till 1940. These were as follows
 - 1) Separate electorate should continue till universal adult suffrage was introduced
 - 2) Seats should be reserved to minorities in proportion to their population
 - 3) 1/3rd elected seats of “central legislative assembly” should be reserved for muslims
 - 4) The provinces should have more subjects and Union shall have limited subjects
 - 5) If a bill was opposed to majority members of minority community which may be against their cultural interest, such bills shall not be passed (also part of luck now pact)

☑ ALL 14 ARE AS FOLLOWING

- 1) Provincial Autonomy should be provided
- 2) Federal Constitution with residual powers to the provinces
- 3) All legislatures and elected bodies to have adequate representation of Muslims in every province without reducing a majority of Muslims to a minority or equality
- 4) No constitutional amendment by the Centre without the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian federation
- 5) Adequate representation to Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies
- 6) One third Muslim representation in the Central Legislative Assembly
- 7) In any cabinet at the centre or in the provinces, one third members should be Muslims
- 8) Separate Electorate, in Muslim majority provinces, should continue till adult franchise is introduced
- 9) Any territorial redistribution should not affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP
- 10) No bill or resolution in any legislature to be passed if three- fourth members of a minority community consider such a bill or resolution to be against their interest.
- 11) Sindh should be separated from Bombay
- 12) Constitutional reform should take place in Baluchistan and NWFP
- 13) Protection of Muslim rights in religion, culture,

education and language

14) Full religious freedom to all communities

✓ **MUSLIM LEAGUE'S REACTION TO THE NEHRU REPORT**

- ✓ With few exceptions League leaders rejected the Nehru proposals. In reaction Mohammad Ali Jinnah drafted his Fourteen Points in 1929 which became the core demands the Muslim community put forward as the price of their participating in an independent united India. Their main objections were:
- ✓ Separate electorates and weightage — the 1916 Congress-Muslim League agreement Lucknow Pact provided these to the Muslim community whereas they were rejected by the Nehru Report.
- ✓ Residuary powers — the Muslims realized that while they would be a majority in the provinces of the North-East and North-West of India, and hence would control their provincial legislatures, they would always be a minority at the Centre. Thus they demanded, contrary to the Nehru Report, that residuary powers go to the provinces.
- ✓ According to Mohammad Ali Jinnah, "The Committee has adopted a narrow minded policy to ruin the political future of the Muslims. I regret to declare that the report is extremely ambiguous and does not deserve to be implemented."

❖ **ASSESSMENT OF NEHRU REPORT & JINNAH DEMANDS:-**

- Nehru committee report in many ways became historic because
- a) It raised the demand of several fundamental rights, which later on were incorporated into Indian constitution
- b) It divided congress leaders once again, the young leaders like J.L Nehru & SC Bose were unhappy with the demand of dominion status as they were in favor of "Purana swaraj"
- c) Jinnah's 14 points program, especially 5 major demands further created rift b/w congress and muslim league & they started drifting away from each other which proved dangerous in later years

❖ **PURNA SWARAJ RESOLUTION 1929**

- The annual session of congress was held at Lahore, presided by J.L Nehru for first time, in which purna swaraj resolution was adopted and passed
- 31st dec 1929:- they hoisted "**Tricolor flag**" on the bank of river **Ravi**
- 26th January 1930, they celebrated **independence day**, since than 26th January became historic and emotional day for Indians
- The Indian National Congress, on 19 December 1929, passed the historic 'Purna Swaraj' – (total independence) resolution – at its Lahore session. A public declaration was made on 26 January 1930 – a day which the Congress Party urged Indians to celebrate as 'Independence Day'

❖ **TOPIC CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT 1930-31:-**

1. **CAUSES / CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE OUTBREAK OF C.D.M**

- ✓ During the period of great depression(1929-33), an unrest developed among the wider section of Indians due to poverty caused by unemployment, because of closer of Industries.
- ✓ Most Indians had to face several hardships due to shortage of goods or price rise of some commodities, high rate of taxation, atrocities by the authorities, police etc
- ✓ In this situation of unrest, & chaos, **Gandhi** wrote a letter to **Lord Irwin** (viceroy & gov-gen 1926-31) and presented **11 points demands**, few of them were as follows
 - a) Salt law should be changed, tax on salt should be removed, Indians should be allowed to manufacture salt
 - b) To reduce and revenue or tax
 - c) To protect Indian Industries
 - d) To return the confiscated properties to its owner
 - e) To inquire against police atrocities
 - f) To strengthen Indian Rupee against pound sterling
 - g) To ban liquor
- ✓ When these demands met with **cold response (no response)**, congress leaders authorised Gandhi to start a mass movement as and when Gandhi decides

2. **MAJOR EVENTS / COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT:-**

- ✓ **12th March 1930:-** Gandhi started the famous "Dandi March with 78 people from Sabarmati for Dandi (Navsari District)
- ✓ After travelling a distance of 240miles (378km), they reached Dandi with thousands of people on **6th April 1930**. {6th April is important as on this day Gandhi's all India Strike after Rowlatt satyagraha, to evoke the similar kind of emotions as it happened in 1919}
- ✓ After reaching dandi they picked the salt and broke the law. Soon the movement spread across coastal India, people particularly peasants and women would make salt to protest against salt law.
 - In other parts of the country English goods, services, and institutions were boycotted
 - In NWFP (north west frontier province), Khan **Abdul Ghaffar Khan** (frontier Gandhi), started famous "Red shirt movement", which is **Red Shirt movement**, with his volunteers, by name of

Khudai Khitmatgar (Persian: "Servants of God"), in support of the Indian National Congress

- In different parts of India people responded differently to protest against the Govt.

