



INSTITUTE  
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EDUCATION **IDE**  
Rajiv Gandhi University



MAHIS -506

# History of India (1857-1947)-II

MA HISTORY  
4th Semester

Rajiv Gandhi University  
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# **HISTORY OF INDIA**

## **(1857-1947)-II**

**MA [History]**

**Fourth Semester**

**MAHIS – 506**

**RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY**

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112



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## About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.



## **About IDE**

The formal system of higher education in our country is facing the problems of access, limitation of seats, lack of facilities and infrastructure. Academicians from various disciplines opine that it is learning which is more important and not the channel of education. The education through distance mode is an alternative mode of imparting instruction to overcome the problems of access, infrastructure and socio-economic barriers. This will meet the demand for qualitative higher education of millions of people who cannot get admission in the regular system and wish to pursue their education. It also helps interested employed and unemployed men and women to continue with their higher education, Distance education is a distinct approach to impart education to learners who remained away in the space and/or time from the teachers and teaching institutions on account of economic, social and other considerations. Our main aim is to provide higher education opportunities to those who are unable to join regular academic and vocational education programmes in the affiliated colleges of the University and make higher education reach to the doorsteps in rural and geographically remote areas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and North-eastern part of India in general. In 2008, the Centre for Distance Education has been renamed as "Institute of Distance Education (IDE)."

Continuing the endeavor to expand the learning opportunities for distant learners, IDE has introduced Post Graduate Courses in 5 subjects (Education, English, Hindi, History and Political Science) from the Academic Session 2013-14. The Institute of Distance Education is housed in the Physical Sciences Faculty Building (first floor) next to the University Library. The University campus is 6 kms from NERIST point on National Highway 52A. The University buses ply to NERIST point regularly.

### **Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:**

#### (1) At Par with Regular Mode

Eligibility requirements, curricular content, mode of examination and the award of degrees are on par with the colleges affiliated to the Rajiv Gandhi University and the Department(s) of the University.

#### (ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)

The students are provided SISM prepared by the Institute and approved by Distance Education Council (DEC), New Delhi. This will be provided at the time of admission at the IDE or its Study Centres. SISM is provided only in English except Hindi subject.

#### (iii) Contact and Counseling Programme (CCP)

The course curriculum of every programme involves counselling in the form of personal contact programme of duration of approximately 7-15 days. The CCP shall not be compulsory for BA. However for professional courses and MA the attendance in CCP will be mandatory.

#### (iv) Field Training and Project

For professional course(s) there shall be provision of field training and project writing in the concerned subject.

#### (v) Medium of Instruction and Examination

The medium of instruction and examination will be English for all the subjects except for those subjects where the learners will need to write in the respective languages.

#### (vi) Subject/Counseling Coordinators

For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counseling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University. The Counseling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counseling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in then respective subjects.

**SYLLABUS**  
**History of India 1857-1947)-II**

**UNIT I: IMPACT OF WORLD WAR-I**

- a) Outbreak of the World War-I and its Effect on Indian Politics
- b) Home Rule League
- c) Lucknow Pact

**UNIT II: EMERGENCE OF GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS-I**

- a) Khilafat Movement
- b) Non-Cooperation Movement
- c) Swarajist and Gandhi

**UNIT III: EMERGENCE OF GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS-II**

- a) Civil Disobedience Movement
- b) Quit India Movement

**UNIT IV: RADICAL ALTERNATIVES**

- a) Rise of Congress Left Wing
- b) Left Parties

**UNIT V: FREEDOM AND PARTITION**

- a) World War II and its Impact
- b) Towards Independence and Partition



## INTRODUCTION

The period between 1857 and 1947 is extremely crucial in the history of India. The advent of the Europeans for the purpose of trading later led to colonization by the British, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French in India. Under the British rule, India was exploited for its economic resources to a great extent. However, their rule also led to various reforms in the social, educational, commercial and judicial spheres. The World War I and World War II played an important role in arousing the spirit of nationalism among the Indians. Various freedom fighters fought for the independence of the country in their own way. Finally, India became independent on 15th August 1947 and became a republic on 26th January 1950 when the Constitution of India was enforced.

This book, History of India (1857-1947), contains topics such as the emergence of nationalism, the peasant revolts, social change and religious dissent, socio-religious reforms, impact of World War I, emergence of Gandhi in Indian politics, the Congress left wing, and Independence and Partition.

This book has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the Introduction followed by the Unit Objectives for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with Check Your Progress questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit. The Summary, Key Terms and Activity further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into FIVE units.

Unit 1: Explores the impact of World War I on Indian politics, the Home Rule League and Lucknow Pact.

Unit 2: Familiarizes you with the Khilafat Movement, Non-cooperation Movement and Swarajist and Gandhi's philosophy.

Unit 3: Discusses the Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement.

Unit 4: Describes the rise of the Congress left wing and Left parties.

Unit 5: Covers the impact of World War II and India's Independence and Partition.

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# UNIT 1 IMPACT OF WORLD WAR - I

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## Structure

- 0 Introduction
- 1 Unit Objectives
- 2 Outbreak of World War I and its Effects on Indian Politics
- 3 Home Rule League
- 4 Lucknow Pact
- 5 Summary
- 6 Key Terms
- 7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 8 Questions and Exercises
- 9 Further Reading

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## 0 INTRODUCTION

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At the beginning of the 20th century, Indians raised their voice for self-rule, a movement that came to be known as the struggle for Swaraj. The Indian National Congress demanded more powers for bodies with Indian representatives, such as the legislative council. There was also a clamour for recruiting to higher posts. The Congress proposed that the civil services examinations should be held in India rather than in England. They also demanded that steps should be taken to promote Indian industry and enterprise. In 1906, the Congress in a session presided by Dadabhai Naoroji, called for *swaraj* (a type of self-government elected by the people within the British Dominion) as it prevailed in the white colonies of the British Empire like Australia and Canada. Nationalist movements were gaining greater support, led by leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, who were arrested, while Tilak was deported to Burma for six years.

In order to control the volatile situation, the British made an attempt to placate the educated and moderate nationalist leaders, a move designed to isolate the militant movements. They announced some reforms in the structure of the government through the Indian Council Act of 1909, known as the Morley-Minto Reforms. Under these reforms, the number of additional members in the central Legislative Council was increased from 16 to 60, of which 27 were to be elected not only by a restricted number of people but also by the organizations of landlords and industrialists. Apart from this, representation was given to the Muslims separately. However, these measures did not satisfy the Indians, who only intensified their struggle for Swaraj.

During World War I (1914–1918), Indians supported and cooperated with the British and their Allies against the Central powers, and a large number of Indians lost their lives. They had hoped that in return, the British would agree to their demand for granting a dominion status to India after the war. After the end of the War, in response to the demand for swaraj and dominion status, the British introduced another set of reforms – the Government of India Act of 1919, also known as the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The reforms did little to meet the aspirations of Indians, who felt short-changed after fighting alongside the British in the War. They were not ready to settle for anything less than self-rule, or swaraj.

People's anger, disgust and discontent with the British spilled over in the form of violence and demonstrations all over the country. To suppress the volatile situation, the



British passed the Rowlatt Act in 1919, giving the government power to arrest and detain people in jail without trial. The situation culminated in the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy of 13 April 1919, in which General Dyer ordered indiscriminate firing on unarmed protestors in an enclosed ground near the Golden Temple, Amritsar. The victims had gathered to protest peacefully against the British government's excesses against Indians. In one of the most heinous acts by the British in India, hundreds were killed, including men, women and children.

Meanwhile, the international situation came to play in Indian politics. Indian Muslims were outraged by the humiliation of their Caliph, the Turkish sultan and the Khilafat movement started in India. Gandhi was able to unite this Khilafat movement with his Non-Cooperation movement. Both Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements aimed at large-scale mobilization and participation by the Hindus and the Muslims. They tried to influence people to spin their own cloth, picket liquor shops, and uphold their honour and integrity in the face of British imperialism.

This unit discusses the impact of World War I on Indian politics, the Home Rule League and the Lucknow Pact.

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## **1 UNIT OBJECTIVES**

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the outbreak of World War I and its effects on Indian politics
- Describe the Home Rule League
- Explain the Lucknow Pact

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## **2 OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I AND ITS EFFECTS ON INDIAN POLITICS**

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The World War I started in June 1914. France, Great Britain, Russia and Japan were on one side and Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey comprised the opposing side. Later, Italy also joined the former group. In the third world countries, this war awakened the spirit of nationalism among the masses.

When the war started, the Congress was dominated by the moderate faction led by Gokhale. The Congress took a decision to help the British considering it a duty. It decided to support the British thinking that after getting help from India, the British would feel grateful and would allow self-government in India. However, the Indian leaders at that time could not realize that the war between these groups was basically to safeguard their colonies. Nonetheless, the Congress did not support the British when Bal Gangadhar Tilak came back from jail. Tilak stated that pleading before the British for their rights did not serve any purpose. He maintained that freedom was the birthright of the Indians. Hence, he laid the foundation of the anti-government movement that was later led and guided by Gandhi.

Majority of the Indian leaders ultimately felt that the British government would not allow self-government in India if they were not pressurized for the same. Hence, they realized the requirement to start a mass movement. There were several other reasons behind the people's decision to start a mass movement. During the war period, heavy taxes were imposed on the people and the prices of essential goods also increased.



Consequently, this period witnessed intense agitations against the policies of the British government.

When the First World War broke out in the year 1914, India was also going through a state of growing political turbulence. The Indian National Congress was no longer a group that met and discussed issues in political conferences. Slowly, it was demanding self-governance from the British. The Germans, before the breakout of the War, had made efforts to stir up an anti-British sentiment in India. The Germans believed that if the British faced heat in India, their chances of victory in the War would be significantly reduced. William Archer wrote of the moment: "The moment Britain gets into trouble elsewhere, India, in her present temper, would burst into a blaze of rebellion."

These fears were, however, unfounded. When the War was declared on August 4, 1914, India rallied behind the cause of the British and supported it in the War. The influential section of the country believed that the independence of India was in the hands of the British and thus, the country should support the colonizers in whatever capacity it could. Financial and military help was offered to the British from all over the country. Wealthy states offered huge sums of money. States outside of the British control too pitched in to help – Nepal, for instance, sent 100,000 of its Gurkha soldiers while the Dalai Lama in Tibet provided 1000 of his troops in support of the British. Despite its initial fears of unrest, at the time of the War the British Army was able to handle large groups of troops and take out most of its military equipment from India as people supported the British and brought down the fear of unrest within the country. The Indian troops, in fact, were battle-ready much before the War and before the troops of other dominions.

By the winter of 1914, Indian troops were placed in the Western Front and participated in the first Battle of Ypres. The troops suffered many casualties by the end of 1915. During this time, it was decided to withdraw the Indian Corps from the frontline duty due to large-scale casualties from battles and sickness.

While one and a half million Indian volunteered to fight for the British, nearly 800,000 Indian troops participated in all battles held in the War. Indian troops bravely fought across many countries, including Gallipoli and North and East Africa. By the end of the War, a total of 47,746 Indian troops were registered as killed or missing and 65,000 were wounded. For its valour, the Indian Corps was given 13,000 medals for gallantry, including 12 Victoria Crosses. The Corps' first Victoria Cross was won by Khudadad Khan.

As with all wars, the cost of this war too took a toll on the Indian economy and it was pushed to the brink of bankruptcy. Yet, the British establishment was surprised with the support it received from the Indians. The Times noted at the time: "The Indian empire has overwhelmed the British nation by the completeness and unanimity of its enthusiastic aid."

As mentioned above, the Indians had provided support believing that it would be rewarded by the British in return with a significant move towards independence or at the least self-governance. It was soon apparent that the British held no such intentions. With this, the mood among the Indian political class and the masses soon turned antagonistic and even revolutionary towards the British. At the time when the War was in its final stages, Mahatma Gandhi retorted: "Seek ye first the recruiting office, and everything will be added unto you". Thus, the British government's post-war lack of support to the cause of the Indian independence alienated leaders like Gandhi and gave a great stimulus to the national movement. The Government of India Act was finally introduced in the year 1919.



Its main features were:

- It introduced a national parliament for India having two houses.
- Around 5 million of the wealthiest upper class Indians were provided the right to vote (a very small percentage of the total population).
- In the provincial governments, the Indian national were entitled to become the ministers of education, health and public works.
- The act had the provisions for a commission to be held in 1929, to find out if India was ready for more concessions/reforms.

Nonetheless, the British still controlled all the central government portfolios and even within the provincial governments they controlled the key positions of tax and law and order. Many Indians felt that they had been severely let down by the British government for their support provided during World War I. But despite such feelings of being let down, India still played a major part in World War II as well.

The Government of India Act, 1919, was passed to increase the participation of Indians in the Government of India. The Act included the reforms which were suggested in the report of the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford.

Some of the features of the Act are as follows:

- (i) **Preamble:** The preamble of the Government of India Act includes the principles and policies which laid the foundation of this Act. The Preamble suggested a decentralized unitary form of government.

The policy of the British Parliament was:

- (a) To provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration
- (b) To develop self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the empire
- (c) The time and manner of gradual advance towards this goal to be decided by the British Parliament

- (ii) **Distribution of functions of government:** The functions of the government were divided into two categories: central functions and provincial functions. The provincial subjects were subdivided into 'transferred' and 'reserved'. It was decided that the ministers who were accountable to the legislature would assist the Governors in the transferred subjects. On the other hand, the Councillors who were not accountable to the legislature, were to advise the Governors in the reserved subjects. Thus, the dual set of governments were introduced in the provinces namely accountable and non-accountable.

- (iii) **Powers of Governor-General:** The Central Legislature was given the authority to consider, pass or reject legislation on any subject which was mentioned in the Central List. However, the authority of the final decision on any Bill passed by the Legislature was in the hands of the Governor-General. He had the authority to stop consideration of any Bill or a part of a Bill, if he believed that it might be dangerous for the peace of the country. He also had the power not to allow debate or adjournment motion on some issues, in the legislature.

The Governor-General also had the authority to hold back his agreement on any Bill. No Bill could become an Act without his agreement. Moreover, he



also had a power to enact a law which he believed was important for the peace and safety of the country, even if the Legislature did not pass it.