.....9th class ended, 10th started.....

3. CHIEF CHARACTERISTIC / SALIENT FEATURES OF THE MOVEMENT:-

- Note:- don't right events in salient features
- CDM was a mass movement spread in coastal areas, especially successful more among women and peasants.
 - The movement was more successful in those areas where Gandhian peaceful constructive grounds had been implemented successfully (like anti-liquor programs, village development programs etc)
 - ⇒ (conclusion from this is that people's spirit was very active so CDM also was successful in these areas as people were in agitation before so they continued in CDM also (very important point)
 - ⇒ Gandhi knew this human weakness that people must be in continuous agitation & must be continuous remain active, otherwise their spirit would have gone lost.
 - ⇒ Therefore, since Champaran, Gandhi activated ordinary Indians into constructive socio-economic issues and people started coming in political issues also. (for this Gandhi raised women issues, workers issues, students issues)
 - ⇒ Gandhi also engaged them mentally along with physically into issues.
 - CDM was also famous for utmost discipline, courage & sense of sacrifice demonstrated by committed satyagrahis of Gandhi especially at Dharasana salt factory in Gujarat {very important example of peace and discipline for an agitation for interview and any other platform = note it as this is resistance and resilience}
 - Hindu-muslim unity was not as stronger as was seen earlier. {it was an event} because
 - ☒ Muslim populations were mostly in urban India whereas CDM was more successful in rural areas
 - ☒ After 1928, the relationship b/w congress and muslim league had become cold.
 - The industrialists and the nationalists helped each other's cause during CDM. The industrialists like G.D.Birla, J.L. Bajaj were close associates of congress and Mahatma Gandhi. (J.L. Bajaj was also called as 5th son of Gandhi).
 - ☒ Note:- Nationalist, industrialists, and capitalists had come together because of each other's cause
 - ☒ However, they all were Indians so they also were nationalists as being industrialists, and

capitalists, so they were also contributing in Indian national movement.

4. GANDHI IRWIN PACT & CONTROVERSY

☑ What were in the pact

- 5th march 1931, Gandhi and lord Irwin (1926-31) met in Delhi (Viceroy House = first occupant of viceroy house was Irwin) and agreed on the following points
- ☒ Gandhi agreed to **suspend the CDM**
 - ☒ Govt agreed to **release all political prisoners**
 - ☒ Govt agreed to **change salt law** and People living in coastal areas were **allowed** to manufacture salt for self-consumption.
 - ☒ Peaceful **protest against liquor** was permitted
 - ☒ Gandhi agreed to participate in **second round table** conference
 - ☒ Govt agreed to **return confiscated property** to its owner if it was not given to a 3rd party (if it is not auctioned, or sold out)

☑ What was the controversy related to this pact

→

☑ Analysis of the pact

- There was a compromise from both the sides
- Gandhi accepted some of the terms of the govt, and the govt accepted some of the demands of the Gandhi showed "political maturity" from both the sides.
- Gandhi was the first Indian, who was invited by the Govt for one to one talk, it itself demonstrates that govt had accepted Gandhi as National leader. (rather than Jinnah & Nehru)
- It shows flexibility from Gandhi's Side that he accepted some of the contentious demands of the govt to prepare for next stage of the struggle {as Gandhi's believed we have got something now prepare to get more means freedom }
- The death sentence given to Bhagat singh and other revolutionary was also raised by Gandhi at least three times on different times to change it into life imprisonment but the govt declined, Gandhi cannot be blamed for Bhagat singh's execution because
- ☒ Revolutionary like Bhagat singh was working against the principle of Gandhian satyagraha
 - ☒ Yet Gandhi tried his level best to save his life because he appreciated their intentions and love for the country, didn't appreciate their actions or means

- ☑ On March 12, 1930, Indian independence leader Mohandas Gandhi begins a defiant march to the sea in protest of the British monopoly on salt, his boldest act of civil disobedience yet against British rule in India. Britain's Salt Acts prohibited Indians from collecting or selling salt, a staple in the

Indian diet

- ☑ civil disobedience, also called passive resistance, the refusal to obey the demands or commands of a government or occupying power, without resorting to violence or active measures of opposition; its usual purpose is to force concessions from the government or occupying power

☐ CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

1. The period of 1930-34 during the course of freedom struggle, timing of Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) should be viewed in the backdrop of accumulated Indian grievances and unfulfilled expectations. These, along with the following events coalesced to propel the struggle during this phase:

- Appointment of Simon Commission
- Nehru Report of 1928
- Economic Depression of 1929-32 which affected Indian industry, commerce and labour market
- Cotton prices crashed in world market affecting Indian cotton exports
- Large scale labour strikes in Bombay, Calcutta, and Jamshedpur during 1928-29.
- Arrest of labour leaders and trial of Meerut Conspiracy Case in 1929.
- Youth unrest in India. Formation of youth organizations all over India.
- Rise of revolutionary activities.
- Arrest of Bhagat Singh and comrades and Lahore Conspiracy Case.
- Death due to hunger strike in jail of political prisoners like Jatin Das in September 1929
- Poorna Swaraj Resolution, 1929 and Independence Day pledge on 26 January, 1930. Indians demanded- 'inalienable right to be free'
- Denial of freedom of speech and association.