- (iv) **Division of members:** In this Act, the members were divided into three categories: elected, nominated officials and nominated non-officials and they had 70 per cent, 10 per cent and 20 per cent members respectively.
- (v) **The voting qualifications:** According to this Act, the voting qualification varied in different provinces. Moreover, within the same province, the voting qualifications were different based on whether the area was rural or urban. There were two categories of constituencies namely general and special. The general constituency included Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Sikhs, etc. Special constituencies represented land holders, universities, chambers of commerce etc.
- (vi) **Two types of legislature:** According to this Act, legislature was categorized into two types namely the Council of States and the Central Legislative Assembly. The Council of States had 60 members, out of which 33 were elected and 27 were nominated. The Central Legislature Assembly had 145 members, out of which 104 were elected and 41 were nominated.
- (vii) **Provincial legislatures and its powers:** The number of seats of provincial legislatures varied from province to province. The provincial legislative councils had the authority to legislate on the topics which were listed under provincial subjects. The Governor had the authority not to consider a Bill. If he considered the Bill dangerous for the peace and safety of the province, he had the authority to send the Bill back to the House for reconsideration. In some cases, he could keep the Bill to send to the Governor-General for his opinion. The Governor-General was empowered to reserve the Bill to take the opinion of the Crown.
- (viii) **Executive Council of the Governor-General:** This Council was not accountable to the Central Legislature rather it was accountable to the Secretary of State. There was no limit on the membership of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Three members out of the six members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General were to be Indians. A pleader who pleaded in the Indian High Court was also eligible to become a law member.
- (ix) **Powers of the Secretary of State for India:** Earlier the Secretary of the State for India had a lot of authority over the central and provincial administration. However, with the enactment of this, his powers were reduced.

### **Importance of the Act**

Many prominent leaders of the time observed that the Act of 1919 was important as it was more comprehensive than any other Act enacted before. This Act introduced direct election and increased the franchise. After the enactment of this Act, Indian ministers for the first time, could handle some of the departments of provincial administration not merely as official nominees but as the leaders of the elected majorities. These ministers were responsible to the people. It gave an opportunity to the people to take first-hand experience in politics.

However, even though the Act had some commendable features, it was defective in many ways. Dr. A K. Heith said 'the executive remained wholly free from direct authority of the legislature'.

The subjects which the Indian leaders were given to handle were not important from the point of view of politics. The system that came into being after this Act did not improve the efficiency of administration.





The ministers felt that they did not have enough authority to carry out their responsibility. Sir K. V. Reddy said, 'I was minister for Development without the Forest. I was the minister for Agriculture minus irrigation.' The Moderates accepted the Act as they took this Act as a first step towards self-government. The Nationalist party did not accept the Act as they considered inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory.

With the outbreak of World War I, there was great enthusiasm in the country. The people of India were willing to serve the government in every possible way. After Marne, there was an increasing demand for Indian troops outside India. When Turkey joined the Central Powers in October 1914, Indian troops garrisoned the Suez Canal and repulsed a Turkish attack. Indian troops fought through the long campaigns of Macedonia and German East Africa. They played an important part in the Iraq campaign leading to the capture of Baghdad in 1917. In this way, they helped to found the present State of Iraq. They were in the Allied army which took Jerusalem in 1917. All this involved a great effort in India itself. Eight lakhs of men were recruited for the fighting forces, together with four lakhs of non-combatants. This resulted in great expansion in the military machine, a great mixture of classes and a stronger feeling of self-confidence all around. Indian self-confidence grew when the magnitude of their effort and the extent to which it depended upon Indians themselves, were realized.

In the administrative sphere, the British government made a mistake in allowing the British civilian officers to serve the forces during the war. Many of them never returned and those who returned found themselves in a strange new mental world to which it was difficult to adapt themselves. When times grew difficult towards the end of the war, the Government had only an ageing and tired cadre of officers to rely upon.

In the economic sphere, the first effect of the war was one of stimulus. The industrial development of modern India owes a good deal to the demands of World War I. However, increasing demands and expenditure led to rise in prices and ultimately enthusiasm was turned into discontent. Englishmen could be expected to put up with inconveniences because they felt that they were fighting for their very existence and their victory was likely to add to their glory. The same could not be said about the Indians for whom the war was merely an external affliction. No doubt, they became not only exhausted and war-weary but also sour, discontented and resentful.

The attitude of India towards Europeans and its people was altered radically and permanently. The Indians gave up the feeling that the Europeans were superior to them morally and technically. They were regarded merely as more powerful. The first war casualty in India was the image of Western superiority.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 also had a profound influence on the mind of the Indians. They felt that if the people of Russia could overthrow an imperialist regime, the same could be done by the Indians in their own country. The Fourteen points of President Wilson had great influence on the Indians. They also demanded the rights of national freedom and self-determination of people. No wonder, the Indians demanded self-government in the name of the fundamental principles accepted by the Allied Powers.

As regards the effect of war on Muslims, they were very unhappy. They did not approve of the dismemberment of Turkey, which was regarded as the sword of Islam. They also did not like the treatment given to the Arabs who were considered to be rebels against the Turkish Khalifa. Their princes were regarded as stooges of the infidel.



When the war started, the Congress was still a middle-class body of westernized professionals with some commercial and industrial backing. It was firmly under the control of Gokhale and the Moderates. However, all this was changed during the war. Tilak came back from jail and became the all important leader of all-India. Tilak was opposed to the old policy of making prayers to the British Government. His contention was that every Indian had the birthright to be free. He laid the foundations for the great anti-government movement led by Gandhiji in the next few years.

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### 4.3 HOME RULE LEAGUE

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The All India Home Rule League was formed in 1916. It was a national political organization which aimed at leading the national demand for self-government. Self-government was termed as Home Rule. Indians wanted to obtain the status of a Dominion within the British empire as enjoyed by Canada, Australia, Newfoundland, South Africa, and New Zealand at that time.

From 1916 to 1918, when the World War I was in its last phase, many prominent Indians decided to organize a national alliance of leagues across India. The aim of these leagues was to demand Home Rule, or self-government within the British Empire throughout India. Some of the prominent Indians, who were a part of this alliance, were Joseph Baptista, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, G. S. Khaparde, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sir S. Subramania Iyer and Annie Besant.

In one of the sessions of the Congress, Tilak proposed the formation of a working committee which could look after day to day affairs of the organization and take steps for the implementations of resolutions passed in its annual sessions. This proposal by Tilak was rejected by a number of members of the Congress. After some time, Tilak decided the formation of the Home Rule League. The first league was founded by Tilak in Pune, Maharashtra.

Besant proposed that Home Rule League in the country could be modeled on the Irish Home Rule movement in order to spread awareness among the people. During this movement, Tilak said, 'Do not ask for crumbs. Ask for the whole bread' and 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it'. He also demanded education in vernacular language.

The league organized discussions, conducted lecture tours and circulated pamphlets to spread awareness among the people. After the formation of the league, Mohammad Ali Jinnah became the head of Bombay branch of the league.

The main areas of league's activity were Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The league became popular and a number of members of the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League joined hands with the league.

The leaders of the league delivered speeches at various parts of the country. They took signatures of Indians on various petitions and submitted the petitions to the British government. During the movement, Annie Besant was arrested by the police. After her arrest, the movement spread to many other places of India such as Sindh, Punjab, Gujarat, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Madras.

By the end of 1917, Tilak got involved in a libel suit against Valentine Chirol and had to go to England for this case. In the absence of Tilak, Besant was not able to lead the league alone.



The movement of the league strengthened during Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience movement. His efforts to lead the farmers of Champaran, Bihar and Kheda, Gujarat against the British authorities during tax revolts made him really popular among the masses. Initially, many leaders, such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai, did not agree with the ideas of Gandhi. Later on, the transformation of Indian politics due to Gandhi's efforts made him popular among these leaders as well.

Before the participation of Gandhi, the Indian National Congress was a body of educated Indians and people from cities. Gandhi's participation made the Congress strong as 15 million people across provinces, towns and villages joined the organization. In 1920, Mahatma Gandhi was elected as the President of All India Home Rule League. Within a year, the league merged with the Congress and formed a united Indian political front.

With the rise of revolutionary movements and extremism, the British government followed a two-edged policy: (i) adopting the policies of repression and dividing the Indians, specifically the Hindus and the Muslims; and (ii) bringing about gradual reforms which resulted in passing of the Act of 1909. The formation of the Muslim League in 1906 and the clause of the communal electorate system in the Act of 1909 discredited the British in the eyes of most of the Indians. Still a lull remained in Indian politics for some time because the moderates grudgingly decided to cooperate with the government for some more time. The outbreak of World War I provided a new impetus to the national movement. As we have already seen, when World War I started the Indian National Congress supported the government in its war efforts with the presumption that the British government will bring about some administrative reforms for the benefit of the Indians after the war. However, the extremists viewed it as a God-sent opportunity and took a decision to advance their own cause. They thought that it was the fitting time to force Britain to agree to the Indian demands for extracting political concessions during their time of difficulties. The extremists were basically influenced by the emergence of the Irish Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Issac Butt. B.G. Tilak returned to active politics in 1914 after completing his term of imprisonment. He tried to join hands with the Congress on the issue of demanding 'Home Rule' for India. However, when he did not succeed in this, he founded the Home Rule League on 28 April 1916 with its headquarters at Poona. Due to the British indigestibility for the word 'swaraj', Tilak opted for the term 'Home Rule' in place of 'swaraj' as the main objective of the movement. The main aim of the Home Rule League was to 'attain Home-Rule or self government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same'.

Annie Besant, an Irish lady, had arrived in India as a member of the Theosophical Society. She later joined the Congress. Further, she had set up a Home Rule League in London in 1914 and ultimately founded a Home Rule League on 15 September 1916. The latter had its headquarters at Adyar near Madras. Both these leagues supported each other and hence, divided their areas of activities among themselves. Tilak's Home Rule League confined its activities to Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Berar, while Besant's League functioned in the rest of the country. Tilak and Besant toured all over India and propagated the message of the Home Rule among the masses. They used the means of newspapers, mass meetings and distribution of leaflets to spread their message. Tilak used *Young India* to stir the popular sentiments. Besant, on her



part, used *New India* and *Common Weal* to educate the masses about the League's objectives. The movement attracted liberal leaders such as Motilal Nehru and Tej Bahadur Sapru who became its members. The Home Rule movement turned a powerful phenomenon during the phase of World War I. The movement strived for the grant of self-government to India within the British dominions. However, it always remained within constitutional limits.

The government put strenuous efforts to suppress the movement through force. Mrs Besant was forced to stop the publication of *New India* and was sentenced to home imprisonment. When action was taken against Mrs Besant and Tilak on their refusal to provide securities and personal bonds, the movement acquired an all-India character. The movement infused the spirit of patriotism, fearlessness, self-respect and sacrifice among the people. Ultimately, the government relented and in 1917 by Montague's declaration was receptive to the idea of self-government for India through a gradual process. Mrs Annie Besant was elected as the Congress President in 1917 and the objective of 'Home Rule' was accepted by the Congress. It was the biggest success of this movement.

However, the movement got weakened after some time. Some of the reasons for this were: the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919; factionalism in the Congress on the issue of the Act; departure of Tilak to London for a legal case; and Besant's consent to the new scheme of reforms of 1919. Although the Home Rule Movement could not achieve its objectives, it kept the fire of nationalism burning among the Indians during the course of the war. It was crucial because during this period the congress had failed to provide any direction to the people. On the issue of the significance of the Home Rule Movement, S.R. Mehrotra states 'The Home Rule League created a significant impact on the national movement in India. For the first time an agitation had been aroused on a nation-wide scale and a network of political committees covered much of India.'

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## 4 LUCKNOW PACT

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The nationalists realized that disunity among them was harming their cause and that they should put up a united front against the government. The fast emerging nationalist feeling in the country and the urge for national unity resulted in historical developments during the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1916. Most importantly, the two factions of the Congress were reunited. The old controversies were no longer relevant because most of the leaders realized that the split in the Congress had borne political inactivity. Tilak, after his release from jail in 1914, instantly felt the change in the situation and strived to unify the two streams of Congressmen. To pacify the moderate nationalists, he stated:

I may state once for all that we are trying in India, as the Irish Home rulers have been all along doing in Ireland, for a reform of the system of administration and not for the overthrow of government; and I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence which have been committed in the different parts of India are not only repugnant to me, but have, in my opinion, only unfortunately retarded to a great extent, the pace of our political progress.

Further, the emerging tide of nationalism forced the old leaders to welcome Lokamanya Tilak and other militant nationalists back into the Congress. The Lucknow



Congress was the first united Congress since 1907. It asked for further constitutional reforms as a step towards self-government. At Lucknow, the Congress and the All India Muslim League buried their old differences and forwarded united political demands before the government. The War and the two Home Rule Leagues were generating a new sentiment in the country which changed the character of the Congress. Similarly, the Muslim League had also been undergoing gradual changes. We have already observed earlier that the younger section of the educated Muslims was taking to bolder form of nationalist politics. The War period witnessed further developments in that direction. As a result, in 1914 the government took punitive measures against the publication of *Al Hilal* of Abul Kalam Azad and the *Comrade* of Maulana Mohamed Ali. The government also interned the Ali Brothers (Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali), Hasrat Mohani and Abul Kalam Azad. Even though partially, the League at least reflected the political militancy of its younger members. It steadily began to outgrow the limited political outlook of the Aligarh school of thought and shifted nearer to the general Congress policies.

This growing unity in the objectives of the Congress and the League culminated in the signing of the Congress–League Pact, popularly called the Lucknow Pact. Lokamanya Tilak and Mohammad Ali Jinnah played an important role in bringing the two together. They believed that India can win self-government only through Hindu-Muslim unity. Tilak stated at the time:

It has been said, gentlemen, by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mohammedan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Mohammedan community only. I would not care if they are granted to the lower and the lowest classes of the Hindu population. When we have to fight against a third party, it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united, united in race, united in religion, as regard all different shades of political creed. The two organizations passed similar resolutions at their sessions. They also put forward a joint scheme of political reforms on the basis of separate electorates and demanded that the British government should make a declaration to the effect that it will confer self-government to India at the earliest.

In the field of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Lucknow Pact marked an important step forward. Regrettably, it did not involve the Hindu and Muslim masses and accepted the harmful principle of separate electorates. It was meant to bring together the educated Hindus and Muslims as distinct political entities. But it lacked on the critical issue of secularizing their political outlook, which would have made them understand that in politics they possessed no distinct interests as Hindus or Muslims. Therefore, the Lucknow Pact left scope for the future resurgence of communalism in Indian politics. Nonetheless, the immediate effect of the developments at Lucknow was wonderful. The unity between the moderate and militant nationalists as well as between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League created immense political enthusiasm in the country. Even the British government found it essential to appease the nationalists. Till then it had heavily depended upon repression to control the nationalist agitation.

Earlier, scores of radical nationalists and revolutionaries had been jailed or interned under the provisions of nefarious Defense of India Act and other similar regulations. The government now realized the requirement to appease nationalist opinion and on 20 August 1917 declared that its policy in India was 'the gradual development of self-



governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government of India as an integral part of the British empire'.

In July 1918, the Montague-Chelmsford reforms were declared. However, the Indian nationalis could not be appeased. Actually, the Indian national movement was soon to enter its third and last phase, i.e., the phase of mass struggle or the Gandhian Era. When Bal Gangadhar Tilak came back from jail with the thought that it was no use pleading in front of the British Government, he tried to reunite with other members of the Congress. Pherozshah Mehta, however, did not support Tilak.

In 1914, the rise of Annie Besant in the political domain helped in the reunification of the Congress. Annie Besant was a Theosophical leader who started her career as a politician in England. She was a proponent of free thought, Radicalism, and Theosophy. She decided to come to India in 1893 and set up the Theosophical Society. Many educated Indians became her followers. She was 66 years of age in 1914. She joined the Congress to promote nationalist political activity.

In 1915, after the death of Pherozshah Mehta, the Tilak group was allowed to re-enter the Congress. The Congress as well as the Muslim League met in Bombay. In 1916, Lucknow pact was made. Muhammed Ali Jinnah was a member of the Muslim League. In 1916, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League negotiated to reach an agreement. As per this agreement, the two organizations decided to pressurize the British government to give Indians more authority.

Earlier, the objective of the Muslim League was to safeguard the interests of Muslims in India. Thus, the Lucknow Pact brought a significant change in the policy of the league. Jinnah was the mastermind and architect of this pact. This pact also brought the Moderates and the Extremist groups of the Congress together.

After a few months of the Bombay meetings, 19 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, Hindus as well as Muslims, addressed a memorandum to the Viceroy. The memorandum had the suggestions for reforms. Their suggestions were discussed, amended and accepted at the next meeting of the Congress and Muslim League leaders. The meeting took place at Calcutta in November 1916. After this, the Congress had its annual session on December 29 1916. Similarly, the annual session of the Muslim League was on December 31, 1916. The agreement made in the meeting at Calcutta were confirmed in the annual sessions of the organizations in Lucknow.

Some of the important features of this Pact were:

1. There shall be self-government in India.
2. One-third representation should be given to the Muslims in the central government.
3. Until a community specifically demands joint electorates, separate electorates should be held for all communities.
4. Adoption of a system of weightage to minority political representation. This meant giving minorities more representation in the government than was proportional to their share of the population.
5. Increase in the number of members of the Central Legislative Council to 150.
6. At the provincial level, election of four-fifth members of the Legislative Councils and nomination of one-fifth members.
7. In the major provinces, the size of provincial legislatures to not be less than 125 and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

8. Except those who are nominated, all members should be elected directly on the basis of adult franchise.
9. No Bill concerning a community should be passed if the same is opposed by three-fourth of members of that community in the Legislative Council.
10. The term of the Legislative Council should be five years.
11. The president of the Legislative Council should be elected by members themselves.
12. Half of the members of the Executive Council should be Indians.
13. For the Executive Councils of Governors, the same method should be adopted.
14. Abolishment of the India Council.
15. The British government should pay the salaries of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs and not use the Indian funds for the same.
16. One of the two under secretaries should be Indian.
17. The Executive and the judiciary should be separated from each other.
18. In the Provincial Legislatures, the number of Muslims would be laid down province by province.

Significantly, it was this pact which brought about a change in the approach of the Muslims towards the Congress, which was considered predominantly Hindu till then.

### ACTIVITY

From suitable sources read as much as you can on the Home Rule Movement in India. Read with the objective of gathering facts only. Prepare a note of the important happenings related to the movement. Now working like a historian, build up your own version of the reasons that were responsible for it not succeeding as much as it should have.

### DID YOU KNOW

In 2007, the Government of India released a coin to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

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## 5 SUMMARY

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In this unit, you have learnt that:

- In the economic sphere, the first effect of the war was one of stimulus. The industrial development of modern India owes a good deal to the demands of World War I. However, increasing demands and expenditure led to rise in prices and ultimately enthusiasm was turned into discontent.
- The Russian Revolution of 1917 also had a profound influence on the minds of the Indians. They felt that if the people of Russia could overthrow an imperialist regime, the same could be done by the Indians in their own country.





- As regards the effect of war on Muslims, they were very unhappy. They did not approve of the dismemberment of Turkey, which was regarded as the sword of Islam. They also did not like the treatment given to the Arabs who were considered to be rebels against the Turkish Khalifa. Their princes were regarded as stooges of the infidel.
- With the rise of revolutionary movements and extremism, the British government followed a two-edged policy: (i) adopting the policies of repression and dividing the Indians, specifically the Hindus and the Muslims; and (ii) bringing about gradual reforms which resulted in passing of the Act of 1909.
- The main aim of the Home Rule League was to 'attain Home-Rule or self-government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same'.
- The fast emerging nationalist feeling in the country and the urge for national unity resulted in historical developments during the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1916. Most importantly, the two factions of the Congress were reunited.
- In the field of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Lucknow Pact marked an important step forward.
- In July 1918, the Montague-Chelmsford reforms were declared.

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## 6 KEY TERMS

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- **Communalism:** A principle of political organization based on federated communes
- **Pact:** A formal agreement between individuals or parties
- **Reform:** The action or process of reforming an institution or practice

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## 7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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1. Increasing demands and expenditure
2. Russian
3. Muslim League
4. *New India* and *Common Weal*
5. Lucknow Congress
6. Communalism

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## 8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the two-edged policy followed by the British government?
2. What did the Home Rule Movement strive for?
3. What was the essence of the Lucknow Pact?

### Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss in detail the effects of World War I on India.
2. Write a short note on Home Rule League.
3. Describe the Lucknow Pact.

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## 9 FURTHER READING

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Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust.

Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.



# UNIT 2 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS - I

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## Structure

- 0 Introduction
  - 1 Unit Objectives
  - 2 India in the Early 20th Century
  - 3 Emergence of Gandhi: Champaran and Kheda Movements
  - 4 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920)
  - 5 Khilafat Movement
    - 5.1 Revolutionary Fervor
    - 5.2 Struggle for Swaraj
  - 6 Summary
  - 7 Key Terms
  - 8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
  - 9 Questions and Exercises
  - 10 Further Reading
- 

## 0 INTRODUCTION

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Indians were slowly becoming aware of their rights under the British rule. They had started demanding a share in governing their own country. Although they supported the British during World War I, they sought the right to govern India. The Indian National Congress during this time was under the moderates who still wanted to remain loyal to the British but insisted on self-government. The growth of an extremist faction within the Indian National Congress was attributed to the failure of the moderates to achieve something substantial for the Indian people. The extremists on the other hand wanted to oust the British out of the country and take full control of the government. With the moderates fading away in the background, the extremists gained confidence with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle.

This unit deals with the emergence of Gandhian philosophy in Indian politics.

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## 1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the Khilafat Movement
  - Describe the Non-Cooperative Movement
  - Explain the ideology of Swarajist and Gandhi
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## 2 INDIA IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

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The nationalist movement in India progressed as a result of the British colonial exploitation. It achieved momentum through various stages. The British entered India as a trading entity. Their economic interest collided with the political pattern of the contemporary Indian history. Non-violent resistance is a peaceful way of resistance against a perceived social injustice or an unjust treatment. It is carried on using symbolic protests, civil

disobedience, economic or political non-cooperation, and other methods, which do not involve violence. It is largely synonymous with civil resistance. The nationalist movement of India is the best set example of the modern form of non-violent resistance movement to gain independence from the British.

Throughout Asia and Africa, nationalist ideas fuelled the campaigns to replace the old European empires with homegrown rulers in the twentieth century. The concept of nationalism which is the latent force of nationalist movements is not a belief, but rather a force supposed to move people to action and belief. Nationalism is better treated as a complex of ideas and sentiments which responded flexibly decade by decade to new situations, usually situations of grievances in which people may find themselves. In the nineteenth century, the idea became dominant that the natural goal of every national movement is the creation, maintenance and increase in power of a nation state through non-violent resistance.

Nationalism and national movement appear as a continuation of the democratic movement which, after achieving the elimination of all privileges associated with aristocracy, sets up its own nation. Nationalism of this sort assumes an emotional character which easily becomes aggressive and thrives on the negation of other alien people and ethnic groups and rises to extreme forms of passionate hostility to all foreign manifestations. Nationalism exhorts to the spiritual and intellectual needs of men. Even his emotional and instinctive powers are manifested through it. Since the emotional and instinctive powers of men are more decisive for nationalism and find expression in collective action, the individual should be reached when his critical powers are either undeveloped or in abeyance. For this reason, the nationalist propaganda concentrates upon the youth and the masses.

The nationalist movements have their genesis in the intellectual class. To quote Bipin Chandra, 'The pre-nationalist resistance to colonial rule failed to understand the twin phenomena of colonialism and the nation-in-the-making. In fact, these phenomena were not visible, or available to be grasped, on the surface. They had to be grasped through hard analysis. This analysis and political consciousness based on it were then taken to the people by intellectuals who played a significant role in arousing the inherent, instinctive, nascent, anti-colonial consciousness of the masses.'

### **Building up of resistance movements**

The historical sketch of the nationalist movement divides it into two broad phases: one before 1857, when political and economic interest of the British collided with that of the local and regional heads and the other pointing at the aftermath of the struggle; and another after 1857. Very often the masses supported the struggle against the British. But these rebellions were localized, sporadic and isolated events - their mass base being the rack-rented peasants, ruined artisans and demobilized soldiers. Such resistance movements nearer home were the uprising of 1803-04, the Paik Rebellion of Khurda of 1817. The century-old exploitation of the British resulted in various types of discontentment in the society, and this suddenly fermented in 1857.

The reaction of the tribes towards the British was no less important. The tribal people, spread over a large part of India, organized hundreds of militant outbreaks and insurrections during the nineteenth century. These uprisings were marked by immense courage and sacrifice on their part and brutal suppression and veritable butchery on the part of the rulers. The colonial administration disturbed the daily lives of the tribals and made them miserable. The socio-economic transformation projected by the colonial



pattern introduced a large number of moneylenders, traders and revenue farmers as middlemen among the tribals. The tribals got ensnared in the web of debt. They lost their independent livelihood and their status got reduced to that of agricultural labourers, share-croppers and rack-rented tenants. The colonial government deprived them of such an age old anchorage as the forest which they perceived to be like their mother and depended on for their survival. The socio-economic condition deteriorated due to the exploitation of the colonial instruments like that of the policemen and petty officials. Bipin Chandra writes: 'Oppression and extortion by policemen and other petty officials further aggravated distress among the tribals. The revenue farmers and government agents also intensified and expanded the system of beggary- making the tribals perform unpaid labour.'

Such type of oppression led to various regional resistance movements in different parts of India, which were broad-based and often involved the entire population of the region. The remarkable tribal uprisings occurred in Bhagalpur and Rajmahal around 1855 and were known as Santhal hool or Santhal rebellion. The Kols of Chhotnagpur rebelled from 1820-1837. The hill tribesmen of Rampa in coastal Andhra revolted in March 1879 against forest regulations. Birsa led the Munda rebellion against the British in the hilly tracts of Bihar. The tribal rebellions often originated out of exploitation of the 'son of the soils' and it got nourished on myths encompassing in its fold the commoners from below throughout the nineteenth century.

The revolt of 1857 came as the first major challenge to British colonialism. Though it started from the barracks of sepoys, yet it attracted people from different walks of life, who were somewhat dissatisfied with their foreign masters for subjective reasons. The sole interest of the East India Company was to realize maximum revenue with minimum effort. The peasantry became indebted and impoverished. Emphasis was given on the collection of revenue even in most adverse circumstances. The decline and destruction of traditional art and craft also brought sufferings to a major part of Indian population. As a result, peasants reacted against the colonial exploitation. The Indigo Revolt of 1859-60 had its origin in the exploitation of indigo planters. But a significant feature of this revolt was the role played by the intelligentsia of Bengal. They had, in fact, organized powerful campaigns in support of the rebellious peasantry. They carried on newspaper campaigns, organized mass meetings, prepared memoranda on peasants' grievances and supported the victims in their legal battles.

### **Peasant insurrections**

The exploited and oppressed peasants of India revolted against the alien rule and created a base for the nationalist struggle. The consciousness of the main bulk of the society was transformed, creating a scope for reform and revolution. The peasant movements of nineteenth and twentieth century were mostly guided on the ideals of nationalism. Their cadres and leaders mainly carried on the mission of organizing the peasantry on class lines. This enabled them to play a supportive role in the nationalist movement.

### **Resistance by the working class**

The next important group of the Indian society who played a vital role in the nationalist struggle was the workers. The workers, whose area of operation was restricted to the factories and organized sectors, represented the have-nots and unprivileged section and they often acted and got organized through the agency of the philanthropists during the last part of the nineteenth century. In the beginning years of the twentieth century, the nationalist leaders got associated with the workers and inspired and instigated them to



react for exclusively economic causes. During the Swadeshi days, the workers got involved in the mainstream political issues. During the anti-partition and Swadeshi days, nascent trade-unions functioned to inspire the workers on political lines. Home Rule leagues of Tilak and Annie Besant also stimulated the workers to be attracted towards the fold of nationalist struggle. The workers were up in arms against the foreign, profit-seeking British.