2. Although the resolution affirming 'Complete Independence' as the goal by the

- ☑ Congress and moved by Gandhi himself, was passed in 1929, Mahatma put forward before the Viceroy Lord Irwin, on 30 January 1930, his 11 demands, which were as follows:

- Abolition of salt tax
- Total prohibition
- The rupee to be valued at 16 pence
- At least 50% reduction in land revenue
- Reduction of military expenditure to at least 50% to begin with
- Reduction of government expenditure and salaries of government officials
- Protective tariff on the foreign cloth
- Indian strips to discharge the duty of coastal transport
- Release of all political prisoners and elimination of section 124A from the Indian Penal Code

j) Doing away with the services of the C.I.D

k) Freedom to keep firearms

3. On March 2, 1930, Gandhi wrote a letter to the Viceroy wherein he declared the British rule to be a curse which had to be combated by civil disobedience. The Viceroy refused to accept the demands put forward by Gandhi and regretted the contemplated recourse to Satyagraha because there would be a violation of law.

4. Gandhi and the Congress decided to start a nationwide civil disobedience by breaking the salt law with his select band of 78 followers. Gandhi marched on 12 March, 1930, from Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad to Dandi on the Sea-coast. Gandhi prepared salt out of seawater on April 6 and a nation-wide 'breaking of the salt law' started.

5. Why Salt?

- The Congress Working Committee gave Gandhi the responsibility for organising the first act of civil disobedience, Gandhi's plan was to begin civil disobedience with a satyagraha aimed at the British salt tax.
- The 1882 Salt Act gave the British a monopoly on the collection and manufacture of salt, limiting its handling to government salt depots and levying a salt tax. Violation of the Salt Act was a criminal offence. Even though salt was freely available to those living on the coast (by evaporation of sea water), Indians were forced to purchase it from the colonial government.
- Initially, Gandhi's choice of the salt tax was met with incredulity by the Working Committee of the Congress, Jawaharlal Nehru and Dibyalochoan Sahoo were ambivalent; Sardar Patel suggested a land revenue boycott instead.
- The British establishment too was not disturbed by these plans of resistance against the salt tax. The Viceroy, Lord Irwin, himself did not take the threat of a salt protest seriously writing to London, he said "At present the prospect of a salt campaign does not keep me awake at night."
- Gandhi had sound reasons for his decision. The salt tax was a deeply symbolic choice, since salt was used by nearly everyone in India. An item of daily use could resonate more with all classes of citizens than an abstract demand for greater political rights.
- The salt tax represented 8.2% of the British Raj tax revenue, and hurt the poorest the most significantly.
- Explaining his choice, Gandhi said, "Next to air and water, salt is perhaps the greatest necessity of life."
- Gandhi felt that this protest would popularize the demand of 'Purna Swaraj' in a way that was

meaningful to the common man. He also reasoned that it would build unity between Hindus and Muslims by fighting a wrong that touched them equally.

6. The rapid spread of the movement left the Government with little choice but to demonstrate the force that lay behind its benevolent facade. Pressure from officials, Governors and the military establishment started building up, and, on 4 May, the Viceroy finally ordered Gandhi's arrest.
7. Gandhi's announcement that he would now proceed to continue his defiance of the salt laws by leading a raid on the Dharasana Salt Works certainly forced the Government's hand, but its timing of Gandhiji's arrest was nevertheless ill-conceived. It had neither the advantage of an early strike, which would have at least prevented Gandhi from carefully building up the momentum of the movement, nor did it allow the Government to reap the benefits of their policy of sitting it out.

❑ DHARSANA SALT SATYAGRAHA

1. On May 21, with Sarojini Naidu and Imam Saheb, Gandhi's comrade of the South African struggle, at the helm, and Gandhi's son, Manilal, in front ranks, a band of 2000 marched towards the police cordon that had sealed off the Dharasana salt works.
2. As they came close, the police rushed forward with their steel-tipped lathis and set upon the non-resisting Satyagrahis till they fell down. The injured would be carried away by their comrades on make-shift stretchers and another column would take their place, be beaten to pulp, and carried away.
3. Column after column advanced in this way; after a while, instead of walking up to the cordon the men would sit down and wait for the police blows. Not an arm was raised in defence, and by 11 a.m., when the temperature in the shade was 116 degrees Fahrenheit, the toll was already 320 injured and two dead.
4. Webb Miller, the American journalist, whose account of the Dharasana Satyagraha was to carry the flavour of Indian nationalism to many distant lands, and whose description of the resolute heroism of the Satyagrahis demonstrated effectively that nonviolent resistance was no meek affair, summed up his impressions in these words: 'In eighteen years of my reporting in twenty countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disturbances, riots, street fights and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharasana.'
5. This new form of Salt Satyagraha was eagerly adopted by people in Wadala (Bombay),

Karnataka (Sanikatta Salt Works), Andhra, Midnapore, Balasore, Puri and Cuttack.

❑ FORMS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOV.

1. Dandi March was organized to break the law by boiling sea water to manufacture salt on 6 April, 1930.
2. Assam: A powerful agitation was organized against the infamous 'Cunningham circular' which forced parents, guardians and students to furnish assurances of good behaviour.
3. Bengal: Reading seditious literature in public, selling foreign clothes, picketing of shops selling liquor.
4. Bihar : A campaign was organized for refusal to pay chowkidari tax (to zamindars) and a call was given for resignation of chowkidars and influential members of chowkidari panchayat who appointed these chowkidars. This campaign was particularly successful in Monghyr, Saran and Bhagalpur. The government retaliated with beatings, torture and confiscation of property.
5. Central Province : Defiance of forest laws by cutting timber.
6. Gujarat : Defiance of law by non-payment of land revenue.
7. Manipur and Nagaland : These areas took a brave part in the movement. At the young age of thirteen, Rani Gaidinliu of Nagaland raised the banner of revolt against foreign rule. She was captured in 1932 and sentenced to life imprisonment.
8. N.W.F.P: Defiance of government laws by non-payment of taxes. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan's educational and social reform works among the Pathans had politicized them. Gaffar Khan, also called Badshah Khan and Frontier Gandhi, had started the first Pushto political monthly Pukhtoon and had organised a volunteer brigade 'Khudai Khidmatgars', popularly known as the 'Red-Shirts', who were pledged to the freedom struggle and non-violence.
9. United Provinces : A no-revenue campaign was organized; a call was given to zamindars to refuse to pay revenue to the government. Under a no-rent campaign, a call was given to tenants against zamindars. Since most of the zamindars were loyalists, the campaign became virtually a no-rent campaign. The activity picked up speed in October 1930, especially in Agra and Rai Bareilly.
10. Congressmen resigned from the legislative Assembly and Councils. Many civil servants and local officials tendered their resignations.
11. Government's Reactions:
 - a) Half a dozen ordinances
 - b) Press gagged
 - c) Congress was declared an illegal organization

- d) Large-scale arrest of congressmen
- e) Police and military resorted to firing, Lathi charges and beating of satyagrahis at several places. Almost 75000 satyagrahis were put in jails.

❑ CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT AND PEASANT MOVEMENTS

- ☑ During 1901 to 1930, the agriculture production fell sharply. Growing taxation in a stagnant economy compelled the people to protest. This was manifested during Civil Disobedience Movement in the states of Bihar, Bengal, UP and Gujarat. The great depression of early 1930s added fuel to the fire.
- a) United Provinces: A non-revenue campaign by Zamindars against paying revenue to the government and a No-Rent Campaign by tenants against Zamindars.
- c) UP Kisan Sabha and Bihar Kisan Sabha actively participated in the movement
- d) Bihar: Anti-Chowkidari tax campaign was launched
- e) Bengal: Anti-Chowkidari tax and anti-union board tax campaigns were launched
- f) Gujarat: No-tax movement was organized for refusal to pay land revenue.

❑ GANDHI-IRWIN PACT (05TH MARCH, 1931)

1. Mediations were taking place between Lord Irwin and Gandhi. Gandhi and the other members of Congress Working Committee were released on 25th January 1931. From February 17, negotiations began between the Viceroy and the Congress and on March 5, 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was finally signed.
2. The terms of the Gandhi-Irwin pact were:
 - a) The people living near sea-shores were to prepare salt without paying any duty
 - b) The confiscated property of participants in the Salt-Satyagraha was to be restored to them.
 - c) All political prisoners were to be released except those against whom there were criminal charges.
 - d) All ordinances promulgated during the Satyagraha period were to be withdrawn.
 - e) Peaceful protest against liquor and foreign goods was permitted.
 - f) The government was to be liberal in reinstating those who had resigned from service.
 - g) The Congress agreed to suspend civil disobedience. Mahatma Gandhi agreed not to press his demand for an enquiry into police excess during the satyagraha period. The Congress also agreed to suspend boycott.
3. A critique on Gandhi-Irwin Pact and Civil Disobedience Movement:

- a) Gandhi's decision to suspend the civil disobedience movement as agreed under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was not a retreat, because mass movements are mostly short-lived;
- b) Capacity of the masses to make sacrifices, unlike that of the activists, is limited; and
- c) There were signs of exhaustion after September 1930, especially among shopkeepers and merchants, who had participated so enthusiastically.
- d) Gandhi's motives in concluding a pact with the Viceroy can be best understood in terms of his technique. The satyagraha movements were commonly described as 'struggle-truce-struggle'. Owing, however, to the common connotation of these words, they seemed to lay a disproportionate emphasis on the negative aspect of the movements, namely, opposition and conflict.
- e) The object of satyagraha was, however, not to achieve the physical elimination or moral breakdown of an adversary—but, through suffering at his hands, to initiate a psychological process that could make it possible for minds and hearts to meet. In such a struggle, a compromise with an opponent was neither heresy nor treason, but a natural and necessary step. If it turned out that the compromise was premature and the adversary was unrepentant, nothing prevented the satyagrahi from returning to non-violent struggle.
- f) Peasants of Gujarat were disappointed because their lands were not restored immediately (indeed, were restored only during the rule of the Congress ministry in the province).
- g) But vast masses of people were jubilant that the government had to regard their movement as significant and treat their leader as an equal, and sign a pact with him. The political prisoners when released from jails, were given a hero's welcome

❖ THE COMPARISON WITH NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

1. The Congress was organizationally much stronger.
2. The stated objective during the period of Civil Disobedience Movement was complete independence not swaraj and not just demands of correcting the wrongs of 1919-20.
3. The methods involved the violation of law (salt law) from the very beginning and not just non-cooperation with foreign rule.
4. 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.
5. No major labour upsurge coincided with the

movement.