The working class came closer to the nationalist struggle during the war years. The *hartal* and general strike against the Rowlatt Act and the wave of indignation that swept the country after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre made the working class more reactive. During the Civil Disobedience days, the slogan of the Congress slogan was: 'the workers and peasants are the hands and feet of the Congress'. The workers participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement all over the country. There grew an opinion that the Congress was the only organization, which was carrying on the fight against imperialism and, therefore, the workers began to follow the lead of the Congress.

The workers also actively participated in the nationalist struggle during the days of provincial autonomy. When the Second World War started on 3 September 1939, the working class of Bombay reacted immediately. The meaningful role played by the workers during the 'Quit India' days is of great importance. Till independence the workers actively participated in the nationalist struggle in response to the call of the leaders. The nationalist movement enriched itself, when the workers supported it in its metamorphosis.

#### **Tagore: The preacher of self-reliance**

Earlier the social reformers had preached the idea of human equality, indirectly fostering the concept of the unity of India and Indians. Though the nationalist struggle was engineered by the elite in the early stages, the militant nationalists acted on a more practical programme to take up the political struggle to the masses. Rabindranath Tagore preached the importance of self-reliance i.e. '*aatmashakti*'. The extremists tried vociferously to bring the peasants and workers into the movement. The youth of the country associated themselves in the nationalist struggle right from the Swadeshi days. The students, teachers, clerks, etc. formed volunteer groups and joined the struggle. The remarkable aspect of it was the approach from the grassroots, right from the extremist days.

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### **3 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI: CHAMPARAN AND KHEDA MOVEMENTS**

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Mahatma Gandhi was born in Porbander, Gujarat, on 2 October 1869. He finished his schooling in Rajkot, where his father served as the adviser to the local ruler of Rajkot. Though India was under British rule, over 500 kingdoms, principalities, and states were allowed autonomy, however, they were bound to the British government by subsidiaries. These states are called native states or princely states and Rajkot was also a native state. In 1888, Gandhi went to England, where he pursued a degree in law. After completing his law degree, Gandhi decided to accept an offer from an Indian businessman in South Africa, Dada Abdulla, to join him as a legal adviser. Gandhi was to stay in South Africa for over twenty years. It was here that Gandhi first got a taste of European racism when he was thrown out of first class railway compartment despite



having a first class ticket. This incident gave birth to a strong political awakening which forced him to come back to India and join in India's freedom for struggle.

In early 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India. After his return to India, he is known to have left the country only once in 1931 to participate in the Second Round Table Conference. On the advice of G.K. Gokhale, he travelled extensively throughout India to familiarize himself with India and Indian conditions. He considered Gokhale to be his political mentor and often turned to him for advice. For the next few years Gandhi became involved in various local struggles such as the ones in Kheda, Gujarat and Champaran, Bihar. These local struggles were also a landmark in the history of Indian freedom struggle as they were the first Satyagraha protests initiated by Gandhi. It would be important to point out that though the Champaran Satyagraha was the first revolution, the term Satyagraha was first used during the Rowlatt Agitation of 1919.

Gradually, he led several local struggles such as the one at Champaran in Bihar and the dispute at Ahmedabad textile mills. These local struggles were also a landmark in the history of Indian freedom struggle as they were the first Satyagraha protests initiated by Gandhi based on the principle of *ahimsa* or non-violence against the British. His leadership earned him widespread respect and loyal support of the people, and he rapidly rose to the helm of nationalist politics as a charismatic leader of the nationalist movement.

Rabindranath Tagore, India's most well-known poet and author, gave him the title of Mahatma, or 'Great Soul'.

Though many leaders fought for the cause of Indian independence, Mahatma Gandhi's role stands out among them. His arrival galvanized the nationalist movement and made it a mass movement.

### **Champaran satyagraha**

The satyagraha at Champaran took place in 1917. It was the first major incident in Gandhi's movement against the British. Though it came to be known as satyagraha, the term was first used during the Rowlatt Agitation of 1919. The Champaran satyagraha was in support of the poor farmers of Champaran district in Bihar, who were forced to grow cash crops, such as indigo. The crop was bought at very low price fixed by the European planters. In addition, the British also started levying a tax on the farmers, which pushed them to the brink. The farmers had heard about Gandhi and they invited him to their district to help them against the British. Gandhi came to Champaran accompanied by young leaders like Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalini, Mahadev Desai and Mazhar-ul-Haq. He demanded an inquiry into the condition of the poor indigo farmers. Gandhi was ordered to leave Champaran, but he refused. The government had to consider his demands and appointed a committee to find out the conditions of the farmers and their problems. Gandhi was also made a member of the committee. According to the committee report, the peasants were free from the clutches of the European planters. Gandhi emerged as a leader with mass appeal.

### **Kheda**

Similarly, in Kheda, Gujarat, the farmers were slightly better off than their counterparts in Champaran. However, with the famine, the agrarian economy was destroyed. In a situation where the people did not have enough to feed themselves, the British government levied a 23 per cent tax increase which was to take affect the same year. Gandhi's efforts in Kheda and Champaran earned him a distinguished position in nationalist politics.



## Ahmedabad Mill Strike

There were many textile mills in Ahmedabad, where Gandhi was looking for a suitable place for his ashram. In 1918, there was a dispute between the workers and mill-owners of Ahmedabad. This was because of increase in prices, and the mill workers wanted higher wages. The mill owners did not agree. Gandhi supported the workers and started a struggle in which he used peaceful resistance. Gandhi suggested the workers to go on strike and to demand a 35 per cent increase in wages. However, he cautioned them against resorting to violence against the employers. He himself went on a fast unto death to keep up workers' resolve to continue the strike. His fast-undo-death succeeded in putting pressure on the mill-owners who gave in to the workers' demands on the fourth day and agreed to give the workers a 35 per cent increase in wages.

Gandhi's position as a leader of the nationalist movement was further strengthened by his actions against the Rowlatt Act. This act was passed to control public unrest and check conspiracy against the British. This act authorized the British government to imprison any person without trial who was suspected of terrorist activity for a minimum period of two years. As a mark of protest, Gandhi organized a strike where Indians would close their business. Although, the strike was successful in Delhi, the rioting in other parts of India was high. Gandhi suspended the resistance because of these riots. He realized that Indians were not ready to protest peacefully, without the use of non-violence which was an integral part of Satyagraha.

After the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, Gandhi drafted the report of the Punjab Congress Inquiry Committee. During the next two years, Mahatma Gandhi initiated the Non-Cooperation Movement, where he requested all Indians to withdraw from British institutions and return degrees conferred by the British. He also emphasized on self-reliance. The contribution of many leaders in the cause of Indian Freedom is immense, but Mahatma Gandhi's role is commendable. It has been observed that the progress of the nationalist movement was not worth mentioning. However, with the arrival of Gandhi, the nationalist movement gained momentum. The pre-Gandhi nationalists were considered to be too democratic and their activities were effortless to the cause of freedom. It was only under Gandhi's leadership that the nationalist movement gained mass appeal.

Under Gandhi's leadership the nature of the nationalist movement changed drastically. He adopted principles of non-violence in his method of protests. Mahatma Gandhi gained confidence of the Indian masses and gradually emerged as the leader who controlled the movement against the British government. It was only through the developments initiated by Gandhi and the complete involvement of the Indian masses that the British finally quit India in 1947. The methods used by Mahatma Gandhi in his fight against British imperialism can be divided into the following four categories:

- (i) **Non-cooperation and satyagraha:** This was the most common method initiated by Gandhi where he led peaceful protests through non-cooperation with the British authority. Another ideology of his was Satyagraha, which Gandhi explains as fearless agitation based on non-cooperation, fearlessness and truthfulness. Gandhi used Satyagraha to bend the British government in accepting the valid demands of the Indian people.
- (ii) **Non-violence:** Mahatma Gandhi was aware that the poor Indians could not compete against the British government and that any violent protest would only result in more Indian casualties. Therefore, he adopted the policy of non-violence during all his movement.



- (iii) **Truthfulness:** Similar to non-violence, truthfulness was a symbol of Gandhi's ideologies and methods. It is known that he not only preached but practiced absolute truthfulness that gave him inner strength to fight the British government. Apart from inner strength, it convinced the Indian masses of his intentions towards the British.
- (iv) **Involvement of masses:** The involving of common man in his cause of freedom was an important step in uniting the entire nation against the British. Previously, the nationalist movement was run by a small group of intellectuals and the masses were neither involved nor informed about the developments taking place in the national movement. This trend was reversed under the leadership of Gandhi.

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## 7.4 NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1920)

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When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-Cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922. This movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism. Under his guidance and leadership, the Indian National Congress adapted the policy of passive resistance against British rule. The launch of the Non-Cooperation Movement was set against the backdrop of the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, which increased the bitter resentment people had towards the British rule, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Montagu Chelmsford Report (1919) with its ill-considered scheme of diarchy. The British government passed the report with the intention to gradually introduce self-governing institutions in India. However, not only did these reforms frustrate the Indian hope of self-governance, the British were also very critical of the policies of this reform.

Discontent against the British increased with the appointment of the Hunter Commission to report the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. The Hunter Commission did not take any disciplinary action against General Dyer and rather favoured this act of violence as an attempt to subdue a protest. This report infuriated the Indian leaders and made present conditions ripe for another protest.

At this point, a large number of educated Muslim leaders emerged, who had their own issues with the British government. The Muslims were discontent with the British regarding the insensitive treatment of Turkey in World War I as they regarded the Caliph of Turkey as their spiritual leader. The Muslims had been assured that the Caliph would be treated leniently after the defeat of Turkey and its allies in World War I. However, the post-war treaty ruthlessly curtailed the powers of the Caliph, and the Indian Muslims started the Khilafat movement. Gandhi found the time was ripe to align with this movement and bring the Hindus and Muslims together. His skill at the political game ensured he won over the Muslims.

On the initiatives taken by the Ali brothers Mohammad and Shaukat, the first call for non-cooperation came from the All India Khilafat Conference in Delhi on 22-23 November 1919. At a Khilafat Conference held in Allahabad, a four stage non-cooperation programme was announced. This non-cooperation programme included the boycott of the following:

- (i) Titles
- (ii) Civil services



- (iii) Police and Army
- (iv) Payment of taxes

The Non-Cooperation Movement was officially launched on 1 August 1920, after the notice given by Gandhi to the Viceroy expired. In this notice, Gandhi had demanded the right recognized 'from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules'. At its session held in Kolkata in 1920, the India National Congress decided the aims and charter of the movement, which were similar to those of the Khilafat Conference of Allahabad. These resolutions were endorsed at the session of the Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920. In addition, other resolutions for the betterment of the party organization were also drawn up. Membership to the party was opened to all adult men and women based on the payment of 4 annas as subscription fees.

The movement enjoyed massive popular appeal, and in the first month scores of students left government schools and colleges and joined national institutions that had started all over the country. This boycott was particularly successful in Bengal under the leadership of Chitta Ranjan Das and Subhas Chandra Bose. Punjab also supported this educational boycott and Lala Lajpat Rai played a monumental role there. Other states where educational boycott were seen include Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Legal boycott was not as successful as educational boycott. However, many leading lawyers including C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M.R. Jayakar, Asif Ali, C Rajagopalachari and S Kitchlu left their flourishing legal practice and joined the cause of independence. Their sacrifice proved inspirational for people. Khadi was given importance as it was an indigenous handspun product and charkas were also distributed. This led to the boycott of foreign goods. Advertisements in nationalist newspapers were given, inviting people to participate in burning of foreign goods. These nationalist efforts led to the decline in cloth exports to a great extent. This was the first time that picketing of liquor shops took place.

The Muslim support to the nationalist cause was also one of the main features of the Nationalist Movement. In the July of 1921, Muhammad Ali appealed to all Muslims in the British army that they should consider it morally wrong to be a part of the British army and, therefore, should discontinue their services. Due to this propaganda against the British, Muhammad Ali was arrested. After he was arrested, this call was taken up by Gandhi and the Congress who issued a manifesto to all Indians to sever all ties with the British Indian army.

Another dramatic event to unfold was the visit of the Prince of Wales in November 1921. The day of the Prince's visit was observed as a day of a pan-India *hartal*. He was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went. However, due to the strong anti-British feelings, a riot occurred between the people dispersing from Gandhi's meeting and the people who had joined the procession of welcoming the Prince. In order to reduce this tension, Gandhi had to go on a four day fast.

These measures made the volunteers of the Non-Cooperation Movement bold and urged by the successful defiance of the government, they became increasingly aggressive.

There were some indirect effects of the Non-Cooperation Movement as well.

- In the United Provinces, one could not differentiate between a Non-Cooperation Movement meeting and a peasant meeting.
- In Kerala, the movement helped to provoke Muslim tenants against their landlords.



- In Assam, tea plantation laborers went on strike.
- In Punjab, the Akali movement became a part of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

The Non-Cooperation Movement also ensured that the women nationalists organized their efforts under the Mahila Karma Samaj. The movement was so popular that the government put into action Sections 108 and 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Various volunteers' groups were declared illegal and scores of people were arrested from all over the country. Only Gandhi was spared. Various attempts were made to negotiate with these volunteers, but the conditions offered were so rigorous that it would lead to sacrifice of the Khilafat leaders. Gandhi was under tremendous pressure from the rank and file of the Congress to start the mass civil disobedience.

The Chauri Chaura incident, in which a mob burned alive twenty-five policemen and one inspector, made Gandhi suspend the Non-Cooperation Movement. But the movement still managed to achieve several positives, including the following:

- Provide a platform for the unification of all religious communities so that a joint force could fight against the foreign rule
- Provide the required impetus and mass support for future agitations and movements
- Provide a sense of courage, direction and confidence to masses and fill them with self-respect and esteem.
- Provide a sense of representation to the Muslim community in the nationalist movement

The limitations of the Non-Cooperation Movement were that the movement failed to secure the objective of Khilafat and rectify the wrongs suffered by the masses in Punjab. Also, *swaraj* was not achieved within the year as was promised.