6. But 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.

❑ **THE KARACHI SESSION OF CONGRESS-1931**

1. The Congress adopted a resolution appreciating the courage and self sacrifice of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdeva on March 29, 1931.
2. Congress, under the presidentship of Vallabhbhai Patel accepted the Gandhi-Irwin pact but it repeated its commitment to the complete independence ideal. Gandhi was chosen as the sole representative on behalf of the Congress at the coming Second Round Table Conference.
- ❑ This Congress Session was also important because it accepted a resolution moved by Gandhi on the fundamental rights of equality, freedom of speech, press, association and conscience. Total non-discrimination, the right to privacy of dwelling apartment and the right to bear arms in accordance with law, were to be guaranteed. These fundamental rights contain also important economic categories like a living wage for workers and children and the right to form unions.

❖ **ROUND TABLE-CONFERENCES**

A. First Round Table Conference

1. Since 1921, the Congress leaders and the Swaraj Party were unsuccessfully demanding the holding of a Round Table Conference to settle India's political and constitutional problems. When the fervour of nationalism rose high, the government did agree to hold the Round Table Conferences.
2. The First Round Table Conference met from 12.11.1930 to 19.01.1931 but it could not achieve any significant success because Congress did not participate.

B. Second Round Table Conference

1. Gandhi attended the Second Round Table Conference along with Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sarojini Naidu and B.R. Ambedkar, but no agreed solution could be reached on the communal and national problems.
2. Gandhi was in favour of unicameralism. He pleaded that fundamental rights should be guaranteed in the constitution and there should be judicial remedies for their enforcement. He also demanded full control over the army and foreign affairs.
3. Gandhi was all the time insistent on getting the substance of Swaraj. Once this fundamental goal was realized the details could be settled subsequently.
4. The declaration of Ramsay MacDonald, the British

Premier, at the plenary session of the Conference was immensely dissatisfying because it contained no reference to the grant of Dominion Status to India. There was no assurance for the establishment of responsible government in the provinces and at the centre.

5. Moreover, there was no assurance regarding fundamental rights. The proposed constitutional reforms as outlined by the British Prime Minister in December 1931 totally reserved defence and military affairs for control by the British Parliament and the Viceroy. Gandhi could not agree to such proposals specially in the context of the Complete Independence resolution of 1929.

C. The Third Round Table Conference

- ❑ The Third Round Table Conference was held from November 17 to December 24, 1932, but it couldn't make any progress towards swaraj. However, the deliberations at the third round table conference formed the basis on which the draft of the Government of India Act, 1935 was prepared.

❖ **CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT, SECOND PHASE (1932-34)**

1. On December 28, 1931, Gandhi reached Bombay on his way back from London after attending Second Round Table Conference. In a letter to Viceroy, Lord Willingdon. he protested against the reign of oppression, in N.W. frontier province, Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.
2. In the context of the veiled threat of the resumption of civil disobedience, the Viceroy refused to meet Gandhi. On April 17, 1931 Lord Willingdon who had earlier been the Governor of Bombay and Madras had been chosen the successor of Lord Irwin.
3. With the failure of the Second Round Table Conference, a tougher policy was being persuaded by the government. In the United Provinces, leaders who were persuading the peasants for non-payment of taxes were arrested.
4. Even Gandhi was not spared, and on January 4, 1932, he and Vallabhbhai Patel were arrested. Soon oppression was let loose on the political prisoners lodged in different parts of the country. The government took the offensive in 1932. However the movement continued to linger until early April 1934 when the inevitable decision to withdraw it was taken by Gandhi at Patna.

❖ **MCDONALD AWARD & POONA PACT 1932:-**

- ⇒ British prime minister James Ramsay MacDonald announced that depressed class is a minority

- ⇒ They would get separate electorate like other minorities
- ⇒ Congress party opposed McDonald award because it was based on divide & rule principle and Mahatma Gandhi who was in Yerwada jail (Yerwada jail) (poone = originally it was Agha Khan palace) decided to go on fast unto death (lasted 21 days) against McDonald or communal award which had shocked him deeply
- ⇒ Gandhi was shocked because he believed and believed it rightly that this would institutionalize untouchability.

→ Gandhi ji was of the fear of that it will institutionalize the untouchability in India forever. That is main reason he went on fast.

- ⇒ B.R Ambedkar rushed to poona and met hindu leaders like Madan Mohan Malviya and congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, they all agreed on the following points
 - ☑ There would be no separate electorate for depressed class
 - ☑ The number of the seats would be increased from 71 to 147 in all the provinces (at that time 9 provinces) but through reservation.

☐ COMMUNAL AWARD

- ☑ Ramsay MacDonald, the British Premier, issued the Communal Award in August, 1932. The award:
 - a) Declared Depressed Classes a minority
 - b) Gave separate electorate to the Depressed Classes, as was given earlier to Muslims, Sikhs and Anglo-Indians
- ☑ The Congress Working Committee (CWC) declared that it would neither accept nor reject the award. Though, Congress strongly disagreed with the communal award.
- ☑ Gandhi's Response : Gandhi, in Yerwada (Poona) jail at the time, reacted very strongly. He saw the award as an attack on Indian unity and nationalism, harmful to both Hinduism and the Depressed Classes. He believed declaring Depressed Classes as a minority and giving them separate electorate would institutionalize untouchability.
- ☑ Gandhi demanded that the representations of the depressed classes should be elected by the general electorate. He went on fast unto death on 20 September, 1932 to enforce the demand.
- ☑ Poona Pact: The Poona Pact refers to an agreement between Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi signed on 24 September, 1932 at Yerwada Central Jail in Pune. The Poona Pact was accepted by the government as an amendment to the Communal Award.
 - a) The Pact abandoned separate electorates for the

Depressed Classes. But the seats reserved for the Depressed Classes were increased from 71 to 147 in provincial legislatures and 18 percent of the total in the central legislature.

- b) Election to seats shall be by joint electorates subject, however, to the following procedure: All members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the single vote and four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary elections shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate.

❖ TOPIC:-THE GOI ACT 1935:-

A. BACKGROUND OF GOI 1935

1. The report of Simon Commission, Nehru committee report, discussions of three round table conferences (RTCs 1930, 1931, 1932) helped in the making of draft of GoI Bill 1935.
2. The political activities in India and England both through Gandhian and revolutionaries methods had compelled the govt to bring some more reforms, in this background the GoI Act 1935 was passed.

B. PROVISION OF GOI ACT 1935

1. Autonomy would be given to provinces under which:-
 - a) Each province would have elected legislative council which would make laws on the subjects given in provincial list
 - b) Each province would have an elected govt to be headed by a Chief Minister.
2. A federal court would be established at Delhi, which would :-
 - a) Resolve the disputes b/w union & provinces
 - b) Resolve the disputes b/w province and province/s
3. Diarchy would end from provinces
4. Diarchy would be introduced at center {but this was never implemented}
5. An all India federation would be formed consisting of British India and princely States {but this was also not implemented}
6. Odisha would be separated from Bihar
7. Sind would be separated from Bombay (11 province)
8. Burma would be separated from British India

C. CRITICAL EVALUATION/SIGNIFICANCE

1. GoI Act 1935 was most comprehensive Act first under crown's rule, which gave a detailed description of rule of business of GoI i.e. the jurisdiction of each official of the department.

2. The **federal structure of India** has its roots from GoI Act 1935
3. The Supreme court of Independent India developed from the federal court of GoI Act with adequate changes
4. Despite all these progressive provisions, GoI Act 1935 disappointed Indian Nationalists because
 - a) Autonomy given to provinces was limited, Governor enjoys many discretionary powers.
 - b) Gov-general also enjoys many discretionary powers which reduce the role and power of elected legislature
 - c) Although the size of electorate was increased to 12-13% yet majority Indians didn't have right to cast their vote.

☒ **GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935**

- ☒ The British Parliament passed the Government of India Act in August 1935. The Act was based on the recommendation and discussion of the following:
 - a) The Report of Simon Commission
 - b) The Report of the All Parties Conference (Nehru Committee Report).
 - c) The discussions of the three Round Table Conferences.
 - d) The White Paper (March 1933).
 - e) The Joint Select Committee report.
 - f) The Lothian Report which determined the electoral provisions of the Act.
- ☒ The British Government was always worried about mass movement in India, especially due to post world war events in India. Although they succeeded in suppressing all those movements, yet they wanted to weaken the nationalist movement through divide and rule policy. They were aware that many in Congress party and other political parties would support 'Constitutional reforms and limited political package to Indians, but many, mostly radicals, would oppose it. The Government of India Act, 1935 should be seen in this perspective too.

☒ **PROVISIONS 1.**

1. FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

- ☒ Diarchy was removed from the provinces and brought at centre. External affairs, Defence, administration of tribal areas were given to Governor-General and Counsellors (not more than three), appointed by the Governor-General. The other federal (central) subjects would be administered by the Governor-General and Council of Ministers (not more than ten) chosen by him, and to be responsible to the Federal Legislature. On certain matters, like peace and security of India, the Governor-General had 'special responsibilities, and had full freedom to accept or to reject the advice of the minister.

2. FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

- ☒ **The Federal Legislature was to have two houses:**
 - 1) Council of States (upper house) and

- 2) Federal Assembly (lower house), as also provided Government of India Act, 1919.
 - a) Council of States was to be a permanent body with one-third of its membership being vacated and renewed every three years. It was to have 156 directly elected members from the Indian States, to be nominated by the princely state's ruler.
 - b) Federal Assembly's duration was for five years and was to consist of 250 representatives of British India and up to 125 members were to be elected indirectly by the members of the provincial Legislative Assemblies on the system of proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The members from the states were to be nominated by the rulers of the Princely states. Defence and foreign affairs would remain outside the control of the federal legislature.

☒ **CRITICISM**

- a) A unique feature of this system was that for the upper house the election was to be direct while for the lower house it was to be indirect unlike modern Indian Parliamentary system.
- b) Some sensitive subjects were excluded from the purview, and jurisdiction of Federal and provincial legislatures, like Royal family, British sovereignty. Armed forces, etc. On some other subjects, sanction of Governor-General was required to introduce a bill in the house.

3. ALL INDIA FEDERATION

- ⇒ An All India federation would be formed comprising British India and princely states. For British India, it was compulsory to join the federation whereas for Princely states it was voluntary, which could come into effect only after 50 percent of the princes had formally acceded to it.

4. PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE WITH AUTONOMY

- ⇒ The provinces were to be administered by a council of ministers headed by the Prime minister and appointed by the Governor from elected members of the provincial legislature. The Governor enjoyed some 'real' power. For the provinces like Central Provinces and Sindh, he had special responsibilities in which he was not bound to seek the advice of Council of ministers. He could, by a proclamation, take the entire government of the provinces into his hands (for six months) if he was satisfied that the government of the province could not be carried on in accordance with the normal provisions of the Act.

5. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

- ⇒ The members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly were to be directly elected by the people. Bi-cameral Legislature- Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly, were introduced in six provinces-Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U.P., Bihar and Assam. Some of the members of the Legislative Council were nominated by the Governor. The distribution of seats for various Legislative Assemblies was as follows:

- 1) Bengal=250
- 2) United Provinces = 228
- 3) Madras= 215
- 4) Bombay =175

- 5) Punjab= 175
- 6) Bihar =192
- 7) Central Provinces =112
- 8) Orissa = 60
- 9) Sind = 60
- 10) NWFP= 50

⇒ The provision of separate electorate continues. For depressed class, certain seats were reserved in the general constituency, as agreed at Poona (See the box on p. 8.16-Poona Pact). It was claimed by the government that maximum autonomy was granted to the provinces, but in reality the Governor, centre's nominee, retained special powers. He could veto legislative and administrative measures concerning the issues of

- a) The minorities
- b) The rights of civil servants
- c) Law and order
- d) British business interests

⇒ The Governor also had the power to take over and run the administration of a province indefinitely.

6. FEDERAL COURT

⇒ Federal court at centre which had both original and appellate powers, besides power to interpret the constitution, but the final court of appeal was Privy Council in London.

7. SECRETARY OF STATE

⇒ Secretary of State (in England) was given advisers, who might or might not be consulted. Indian council was abolished because of much agitation in India. With the Act, the government hoped to divide the nationalists and weaken the nationalist movement. To some extent, they succeeded too, which became evident at the time of formation of ministries (1937). Nevertheless, the Act also inspired the members of Constituent Assembly (1946-49) to frame the Constitution of free India.

✓ THE CONGRESS MINISTRIES

1. Provincial elections were held in British India in the winter of 1936-37 as mandated by the Government of India Act 1935. Elections were held in eleven provinces
2. Madras, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, United Provinces, Bombay Presidency, Assam, NWFP, Bengal, Punjab and Sindh.
3. The final results of the elections were declared in February 1937. The Indian National Congress formed government in eight provinces - the three exceptions being Bengal, Punjab, and Sindh. The All-India Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha failed to form government in any province.
4. The Congress ministries resigned in October 1939, in protest against Viceroy Lord Linlithgow's action of declaring India to be a belligerent in the Second World War without consulting the Indian people.
5. The 1937 election was the first in which large masses of Indians were eligible to participate. An estimated 30.1 million persons, including 4.25 million women, had acquired the right to vote (12% of the total population), and 15.5 million of these, including 917,000 women, participated to exercise their franchise. Nehru admitted that while the elections

were on a restricted franchise, they were a big improvement as compared to earlier elections conducted by the British Raj that had been extremely restricted.

6. The results were in favour of the Indian National Congress. Of the total of 1,585 seats, it won 707 (44.6%). Among the 864 seats assigned "general" constituencies, it contested 739 and won 617. Of the 125 non-general constituencies contested by Congress, 59 were reserved for Muslims and in those the Congress won 25 seats, 15 of them in the entirely-Muslim North-West Frontier Province.
7. The All-India Muslim League won 106 seats (6.7% of the total), placing it as the second-ranking party. The only other party to win more than 5 percent of the assembly seats was the Unionist Party (Punjab), with 101 seats.

✓ MADRAS PRESIDENCY

⇒ In Madras, the Congress won 74% of all seats, eclipsing the incumbent Justice Party (21 seats).

✓ SINDH

⇒ The Sind Legislative Assembly had 60 members. The Sind United Party emerged the leader with 22 seats, and the Congress secured 8 seats. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had tried to set up a League Parliamentary Board in Sindh in 1936, but he failed, though 72% of the population was Muslim. Though 34 seats were reserved for Muslims, the Muslim League could secure none of them.

✓ UNITED PROVINCES

⇒ The UP legislature consisted of a Legislative Council of 52 elected and 6 or 8 nominated members and a Legislative Assembly of 228 elected members: some from exclusive Muslim constituencies, some from "General" constituencies, and some "Special" constituencies. The Congress won a clear majority in the United Provinces, with 133 seats, while the Muslim League won only 27 out of the 64 seats reserved for Muslims.

✓ ASSAM

⇒ In Assam, the Congress won 33 seats out of a total of 108 making it the single largest party, though it was not in a position to form a ministry. The Governor called upon Sir Muhammad Sadulla, ex-Judicial Member of Assam and Leader of the Assam Valley Muslim Party to form the ministry. The Congress was a part of the ruling coalition.

✓ BOMBAY

⇒ In Bombay, the Congress fell just short of gaining half the seats. However, it was able to draw on the support of some small pro-Congress groups to form a working majority. B.G. Kher became the first Chief Minister of Bombay.