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## 7.5 KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

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The Khilafat Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1924 was an Islamic movement that derived its inspiration from Indian nationalists. The basis of this movement lies in a pan-Islamic movement launched by Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909), the Ottoman emperor, to utilize his role as the Sultan-Khalifa of the Muslim community the world over to protect his rapidly falling apart empire from attacks by foreign powers and destroy the nationalistic democratic movement brewing within the country. Jamaluddin Afghani's, his emissary, visit to India in the late nineteenth century to spread his Islamic ideas received a favourable response from the Muslim leaders in India. The twentieth century saw the intensification of these sentiments during the following times:

- The 1905 partition of Bengal being revoked in 1911
- The Italian (1911) and Balkan (1911–1912) attacks on Turkey
- The participation of Great Britain in the First World War (1914–1918)

Turkey suffered defeat in the First World War and its territories were divided according to the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres between the European countries. This led to widespread apprehension in India over the custodianship of the Khalifa.

This was the backdrop against which the Khilafat Movement was initiated in September 1919. It was an orthodox Islamic movement that was started by the following Muslim stalwarts:



- Muhammad Ali
- Shawkat Ali
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
- Dr Ansari
- Hasrat Mohani

Conferences for this movement were organized in cities across northern India. The Central Khilafat Committee, with provincial branches, was set up in Bombay. The president of the central office was Seth Chotani and its secretary was Shawkat Ali. This committee also started a fund to finance the nationalist movement in Turkey and to start the Khilafat Movement here in India. In 1920, Muhammad Ali and Shawkat Ali also drafted the Khilafat Manifesto.

### 5.1 Revolutionary Fervor

The spontaneous beginning and spread of the non-cooperation movement ushered in a great patriotic fervor among the Indian youth who were determined to fight for the country's freedom. As Gandhi called for freedom from British rule, the youth responded eagerly and participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement in great numbers. However, as the movement was suddenly withdrawn, the youth were dejected and their aspirations suffered a blow. Various secret panels were organized in the states of Punjab and Bengal as part of the revival of the first phase of this revolutionary movement. Subhas Chandra Bose led the Anushilan Samiti in Bengal and the J. M. Sengupta group founded the Yugantar Samiti. The two groups, however, had deep political rivalry.

At the same time, smaller revolutionary groups started being formed. One such group was formed by Surya Sen of Chittagong, which was radical in nature. A striking revolutionary action of that time was the murder of an Englishman called Day in January 1924 by Gopinath Saha. As per his original plan, Saha had plotted the murder of Tegarb, the police commissioner of Kolkata but killed Day by mistake. A slew of nationalists were arrested post this murder.

Northern India was too abuzz with the revolutionary fervor. Here, Sachin Sanyal, Jogesh Chatterji and others founded the Hindustan Republican Association in the United Provinces. For their activities, they raised funds through criminal activities like dacoities. The most popular of such dacoities was the Kakori train robbery in August 1925. This led to the arrest of several members of the organization. Under dynamic and brilliant student leader Bhagat Singh, the members of this organization spread and established their links in Punjab where young men were joining the movement. However, the men in Punjab were deeply influenced by socialist ideology and hence, the organization was rechristened as Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA). The main aim of this body, led by revolutionaries, was to fight for complete independence and they had also envisioned the formation and functioning of the independent state of India. They sought to achieve their ends through mass struggle and for this purpose, mobilized students, workers and peasants from all over.

### 5.2 Struggle for Swaraj

In the beginning of the 20th century, Indians raised their voice for self-rule, a movement that came to be known as the struggle for Swaraj. The Indian National Congress demanded more powers for bodies with Indian representatives, such as the legislative council. There was also a clamour for recruiting to higher posts. The Congress proposed that the



civil services examinations should be held in India rather than in England. They also demanded that steps should be taken to promote Indian industry and enterprise. In 1906, the Congress in a session presided by Dadabhai Naoroji called for Swaraj (a type of self-government elected by the people within the British Dominion) as it prevailed in other parts of the British Empire like Australia and Canada. Nationalist movements were gaining greater support, led by revolutionary leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, who were arrested, while Tilak was deposed to Burma for six years. Indians became increasingly conscious of their rights and became vocal in their demand for self-rule. Towards the end of the First World War, they were demanding a share in governing their own country. They had supported the British during the First World War, in the hope that the British would grant them the right to govern their own country.

Their demands and concerns were articulated by the Indian National Congress, which was led by moderates who remained loyal to the British despite the demand for self-government. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and the widespread disillusionment with their provisions gave rise to an extremist faction within the Indian National Congress, which saw the moderates as ineffective in achieving any demands on behalf of the Indians. The extremists wanted to drive out the British and take full control of the government rather than plead with the British for some limited self-rule. As the moderates failed to win any concessions from the British, the extremists gained more support. With the Indian leadership split between the moderate and extremist factions, another leader emerged who came to dominate the freedom struggle with his principle of non-violent opposition to British rule. This leader was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, a person with mass appeal who enjoyed the support of both the moderates and the extremists.

Gandhiji, or Mahatma Gandhi, as he came to be known, turned the national movement into a mass movement of the people. He had returned to India from South Africa in early 1915. Gandhi had been a moderate to begin with and had supported the British government during the war. However, a number of events, like the conduct of the British government in Champaran and Kheda, passing of the Rowlatt Act, and Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, turned him from a loyalist to rebel. He went around the country for a year, travelling in third class in trains, and getting acquainted with the people and their problems at the grass-root level. Gradually, he led several local struggles such as the one at Champaran in Bihar and the dispute at Ahmedabad textile mills. He used the principle of ahimsa, or non-violence, in his struggle against the British. His leadership earned him widespread respect and loyal support of the people, and he rapidly rose to the helm of nationalist politics as a charismatic leader of the nationalist movement. Rabindranath Tagore, India's most well-known poet and author gave him the title of Mahatma, or 'Great Soul'. Mahatma Gandhi relied on the following principles in his fight against the British rule:

- Non-cooperation and Satyagraha
- Non-violence
- Truthfulness
- Involvement of masses

Though many leaders fought for the cause of Indian independence, Mahatma Gandhi's role stands out among them. His arrival galvanized the nationalist movement and made it a mass movement.





## ACTIVITY

Make a PowerPoint survey on Mahatma Gandhi chronologically linking his arrival to the Nationalist Movement till India achieved independence.

## DID YOU KNOW

Some little known facts about Mahatma Gandhi which most of us don't know:

- He had a set of false teeth, which he carried in a fold of his loin cloth. He put them in his mouth only when he wanted to eat. After his meal, he took them out, washed them and put them back in his loin cloth again.
- Mahatma Gandhi spoke English with an Irish accent, for one of his first teachers was an Irishman.
- He was educated at London University and became an attorney. But the first time he attempted to make a speech in court, his knees trembled, and he was so frightened that he had to sit down in confusion and defeat.
- Mahatma Gandhi experimented with diets to see how cheaply he could live and remain healthy. He started living principally on fruit and goats' milk and olive oil.

## 6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Khilafat Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1924 was an Islamic movement that derived its inspiration from Indian nationalists. The basis of this movement lies in a pan-Islamic movement launched by Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909), the Ottoman emperor, to utilize his role as the Sultan-Khalifa of the Muslim community the world over to protect his rapidly falling apart empire from attacks by foreign powers and destroy the nationalistic democratic movement brewing within the country.
- Turkey suffered defeat in the First World War and its territories were divided according to the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres between the European countries. This led to widespread apprehension in India over the custodianship of the Khalifa. This was the backdrop against which the Khilafat Movement was initiated in September 1919.
- When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-Cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922. This movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism.
- The Non-Cooperation Movement also ensured that the women nationalists organized their efforts under the Mahila Karma Samaj.



- In the beginning of the 20th century, Indians raised their voice for self-rule, a movement that came to be known as the struggle for Swaraj.
- In 1906, the Congress in a session presided by Dadabhai Naoroji called for Swaraj (a type of self-government elected by the people within the British Dominion) as it prevailed in other parts of the British Empire like Australia and Canada. Nationalist movements were gaining greater support, led by revolutionary leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, who were arrested, while Tilak was deposed to Burma for six years.
- Mahatma Gandhi relied on the following principles in his fight against the British rule: (i) Non-cooperation and Satyagraha (ii) Non-violence (iii) Truthfulness (iv) Involvement of masses

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## 7 KEY TERMS

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- **Massacre:** An indiscriminate and brutal slaughter of people
- **Non-cooperation:** A large class of methods of non-violent action that involve deliberate restriction or discontinuance from the social, economic and political perspective.

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## 8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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1. Rabindranath Tagore gave the Gandhi the title of mahatma.
2. 1919-1922
3. Khilafat movement
4. Foreign cloth
5. Treaty of Sevres
6. False
7. True
8. False
9. True
10. True
11. C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru were two distinguished Swarajist leaders.
12. The Swarajists defeated the Liberal in the election.

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## 7.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short-Answer Questions

1. At the first All-India Khilafat Conference held in November 1919, Delhi, what resolutions were passed?
2. What was the central idea of the Non-Cooperation Movement?

3. State the four principles of Mahatma Gandhi in relation to his fight against British rule.
4. What do you understand by swaraj?

### Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the Khilafat Movement.
2. What was the significance of the Non-Cooperation Movement?
3. Describe the concept of swaraj and Mahatma Gandhi's influence on Indian politics.

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## 10 FURTHER READING

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Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

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Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.



# UNIT 3 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS - II

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## Structure

- 0 Introduction
- 1 Unit Objectives
- 2 Acts of 1909 and 1919
  - 2.1 Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)
  - 2.2 Montague Chelmsford Reform (1919)
  - 2.3 Foreign Trade of India prior to Independence
  - 2.4 Concept of External Drain
- 3 Civil Disobedience Movement
- 4 Quit India Movement
  - 4.1 Opposition to Quit India
  - 4.2 Suppression of the Movement
- 5 Summary
- 6 Key Terms
- 7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 8 Questions and Exercises
- 9 Further Reading

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## 0 INTRODUCTION

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With the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi, the extremist movement found the impetus it needed. Under him, the movement was resurrected and its ideologies against the British were re-defined. One of the significant developments in the Congress was the adoption of the objective of Purna Swaraj or complete independence. This meant total severance from the British influence in governance or any other matters of the state. Great expectations arose in the country with the adoption of the pledge of Purna Swaraj. Unrest against the British was brewing across the country; one of its finest examples is the railway strike led by the Communists based in the Bombay-Nagpur region. With this, the Civil Disobedience movement was launched by the Congress, which included the principle of non-payment of taxes. Despite the circumstances, Gandhi issued an ultimatum to Viceroy Irwin, without any mention of Purna Swaraj or complete independence. The ultimatum comprised Eleven Points, which were a set of specific demands that were made to the colonial government. Abolition of salt tax and the government monopoly over manufacture of salt were part of these demands. Besides, these included 50 per cent reduction in land revenue, protection of textiles, 50 per cent cuts in army expenses and civil service salaries, among others. As the British government failed to respond to the Eleven Point ultimatum, the civil disobedience was launched based on the issue of salt.

In this unit, we shall discuss the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for freedom vis-à-vis incidents such as Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement.

# 1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the features of the Morley-Minto Reforms
  - Assess the Montague Chelmsford Reform of 1919
  - Discuss the Civil Disobedience Movement
  - Describe the Quit India Movement
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## 2 ACTS OF 1909 AND 1919

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The Revolt of 1857 proved to be a huge blow to the East India Company in India and eventually led to its downfall. It was only after the Queen's proclamation and later through Government of India Act, 1858, that the Crown's rule was established in India. Under the Crown rule, a new post 'Secretary of State for India' was created which was assisted by a newly-appointed Indian council comprising of 15 members. The shift to a Crown rule was considered to be more formal and real as the British were already regulating the company's rule since the enactment of the Regulating Act of 1773 and Pitt's India Act of 1784.

The British Parliament passed the Regulating Act of 1773 to overhaul the management of East India Company in India. However, this act did not prove to be constructive in providing long-term solutions to the Company's affairs. The Regulating Act of 1773 was followed by the Pitt's India Act in 1784. This act intended to address the shortcomings of the Regulating Act of 1773. According to this act, the British Government took over the right to rule India from the East India Company.

Through the Charter Act of 1853, the East India Company was permitted to rule India till further order. The East India Company's stronghold on the Indian subcontinent was disliked and opposed by many in England as well as in India.

Many people who were hostile to the East India Company's rule in India wanted to establish a British Crown's rule in its place. A perfect opportunity came in the guise of the Revolt of 1857, where the British government could end East India Company's rule and establish its direct rule. The British government entirely blamed the East India Company for the outbreak of the revolt and therefore, validating their right to control the Indian subcontinent.

The British domination gave rise to some forces, which ultimately challenged the British imperialism. For instance, the British forced English as medium of instruction in the education system of India, this went against the British as Indians came across the ideas of nationalism, political rights and democracy. These ideas resulted in a number of political associations, which were not known to Indians until then.

Many political associations were formed after 1836. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organized the East India Association in London. The objective of this association was to influence British 'to promote Indian welfare'. After some time, he opened its branches in various cities of India.

Discontentment among the people gave rise to a lot of agitation in the country during the reign of Lord Curzon. During this time, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the leader of the Congress and extremism rose during this period. Gopal Krishna Gokhale went to



meet Lord Morley in England. Minto also felt the need for reforms. After some time, India Councils Act of 1909 was passed in the British Parliament. These reforms are also known as Minto-Morley reforms. Let us study these reforms in detail:

## 2.1 Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

John Morley was the Liberal Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto was the Governor-General of India. Morley-Minto Reforms increased the involvement of Indians in the governance of British India.

### Features of Morley-Minto Reforms

- Earlier the number of the members of the Legislative Council at the Center was 16 and after this reform, the number was increased to 60.
- The reform also led to the increase in the number of the Provincial Legislatives' members. In the provinces of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, the number was 50 and for the rest of the provinces, the number was 30.
- The members of the Legislative Councils, at the Center as well as in the provinces, were divided into four categories. These were ex-officio members, nominated official members, nominated non-official members and elected members. The 'ex-officio members' included Governor General and the members of their Executive Councils; 'nominated official members' were nominated by the Governor General and government officials; 'nominated non-official members' were nominated only by the Governor General; and 'elected members' were elected by different categories of Indians.
- The number of elected members was fixed 27. Out of these 27 members, 13 were elected from the provincial Legislative Assembly, 6 were from the Hindu zamindars, 5 from Muslim community, and 1 each from the Muslim Zamindars, the Chamber of Commerce of Bombay and the Chamber of Commerce of Bengal.