✓ OTHER PROVINCES

1. In three additional provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, and Orissa, the Congress won clear majorities. In the overwhelmingly Muslim North-West Frontier Province, Congress won 19 out of 50 seats and was able, with minor party support, to form a ministry.
2. The Unionist Party under Sikander Hyat Khan formed

the government in Punjab with 67 out of 175 seats. The Congress won 18 seats and the Akali Dal, 10. In Bengal, though the Congress was the largest party (with 54 seats), The Krishak Praja Party of A. K. Fazlul Huq (with 36 seats) was able to form a coalition government.

☑ **RESIGNATION OF MINISTRIES**

1. Viceroy Linlithgow declared India at war with Germany on 3 September, 1939. The Congress objected strongly to the declaration of war without prior consultation with Indians. The Congress Working Committee suggested that it would cooperate if there were a central Indian national government formed, and a commitment made to India's independence after the war.
2. The Muslim League promised its support to the British, with Jinnah calling on Muslims to help the Raj by "honourable co-operation" at the "critical and difficult juncture," while asking the Viceroy for increased protection for Muslims.
3. The government did not come up with any satisfactory response. The Viceroy Linlithgow could only offer to form a 'consultative committee' for advisory functions. Thus, Linlithgow refused the demands of the Congress. On 22 October 1939, all Congress ministries were called upon to tender their resignations."
4. Both the Viceroy Linlithgow and Muhammad Ali Jinnah were pleased with the resignations. On 2 December 1939, Jinnah put out an appeal, calling for Indian Muslims to celebrate 22 December 1939 as a "Day of Deliverance" from Congress.

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BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR (14 APRIL 1891 - 06 DECEMBER 1956)

1. Popularly known as Baba Saheb, was an Indian jurist, economist, politician and social reformer who inspired the Dalit- Buddhist Movement and campaigned against social discrimination against Untouchables (Dalits), while also supporting the rights of women and labour.
2. He was Independent India's first law minister and one of the architects of the Constitution of India. He was also Chairman of Draft Committee of Indian Constitution.
3. Ambedkar was a prolific student, earning doctorates in economics from both Columbia University and the London School of Economics, and gained a reputation as a scholar for his research in law, economics and political science. In his early career he was an economist, professor, and lawyer.
4. His later life was marked by his political activities; he became involved in campaigning and negotiations for India's independence, publishing journals, advocating political rights and social freedom for Dalits, and contributing significantly to the establishment of the State of India.
5. Ambedkar was educated by the Maharaja of the State of Baroda, he was bound to serve it. He was appointed Military Secretary to the Gaikwad but had to quit in a short time.
6. In 1918, he became professor of Political Economy in the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in

Mumbai. Although he was successful with the students, other professors objected to his sharing a drinking-water jug with them.

7. Ambedkar had been invited to testify before the South Borough Committee, which was preparing the Government of India Act 1919. At this hearing, Ambedkar argued for creating separate electorates and reservations for untouchables and other religious communities.
8. In 1920, he began the publication of the weekly Mooknayak (Leader of the Silent) in Mumbai with the help of Shahu IV of Kolhapur.
9. While practising law in the Bombay High Court, he tried to promote education to untouchables and uplift them. His first organised attempt was his establishment of Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha, which intended to promote education and socioeconomic upliftment, as well as the welfare of "outcastes",
10. For the defence of Dalit rights, he started many periodicals like Mook Nayak, Bahishkrit Bharat, and Equality Janta.
11. By 1927, Ambedkar had decided to launch active movements against untouchability. He began with public movements and marches to open up public drinking water resources. He also began a struggle for the right to enter Hindu temples. He led a satyagraha in Mahad to fight for the right of the untouchable community to draw water from the main water tank of the town.
12. In a conference in late 1927, Ambedkar publicly condemned the classic Hindu text, the Manusmriti (Laws of Manu), for ideologically justifying caste discrimination and "untouchability", and he ceremonially burned copies of the ancient text. On 25 December 1927, he led thousands of followers to burn copies of Manusmriti. Thus annually 25 December is celebrated as Manusmriti Dahan Din (Manusmriti Burning Day) by Ambedkarites and Dalits.
13. In 1930, Ambedkar launched Kalaram Temple Movement after three months of preparation. About 15,000 volunteers assembled at Kalaram Temple satyagraha making one of the greatest processions of Nashik. The procession was headed by a military band, a batch of scouts, women and men walked in discipline, order and determination to see the god for the first time. When they reached to the gate, the gates were closed by Brahmin authorities.
14. In 1935, Ambedkar was appointed principal of the Government Law College, Bombay, a position he held for two years. He also served as the chairman of Governing body of Ramjas College, University of Delhi, after the death of its Founder Shri Rai Kedarnath.
15. In 1936, Ambedkar founded the Independent Labour Party, which contested the 1937 Bombay election to the Central Legislative Assembly for the 13 reserved and 4 general seats, and secured 11 and 3 seats respectively.
16. In his work 'Who Were the Shudras?', Ambedkar tried to explain the formation of untouchables. He saw Shudras and Ati Shudras who form the lowest caste in the ritual hierarchy of the caste system, as a separate from Untouchables.

17. Ambedkar oversaw the transformation of his political party into the Scheduled Castes Federation, although it performed poorly in the 1946 elections for Constituent Assembly of India. Later he was elected into the constituent assembly from Bengal where Muslim League was in power.
18. On 29 August 1947, he was appointed as the Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee, and was appointed by the Assembly to write India's new Constitution.
19. Just before one and half months of his death, he converted along with four lakh people (approximately) to Buddhism in revolt against Hinduism and Caste System.

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