Muslims were given the right as separate electorate. This meant that only Muslims could vote for candidates for the Muslim seats.

- The Official members had to form the majority. However, it was decided that in provinces non-official members had to form majority.
- The members of the Legislative Councils were given the right to take part in the discussion of budgets, suggest amendments in the Acts and take part in the voting procedure for bringing amendments in the Acts. However, they were not allowed to take part in the voting of those items which were categorized under 'non-vote items'.
- The number of the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay were two. The Secretary of State for India had the right to increase this number to four.
- Two Indians were nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State in order to discuss issues related to India. These were K.C. Gupta and Sayyid Husain Bilgrami.
- The Governor General had the right to nominate one Indian member to his Executive Council. Satyendra Sinha was the first Indian to become a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

- People were given the right to caste vote. However, only those people were eligible to caste vote who earned ₹15,000 a year or more. Those who paid revenue to the Government could caste vote if their income was ₹10,000 a year or more. In Bengal, only people with the titles of Raja or Nawab were allowed to vote. The income criteria for the Muslim voters was kept lower than that of Hindus.

### Importance of Morley-Minto Reforms for Indians

- After the Act of 1909, the Indians could take part in legislative councils for the first time. Earlier few Indians were appointed in legislative councils.
- The electoral principle of these reforms laid the groundwork for a parliamentary system in India.
- The number of reserved seats for Muslims was in excess of their relative population, i.e., 25 per cent of the Indian population, as demanded by Muslim leaders. Also, Muslims were allotted reserved seats in the Municipal and District Boards, in the Provincial Councils and in the Imperial Legislature.

### Shortcomings of these reforms

- The number of nominated members was more than those of elected members. Therefore, the majority of the people in the legislative council were those who were loyal to the British.
- The Indians did not have enough legislative powers and they merely acted as advisory body.
- The Act led to rift between Hindus and Muslims.
- This reform was not able to change the undemocratic nature of the British rule.
- This reform could not stop the economic exploitation of the country.

Therefore, most of the people were not happy with this Act. After this Act, the Congress held Lahore Session in 1909. In this session, members of the Congress expressed that they did not approve the formation of separate electorates for Muslims.

The objective behind these reforms was to keep a check on the unity of the Indians. The Moderates did not support these reforms but they kept supporting the Government to bring amendments in the Act. Due to this, people stopped supporting the Moderates and they became a small political group.

## 2.2 Montague Chelmsford Reform (1919)

The Government of India Act 1919 was passed to increase the participation of Indians in the Government of India. The Act included the reforms which were suggested in the report of the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford.

Some of the features of the Act are as follows:

- (i) **Preamble:** The preamble of the Government of India Act includes the principles and policies which laid the foundation of this Act. The Preamble suggested a decentralized unitary form of government.

The policy of the British Parliament was: (a) to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration (b) to develop self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the empire (c) the





time and manner of gradual advance towards this goal to be decided by the British Parliament.

(ii) **Distribution of functions of government:** The functions of the government were divided into two categories: central functions and provincial functions. The provincial subjects were subdivided into 'transferred' and 'reserved'. It was decided that the ministers who were accountable to the legislature would assist the Governors in the transferred subjects. On the other hand, the Councillors who were not accountable to the legislature, were to advise the Governors in the reserved subjects. Thus, the dual set of governments were introduced in the provinces namely accountable and non-accountable.

(iii) **Powers of Governor-General:** The Central Legislature was given the authority to consider, pass or reject legislation on any subject which was mentioned in the Central List. However, the authority of the final decision on any Bill passed by the Legislature was in the hands of the Governor-General. He had the authority to stop consideration of any Bill or a part of a Bill, if he believed that it might be dangerous for the peace of the country.

He also had the power not to allow debate or adjournment motion on some issues, in the legislature.

The Governor-General also had the authority to hold back his agreement on any Bill. No Bill could become an Act without his agreement.

Moreover, he also had a power to enact a law which he believed was important for the peace and safety of the country, even if the Legislature did not pass it.

(iv) **Division of members:** In this Act, the members were divided into three categories: elected, nominated officials and nominated non-officials and they had 70 per cent, 10 per cent and 20 per cent members respectively.

(v) **Voting qualifications:** According to this Act, the voting qualification varied in different provinces. Moreover, within the same province, the voting qualifications were different based on whether the area was rural or urban.

There were two categories of constituencies namely general and special.

The general constituency included Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Sikhs etc. Special constituencies represented land holders, universities, chambers of commerce, etc.

(vi) **Two types of Legislature:** According to this Act, legislature was categorized into two types namely, the Council of States and the Central Legislative Assembly. The Council of States had 60 members, out of which 33 were elected and 27 were nominated. The Central Legislature Assembly 145 members, out of which 104 were elected and 41 were nominated.

(vii) **Provincial Legislatures and its powers:** The number of seats of provincial legislatures varied from province to province. The provincial legislative councils had the authority to legislate on the topics which were listed under provincial subjects. The Governor had the authority not to consider a Bill. If he considered the Bill dangerous for the peace and safety of the province, he had the authority to send the Bill back to the House for reconsideration. In some cases, he could keep the Bill to send to the Governor-General for his opinion. The Governor-General was empowered to reserve the Bill to take the opinion of the Crown.



- (viii) **The Executive Council of the Governor-General:** This Council was not accountable to the Central Legislature rather it was accountable to the Secretary of State. There was no limit on the membership of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Three members out of the six members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General were to be Indians. A pleader who pleaded in the Indian High Court was also eligible to become a law member.
- (ix) **Powers of the Secretary of State for India:** Earlier the Secretary of State for India had a lot of authority over the central and provincial administration. However, with the enactment of this, his powers were reduced.

### Importance of the Act

Many prominent leaders of the time observed that the Act of 1919 was important as it was more comprehensive than any other Act enacted before. This Act introduced direct election and increased the franchise. After the enactment of this Act, Indian ministers for the first time, could handle some of the departments of provincial administration not merely as official nominees but as the leaders of the elected majorities. These ministers were responsible to the people. It gave an opportunity to the people to take first-hand experience in politics.

However, even though the Act had some commendable features, it was defective in many ways. A.K. Heith said 'the executive remained wholly free from direct authority of the legislature'.

The subjects which the Indian leaders were given to handle were not important from the point of view of politics. The system that came into being after this Act did not improve the efficiency of administration.

The Nationalist party did not accept the Act as they considered inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory.

As India has had a commercial character, in its economic approach it showed tolerance and cosmopolitanism for the universal humanity. Be it the Sakas or the Yavanas, the Persians or the Egyptians, Christians or Muslims, India was the first country to receive them all with an open heart. The contact was made through trade. However, the country remained isolated from world politics.

The actual practice of politics in the Indian economy started with the advent of British rule in India. The British rule and its economic policies expanded the horizon of trade and commerce in India. Several sea routes were open for trade in India. Not only this, the introduction and expansion of railways in India also led to the expansion of external and internal trade in the country. Initially, the country was only the exporter of finished goods (mostly handicrafts) but with the advent of British rule, India became the largest exporter of raw materials to the European countries and importer of finished goods from the same. The British policy of trade brought tremendous changes in the tax policy of India and also introduced a new monetary system and credit system in the Indian economy.

The principal motive of implementation of such economic policies was to drain as much wealth as possible from India as well as to strengthen its power in Indian economy.



### 2.3 Foreign Trade of India prior to Independence

India has been participating in foreign trade since ancient times. There are many references in ancient South Indian Classical Literature about India's foreign trade with countries like Java, Ceylon, Indonesia and also Greece. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the foreign trade of India was of a very high order. India's handicrafts were exported. Products like pepper, opium, indigo, and cinnamon were popularized in the countries of Europe. Artistic goods of India like the muslin from Dacca, were renowned all over the world. But, foreign trade in the modern sense of the term had its beginning only towards the last quarter of the 19th century. The advent of the Industrial Revolution in England and the opening of the Suez Canal, reduced the distance by sea considerably between the East and the West. The rapid development of ship building industries in England and also in many other European countries, the expansion of Indian railways, the establishment of peace and order and unity in administration in India after the chaos that had followed the breakdown of the Mughal Empire and also their system of administration, gave an impetus to India's foreign trade.

Between 1860 and 1900 the value of India's foreign trade went up nearly threefold. Between 1900 and 1940 there was a further doubling of the value of trade.

Thus, soon after India was free of the Mughal rule, it came totally in the hands of the British and followed the policies and orders for economic growth and development. Because of this fact, the foreign trade and its pattern was mainly based on the traditional, agricultural, colonial type. Foreign trade was mainly restricted to the whole of Britain and the colonies that came under British rule. The most common commodities that formed the exports from India were food grains and raw materials. As far as import commodities were concerned, they were also very limited and mainly comprised of finished goods from Britain. Hence, England was the principal market for importing raw materials from India and also was the principal supplier of the manufactured goods to India. Trade was more or less bilateral between the mother country and the colonial country. Till the time India did not develop any industrial base, the British exploited this situation to the maximum. There was no change in India's foreign trade before the Second World War.

The exports always exceeded imports and this was to facilitate the British in meeting unilateral transfer of payments to Britain on account of salaries and pension of British civil and military officers. This was also to meet the interest on sterling debts and dividends for the capital that the British invested in India.

There were changes in the foreign trade structure during and after the Second World War. During the war, India exported a variety of goods to Britain but could not get anything in the shape of imports because of British involvement in the war. There was a steep decline in imports due to the following reasons:

- Shortage of shipping
- Non-availability of goods in foreign countries due to war
- Discontinuation of trade with enemies and the territories occupied by the enemies

The above mentioned factors were also responsible for the decline in the export from India.



In order to understand the actual situation of foreign trade of India, let's discuss it with the following points:

**Balance of trade:** Prior to Independence, India's foreign trade used to be a surplus trade. The country's exports always exceeded imports. In the year 1939, the balance of trade was favourable to the extent of ₹ 17 crore and in 1946-47, it was favourable to the mark of ₹ 31 crore. However, this trade balance was reduced to ₹ 14 crore in the year 1947-48.

### **History of external trade of India**

Over the centuries, the perception about the importance of external trade in economic development has gone through a number of changes. The period 1813 to 1858 had witnessed two major changes. First, the East India Company lost its monopoly of trade between India and Europe in 1813 and 1834, respectively. The internal transit and town duties in most parts of India were abolished in 1836. These measures ushered in the era of formal free trade in India. This has been called a system of 'one-way free trade', for this did not involve any reciprocal concessions either by Britain or by other countries trading with India. The position of the East India Company was in many respects taken over by a small group of European business firms, which controlled practically all the external trade and much of the wholesale internal trade, especially in exportable commodities. Secondly, India ceased to be a leading manufacturing country of the pre-capitalist era and was reduced to the position of a supplier of agricultural goods and raw materials to the industrialising economies of the west, particularly Britain.

An act was passed in the year 1813 which directed a separation of the East India Company's territorial account from commercial accounts. It was found that the territorial revenue should be applied to military expenditure, to civil and commercial establishments and to the payment of interest on Indian debt.

Commercial profits were to be applied to the payment of bills of exchange and the current payment of other debts, to the payment of dividends and to the reduction of the Indian debt or home bond debt.

### **Monetary system under British rule**

In the 18th century, with the advent of British rule in India, a new monetary system was launched. In India, the early British settlements shows three large groupings i.e., those found in the eastern province of Bengal i.e. Kolkata, those found in western India i.e., Surat and Mumbai and those found in southern India i.e. Chennai. The coins of the early British settlements in India were based on three different and broad strands for the trade purpose. For instance, in the eastern province of Bengal, Mughal pattern was found in coins. On the other hand, in the southern region i.e. in Chennai, almost the same pattern of coins were found which were present in Bengal at that time (Mughal pattern). And at last, the coins of western India had the glimpse of both Mughal pattern and English pattern.

It was in 1717 CE, that the British attained the authorization from the royal leaders to allow coining of the Mughal currency at the mint of Mumbai. In the Mumbai mint, the British pattern of coin was struck. The tin coin was named as 'Tinny', the copper coin were named as 'Cupperoon', the silver coins were named as 'Anglina', and the most precious coin- the gold coin was named as 'Carolina'.



It was in the early stage of 1830 that the British became the most powerful rulers on the soil of India. The rise of this powerful government led to the enactment of the Coinage Act of 1835. According to this Act, uniform coins were supposed to be issued in India. As a result of this Act, a new coin with an image of William IV on one face of the coin and the value on the other face of the coin was issued. Soon after this, whatever coin that was issued after 1840 had the image of Queen Victoria on one face and the value on the other. The time when Queen Victoria was succeeded by Edward VII, the image of Edward VII was depicted on one face of the coin and value on the other.

In 1906, in order to look after the establishment of the coin and the mints an act was passed known as Indian Coinage Act, 1906. Besides, looking at the issues of coin and the establishment of the mint, the act also supervised and maintained the standard of the currency that was issued. This includes the standard of the silver.

The British rule extended for a period of more than 200 years. Effectively, the rule started from the victory at the battle of Plassey in 1757. The first period of rule was by the British East India Company, a trading company whose sole purpose of presence in India was to earn money. After the first war of Independence in 1857, the rule was transferred from the company to the British Crown. This continued till India gained Independence.

The British would like to portray that there was no specific drain of wealth and the mission of colonization was one of The white Man's Burden, an act of immense sacrifice to bring enlightenment to suffering natives. The facts are, however, specifically against the same. There were some of the benefits which accrued from British rule such as:

- Expansion of railway network
  - Expansion of roads, bridges and ports
  - Establishment of a communication network
  - Establishment of some modern seats of learning
- Yet, it must be realized that the establishment of such infrastructure was essentially to integrate the economy of India to that of mainland Britain by providing sources of raw materials for the industrial complexes in Britain and for enabling the distribution of finished goods to the markets of India. Over all it formed part of a well thought strategy to drain wealth from India. In fact Dadabhai Naoroji has propounded and elaborated on this Drain of wealth Theory.

## 2.4 Concept of External Drain

Dadabhai Naoroji and many of his contemporaries were of the opinion that the British rule and its administration was aimed to 'drain' India's wealth to Britain. This was no whimsical statement as even an Englishman, John Sullivan, President of the Board of Revenue for Madras is said to have quoted: 'Our system acts very much like a sponge, drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges, and squeezing them down on to the banks of the Thames.'

According to, Dadabhai Naoroji this drainage was facilitated by:

- The excessive taxes on land which were so heavy that to meet the demands, many landlords converted their agriculture growth to cash crops, away from the traditional crops, which not only ruined the economy but left peasants vulnerable in times of crisis, such that there were millions of deaths in the many famines which occurred.



- Export taxes to restrict the growth of exports to the British markets to make Indian made goods uncompetitive in European markets and no or very little import duties to encourage sale of factory made products in India. No self-governing government would allow such a trade mechanism.
- All top positions in all services were dominated by Europeans which caused a huge burden on the Indian revenues. This led to huge payouts in the form of remittances which helped the British Economy.

India was a strategic base for operations and was responsible not only for building the empire within India but also across the borders.

Earlier, administration and profit making went hand in hand and were interlinked. This was so because it is not possible for a trading company to function without profits. A surplus was a must on both the trade and administration set of activities. Not only was it necessary to mop up the surplus but it was equally important to transfer it to England. The resulting economic drain was inevitable, sometimes in ways, which drew the righteous indignation of some of the early British administrators. The reverse movement of treasure after Plassey was an unprecedented phenomenon that set a new pattern which had attracted the attention of Dadabhai's predecessors whom he quoted in defence of the drain theory. It was a period trend that lasted long and displayed features of the British reign till the Second World War broke out. It stopped taking the form of transfer of specie.

Money and treasures that were taken from India were done so in the form of transfer of commodities in the guise of export surplus. It was in the form of gold and silver exports from India that this surplus was usually liquidified. However, this form of transfer soon became complex and created unfavourable balance of England's trade with the East, particularly India, due to the unilateral transfer of funds.

### **Large annual investment in Europe**

The British adopted varying strategies to remit their own private fortunes in India for many years. The impact of this was severely felt, especially in the form of specie for transactions and also the consequent depression in India's agriculture and internal trade. Some of the concepts that the British used were:

- Trade with no equivalent returns
- Drain of wealth
- Remittance of surplus
- Annual tribute

These were the concepts that were at the core of the theory of mechanism of external economic drain. It was eventually formulated by Dadabhai Naroji, who used elaborate statistics in order to indicate the order of magnitude of the various factors involved.

The writers that this unit discusses were those who were working in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and trying to deal with the complexities of trade between a mother-country and its colony and also of trade between unequal partners which was characterized by inequality of advantage, disparity of bargaining power and an economic relationship resting on the exploitation of a dependent colony by a strong metropolitan power. Dadabhai's strength lay in his capacity for statistical estimation. He focused as a researcher



on the drain of wealth from India to England from the beginning of the British Rule till the years 1865-66.

Indians were slowly becoming aware of their rights under the British rule. They had started demanding a share in governing their own country. Although they supported the British during World War I, they sought the right to govern India.

The Indian National Congress during this time was under the moderates who still wanted to remain loyal to the British but insisted on self-government. The growth of an extremist faction within the Indian National Congress was attributed to the failure of the moderates to achieve something substantial for the Indian people. The extremists on the other hand wanted to oust the British out of the country and take full control of the government. With the moderates fading away in the background, the extremists gained confidence with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle.

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### 8.3 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

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Soon after he was given the responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Gandhi wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin seeking the abolishment of salt tax, reduction of military expenditure and the release of political prisoners. However, Lord Irwin chose to not respond to this letter. This formed the crux for the outbreak of the Civil Disobedience Movement against the British by Gandhi. On 12 March, 1930, Gandhi started a march from Sabarmati ashram to the sea at Dandi accompanied by 72 followers. People cheered the marchers and joined them along the way. As Gandhi walked past them, villagers spun yarn on charkhas as a mark of their solidarity to the movement. On April 6, after Gandhi reached the sea at Dandi, he picked up some salt from the seaside as a mark of breaking the Salt Law. Gandhi had decided to break the law as he believed that salt was a basic necessity of people and salt tax was against the interest of the poor. Inspired by Gandhi, people began manufacturing salt all over the country.

From Madras to Maharashtra, from Bengal and Assam to Karachi, volunteers were recruited on a large-scale for the movement through careful planning and it soon spread like fire. Supporters launched a massive demonstration at Peshawar in the farthest north. This area had been in news due to activism by leaders like Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars. The British were wary of the movement and arrested leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru on April 14. Madras, Calcutta and Karachi erupted in protest against the arrest of Nehru. The colonial government was taken by surprise with the reaction of the masses as it had not anticipated such widespread support to the movement. Insecure, it decided to arrest Gandhi in May 1930 but the decision only added much fuel to the fire that the movement had stirred. The most important feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the support it received from the youth of the country, especially students and women. Women led groups attacked liquor shops as well as those that sold foreign goods. The government went all out to stop the people and issued orders curbing the civil liberties of citizens. It also decided to ban civil disobedience organizations in the provinces.

In June 1930, the Congress Working Committee was banned and its president, Motilal Nehru, was arrested. By August, even the local Congress committees were banned. All these issues became part of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It was then that the Simon Commission published its report, a time when the government had become a symbol of repression and the national movement was at its peak.



As against expectations, the Simon Report made no mention of giving dominion status to India. With this, many nationalist leaders turned outright against the British. It was followed by the Viceroy's invitation to the leaders to a Round Table Conference to discuss the issue of dominion status. Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru were taken to Gandhi to discuss the offer made by the British. But no breakthrough could be made between the government and the Congress leaders. It was in London in November 1930 that the First Round Table Conference was held between the Indian leaders and the British. However, leaders of the Congress abstained from the meeting. The absence of the leaders of the Congress meant that there would be no negotiations between the Indians and the British. The next conference was scheduled a year later. On 25 January, 1931, the government released Gandhi. Without imposing any conditions, all other members of the Congress Working Committee were also released. However, the Congress leaders were asked to discuss the Viceroy's offer to participate in the next Round Table Conference. After several rounds of discussions, Gandhi was given the responsibility of negotiating with the Viceroy. Discussions between Gandhi and Lord Irwin went on for a fortnight. On March 5, 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was finally signed. The terms of this Pact were as follows:

- Immediate release of all people arrested for non-violent protests.
- Fines not collected from people to be remitted
- Confiscated land not yet sold off to be returned to peasants
- Government employees who had resigned were to be treated leniently
- Right to make salt to villages along the coast
- Grant of right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing

The Congress decided to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement after the pact was signed. It also confirmed its participation in the next Round Table Conference. However, as per the judgment of many nationalist leaders, this pact was only a temporary truce, even though another section of leaders believed this settlement unnecessary. Due to this difference of opinion, activists launched numerous radical activities in the form of revolutionary secret societies.

In its Karachi session in March 1931, the Congress once again gave the call for purna swaraj. However, the party also supported the pact between Irwin and Gandhi. At Karachi, the Congress started preparing the framework of India's Constitution even though the Pact made no mention of giving independence to India. Resolutions related to the Fundamental Rights and National Economic policy were approved at the session. These resolutions were landmark in the history of the nationalist movement for it was for the first time that issues of civil liberties such as free speech, free press and freedom of association were spoken about for the Indian masses. Other provisions included in this resolution pertained to neutrality in religious matters, equality before law, universal adult franchise, free and compulsory primary education and many others.

For the Second Round Table Conference in August 1931, Gandhi travelled to London. Willington, meanwhile, replaced Lord Irwin. However, the discussions at this Round Table did not go in the favour of India. The new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi after he returned from London in December 1931. The British government refused to recognize the Congress as representatives of the people of India. Moreover, the government went back to its repressive ways by arresting Jawaharlal Nehru and also



Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was leading the Khudai Khidmatgars' Movement in the North-West Frontier Province.

Circumstances were thus raised where the Congress had to re-launch the Civil Disobedience Movement, especially after the new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi for any further negotiation. In January 1932, Gandhi was arrested and the government once again curtailed people's civil liberties. The government followed this by giving itself the right to appropriate properties and detain people. With such powers, the government put all prominent leaders of the Congress behind bars. With this, the masses broke out in mass demonstrations to protest against the government's actions; liquor shops were picketed as well as foreign goods' shops. However, the government only reacted with more force. Large number of people was jailed, Congress was banned and the police occupied Gandhian ashrams. Demonstrators were beaten up, those who refused to pay taxes were jailed and their properties seized. Yet, the movement continued for two years. The movement was withdrawn by Gandhi in April 1934 and his call was obeyed by the people of the country.

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## 4 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

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For the cause of immediate independence, the Quit India Movement was launched by Gandhi. It was another form of the civil disobedience movement. With the launch of this movement, Gandhi hoped that the British government would call upon the Indian leaders and negotiate for independence. The Quit India Movement was thus started in August 1942.

- There was anger and hostility towards meaningless war especially when thousands of wounded soldiers returned from Burmese war.
- Prices of food grains were rising up. There was a 60-point rise in prices of food grains in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also shortage of rice and salt.
- The majority of British, American and Australian soldiers stationed in India ill-treated Indians; many of them even raped Indian women.
- The boats of common men, in Bengal and Assam, were seized and destroyed due to the fear of Japanese attack in Bengal and Assam. Gandhi said in Harijan of 3 May 1942, 'To deprive people in East Bengal of boats is like cutting off vital limbs.'
- During the crisis of food grains, the Indian market was left in the hands of black marketers, and profiteers which affected the poor most, especially in eastern India.

The war made some traders and capitalist rich but a large section of Banias and Marwaris suffered losses in Malaya and Burma from mid-1942 onwards. The capitalist element in the Congress Working Committee took notice of it.

- The success story of Japanese in South-East Asian countries demystified the superiority of Europeans especially English.

The mid 1942 was a period marked with utter chaos. The Indians were losing their patience with the British attitude. Gandhi urged the British, 'This orderly disciplined anarchy should go, and if as a result there is complete lawlessness I would risk it.'



During mid-July that year, the Congress leaders met at Wardha to discuss the next course of action. Finally, on 8 August 1942, Quit India Resolution was passed by the Bombay session of the AICC. The leaders then decided to have a peaceful protest on a large scale involving all parts of the country. During his famous Do or Die speech, Gandhi declared, 'Let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. Mere jail going would not do.' Interestingly, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajagopalachari opposed Quit India Resolution. Though, Nehru, as always, fell in line and moved the Quit India Resolution, which had the following conditions:

- Immediate end to British rule in India. The British were told clearly to 'Quit India.'
- India's commitment to defend itself against all types of Fascism and Imperialism.

Apart from formal resolutions, Gandhi, in an informal way at Gowalia Tank Ground addressed the various sections of society:

- To the students—If ready for sacrifice and confident, leave studies.
- To the peasants—If zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent.
- To the soldiers—Do not open fire on fellow countrymen.
- To the Government servants—Do not resign but oppose the Government from within.
- To the Princes—Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people.
- To the people of Princely states—Support the ruler only if he is anti-government and declare your state to be a part of the Indian nation.

In response to the Quit India movement, the British Government wasted no time and arrested most of the Congress leaders, including Gandhi. The British were only asked to Quit India and no other demands were made as such.

These sudden arrests of Gandhi and other prominent leaders produced a spontaneous reaction among the people. This angered the people who tried to attack the British government in every way possible. In the absence of their leaders, people became their own leaders and took their own decisions which were usually limited to looting and destroying government property. The government responded by firing at these protestors and was only able to suppress the movement through large scale killings and arrests. As per official figures the number of people arrested was well over 91,000. Though the British were able to suppress this movement, it was only a matter of time that they had to actually 'quit' India. The British were beginning to realize that they could not hold on to India for long.

Till now, the British had ruled India with the help of a unique support system which they had built in India over a period of time. The national movement was successful in eroding this support system through a series of protests and struggles. It can be said that without the support of various different classes such as the peasants, workers, middle class, police, and army the British rule could not survive in India. The British finally understood their situation and began to make preparations for a gradual and peaceful withdrawal from India. During 1944-45, the British released all the Congress leaders and initiated a process of negotiation in order to transfer power to Indian Congress. India finally became free in August 1947. Achieving an independent status was a matter of pride and joy for the Indians as they had won the war against British Imperialism. However this could not be considered a complete victory because with independence came the partition of India which was accompanied by communal violence. Therefore,



the year 1947 is marked as an important phase in Indian history as Indian achieved independence but at the cost of Partition.

After the fall of Cripps' Mission, the Indian National Congress became stringent in its condition and passed a resolution in July 1942 demanding complete independence from British government; failing which the resolution proposed a massive civil disobedience against the government. However, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, a prominent Congress leader, along with several local and regional level leaders, organized the Quit India Movement. Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad reluctantly joined Gandhi's decision to back the proposal. On the other hand several outstanding leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad and Dr Anugrah Narayan Sinha along with socialists like Asoka Mehta and Jayaprakash Narayan openly supported the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Allama Mashriqi (head of Khaksar Tehrik) was also invited to join the Quit India Movement, but he was critical about the outcome of the movement and creation of Pakistan; and therefore, did not agree with the resolution. On 28 July, 1942 Mashriqi wrote to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mahatma Gandhi, Rajagopalachari, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya and Sambamurty (former Speaker of the Madras Assembly) stating his reasons for not joining the Quit India Movement. In a telegram, which was later published in press, Mashriqi said, 'My honest opinion is that Civil Disobedience Movement is a little premature. The Congress should first concede open-heartedly and with handshake to Muslim League the theoretical Pakistan, and thereafter all parties unitedly make demand of Quit India. If the British refuse, start total disobedience...' Despite several leaders opposing the resolution, on 8 August 1942, Quit India resolution was passed at the Bombay session of All India Congress Committee (AICC). At the session held at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, Gandhi urged the Indians to participate in the Quit India Movement through non-violent civil disobedience and act as an independent nation. His call found massive support amongst Indians.

#### 4.1 Opposition to Quit India

Where the Quit India Movement had the support of the masses, the movement was opposed by several political parties. Parties like Hindu Mahasabha and Communist Party of India opposed the movement and did not rally with the Congress. The Communist Party of India though against the movement, was in alliance with the Soviet Union and in support of the war, despite industrial workers and unions supporting the movement. This led to a ban on the party by the British government. The movement also found opposition from various princely states who feared the loss of their estates in an independent India; and therefore, they funded the opposition. Several Muslim leaders were also opposed to Quit India Movement and Muhammad Ali Jinnah's plea found an audience among large number of Muslims who responded by enlisting in British army. The league gained support in provincial legislatures and as the Congress resigned, it took control of Sindh, Bengal and Northwest Frontier. The nationalists, however, had little international support. Though United States was supporting the Indian freedom movement theoretically, it was also an ally of Britain. When Churchill threatened to resign if forced, U.S. slyly supported him but continued its pretense to strengthen public support for war. This move annoyed both Indians and British.



## Local activism

Where on one hand the Quit India Movement was facing opposition at the national level, at the same time the movement was successful at the regional level where at several places locals rebelled against the British. In Satara, Talcher, Tamruk and Contai subdivisions of Midnapore local people were establishing their own parallel governments which, however, were discontinued on the personal request of Gandhi in 1944. In Ballia, the easternmost district of Uttar Pradesh, local populace broke a jail and released the arrested Congress leaders and established their independent rule. It was weeks before Britishers could re-establish themselves in the district. In western Gujarat, Saurashtra the tradition of 'baharvatiya' (i.e., going outside the law), supported the activities of the Quit India Movement in the region.

## 4.2 Suppression of the Movement

The Quit India Movement was primarily designed to keep the Congress party united. This further alarmed the British, who were already wary of Japanese army advancing on India-Burma border. In order to control the agitations, the British imprisoned Gandhi along with prominent members of Party's Working Committee (national leadership). Due to the arrest of major leaders of Congress, Aruna Asaf Ali, young and relatively unknown till then, presided at the AICC session on August 9 and hoisted the flag. Later the Congress party was banned, which only strengthened mass sympathy for the cause and despite the lack of leadership, demonstrations and protests of large scale were carried out all over the country.

However, not all of these demonstrations were peaceful, at various places bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity and communication lines were severed. To these demonstrations, Britishers responded by making mass arrests.

Over 100,000 people were arrested and were fined. Soldiers were also ordered to flog the demonstrators and shoot if required. Several hundred people were killed in the shootings. This forced many leaders to go underground but they continued their struggle by broadcasting over radio and distributing pamphlets.

Looking at the situation, British even set-aside a ship to take Gandhi and other eminent leaders of South Africa or Yemen, but decided against it as they were wary about revolt getting further intensified. The Congress was cut-off from the rest of the world for over three years.

Gandhi lost his wife Kasturba Gandhi and his personal secretary Mahadev Desai within a very short span. Despite such personal losses and an indisposed health, Gandhi went on a 21-day fast and maintained his resolve to continuous resistance.

Although the British released Gandhi on account of his health in 1944, Gandhi kept up the resistance, demanding the release of the Congress leadership.

By early 1944, India was mostly peaceful again, while the Congress leadership was still incarcerated. A sense that the movement had failed depressed many nationalists, while Jinnah and the Muslim League, as well as Congress opponents like the Communists sought to gain political mileage, criticizing Gandhi and the Congress Party.



## ACTIVITY

Compare negotiations held between two countries in present day with the negotiations between Britain and pre-independent India.

## DID YOU KNOW

- “Do or die” call in the historic session on 7th August 1942: The historic session of Indian National Congress was held from 7th August 1942 at Gowalia Tank Maidan, Mumbai (now known as August Kranti Maidan). In the midnight of 8th/9th August 1942, the Congress passed the famous ‘Quit India resolution’, which electrified the country. This has become the popular ‘Quit India Movement’ and mass civil disobedience movement was launched with Mahatma Gandhi’s “Do or die” call.
- Quit India movement turning violent: Within few hours of the resolution and call, all the national leaders were arrested. Since there were no leaders outside, the movement became violent. The people burnt the Government offices and violence could not be controlled by the Congress. British Government moved the army and more than one lakh people were arrested. During this period, the contact of the leaders with the masses were cut off. During this period, Mahatma Gandhi lost his wife Kasturba Gandhi and his trusted secretary Mahadev Desai, who were also in the jail. Mahatma also was losing health.

*Source:* <http://www.action2020.in/2011/08/quit-india-movement-1942-interesting.html>

## 5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- When the Congress gave responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement to Gandhiji, he wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin to abolish salt tax, reduce military expenditure, release political prisoners, etc. Lord Irwin did not respond to this letter. Thus, Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement against the British. On 12 March 1930, he, along with 72 followers, began a march from the Sabarmati ashram to the sea at Dandi.
- On 6th April, Gandhi reached the sea at Dandi and picked up a handful of salt from the seaside to break the Salt Law. He broke this law because he believed that salt was a basic necessity, thus, salt tax would affect the poor. After this March, people began manufacturing salt all the country. Through careful planning and large-scale recruitment of volunteers, the Movement spread from one part of the country to another, from Madras to Maharashtra and from Bengal and Assam to Karachi. In the farthest north, there was a massive demonstration at Peshawar. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars had been active in this area for a number of years.

- The Viceroy invited the leaders to a Round Table Conference in order to discuss the issue of dominion status. Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru were taken to the Gandhiji to discuss the offer. However, no headway could be made between the Congress and the government. The First Round Table Conference was held in London in November 1930 between the Indian leaders and the British but the Congress did not attend this Conference.
- In March 1931, the Congress in its Karachi session talked about the goal of Poorna Swaraj once again. However, they also endorsed the Delhi Pact between Gandhi and Irwin. Although the pact had no mention of independence, the Congress at Karachi had started preparing the framework of India's Constitution. It approved resolutions on Fundamental Rights and National Economic policy.
- After the fall of Cripps' Mission, the Indian National Congress became stringent in its condition and passed a resolution in July 1942 demanding complete independence from British government; failing which the resolution proposed a massive civil disobedience against the government. However, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, a prominent Congress leader, along with several local and regional level leaders, organized the Quit India Movement.
- Where the Quit India Movement had the support of the masses, the movement was opposed by several political parties. Parties like Hindu Mahasabha and Communist Party of India opposed the movement and did not rally with the Congress. The Communist Party of India though against the movement, was in alliance with the Soviet Union and in support of the war, despite industrial workers and unions supporting the movement.
- The Quit India movement was primarily designed to keep the Congress party united.

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## 6 KEY TERMS

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- **Drain of wealth theory:** It is a theory advocated by Dadabhai Naoroji who stated that the British policies in India were draining its wealth out of the country.
- **Civil Disobedience Movement:** Civil Disobedience Movement was called by Gandhi by undertaking a march to Dandi, where he broke the Salt Laws imposed by the British government.

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## 7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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1. The 1909 Act, also known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, increased the involvement of Indians in the governance of British India.
2. The Government of India Act of 1919, also known as the Montague Chelmsford Reform, advocated a decentralized unitary form of government and placed power in the hands of the Governor-General.
3. All people arrested for non-violent protest were to be released immediately.
4. Abdul Ghaffar Khan
5. Cripps' Mission
6. Congress



### Short-Answer Questions

1. What was 'salt satyagraha'?
2. What were the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact?
3. Explain the concept of 'local activism' in relation to the Quit India Movement.
4. Mention two outcomes of the Quit India Movement.
5. Write a note on Morley-Minto Reform and Montague Chelmsford Reform.

### Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the Civil Disobedience Movement.
2. What was the Quit India Movement?
3. Write a short note on opposition to quit India.
4. Discuss the suppression of the Quit India Movement.
5. Discuss India's trade situation before independence.

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## 8.9 FURTHER READING

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# UNIT 4 RADICAL ALTERNATIVES

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## Structure

- 0 Introduction
- 1 Unit Objectives
- 2 Marxist Ideology
- 3 Rise of Congress Left Wing
  - 3.1 Rise of the Communist in India
  - 3.2 Communist Party of India
  - 3.3 Meerut Conspiracy Case
  - 3.4 Telengana
- 4 Left Parties
  - 4.1 PEPSU
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  - 4.3 Congress Socialist Party
- 5 Summary
- 6 Key Terms
- 7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 8 Questions and Exercises
- 9 Further Reading

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## 0 INTRODUCTION

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The worldview of Marxism was brought into picture by Karl Marx, a German philosopher. Born in the year 1818, Karl Marx had expertise in the fields of sociology, philosophy, political economy, and history. He was a staunch revolutionary. The ideology of Marxism centers around a worldview on how to improve the structure of the society through the implementation of socialism. The theory of Marxism states that the society needs social change from time-to-time to eradicate the social evils of capitalism where the superior classes exploit the poor for their own greed. Marxism states that the required change cannot be brought about without a conflict and thus, a conflict or a struggle between the superior and inferior classes was eminent to bring about the necessary changes. In the words of Karl Marx, 'Anyone who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without feminine upheaval. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex, the ugly ones included.'

The terms 'left' and 'right' are used in a particular sense. Those who stand for revolutionary changes come within the compass of the left movements and those who stand for *status quo* are said to belong to the right. While dealing with the left movements, we are mainly concerned with the Communist Party of India.

The unit deals with the emergence of leftist movements in India.

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## 1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the rise of the left wing in the Congress
- Describe Left Parties in India





Marxism proposes that the proletariat or the lower class citizens form the majority of the population in the world, and the rise of capitalism has only worsened their position in the world. The lower classes work all day long in misery and starvation, to meet their ends while the actual benefit of their labour is enjoyed by the privileged classes, who exploit them without a care in the world. Thus, a correction in social structure is always required through acts of revolution. This struggle happens between the majority, who are poor, and the minority, who are the wealthy lot.

The revolution, which Karl Marx proposes, is with a view of overthrowing the government, which is inefficient as it cannot control the exploitation or eradicate the social evils within the society. The revolutionaries would then take control of the government and they can implement the necessary reforms and measures required. The aim of the revolutionaries is to ensure that the commoners get their due and benefits from the government rather than looking for private profit of any kind. Marx had a dream of developing a purely classless society, as he proposed 'In a higher phase of communist society... only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'

The vision of Karl Marx and his dream of a classless society is still unrealized after so many years as the difference between the rich and the poor is still pretty vast.

### Marxism and Indian Society

Although the ideologies of the Marxist theory and what the Brahmins in India taught regarding classes, social structure and politics were mostly different. History tells us that they were the ones who initiated and implemented the Marxist ideologies. Although when you enquire a little more on this subject, the Brahmins becoming the flag bearers of the Marxist ideology may not seem to be such a strange phenomenon.

The Brahmins were the most educated class of the society throughout history and this remained the case even during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the 1900s, a new class of Brahmins arose, which was not burdened with the old ideologies. Of course there were still some who were pretty attached to their orthodox customs and rituals, and such a lot exists even today. The new age Brahmin youths were learned and many of them believed in the revolutionary thinking prevalent in those times because of the struggle for independence against the British rule. These learned men became the flag bearers as the poor and underprivileged could have never known by themselves the ideologies and views that Marxism proposed.

The landless peasants comprised the lowest class in the Indian society during the British period. Thomas Moore (author of *Care of the Soul*) proposed- 'Your Shape that were wont to be make and tame and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, become so great devourers and so wiled that they eat up, and swallow own, the very men themselves.'

He must have said these words upon seeing the disastrous condition of men in the society. The class difference was so huge that Maharajas and royal classes enjoyed privileges of every kind, while the lower class peasants died of starvation. This situation is not something that the present day people are unaware of. The society that we live in today has similar problems of social and economic inequality.



The lower class peasants would not have been able to understand the Marxist perception as they were illiterate people who had no idea of the revolutions that were going on in different parts of the world. The rage that Karl Marx had lent on the ruling class, 'The bourgeoisie' as he called it, could only be understood by people who could read and write. In the words of Karl Marx:

'We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged ... the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder. Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted in it, and the economic and political sway of the bourgeois class. A similar movement is going on before our own eyes ... The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring order into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property.'

The Marxist view is that the ruling class was ruling the poor people as their slaves and that their royal lives and privileges were dependent upon the labour of the poor classes.

There is no exact time and date when the economic structure of the Indian society was moulded in a way where the peasants were suppressed in a way that they became puppets in the hands of the ruling class but it could be understood through common sense that with the coming of currency, money lending activities would have come into being.

Although the ruling class comprised the warrior class, the brahmins were considered holy and even the ruling class was not considered superior to them. The Brahmins were considered to be the descendents of the Aryan *devtas* and the Rig Veda was the proof of this fact. So, the class difference was eminent and because of which the classes of untouchables and sudras were created. The Brahmins did not have to work, as working in the fields or doing labour was considered as activities that were below their dignity. They enjoyed free food, shelter and other privileges without having to do any labour for it.

Although the constitution of our country does not provide for any orthodox system of class difference, it is interesting to know that more than 47 per cent of chief justices that have been appointed between the years 1950 and 2000 have been brahmins. During the same period, 40 per cent of the associate judges appointed have been brahmins. This could be a mere coincidence but the majority of the brahmins in the bureaucracy is a fact that cannot be denied. During the British rule these affluent brahmins went to foreign countries for higher studies where they were exposed to the Marxist principles.

### **Rise of communism**

The rise of communism was with a view to overthrow the privileged class by the lower classes of people. It mainly targeted the brahmins and ironically the Communist Party, which was formed in the year 1920, was headed by a brahmin himself; M.N. Roy whose real name was Narendra Nath Bhattacharya. M.N. Roy was the general secretary of this party. Following were the other members:



- Mrs Alvina Roy
- Mr Abani Mukherjee
- Mrs Rose F. Mukherjee
- Mr Boyankar N. Pativadi Acharya
- Mohd Ali Ahmed Hussain
- Mohd Shafiq Siddiqi

Roy was born in the year 1887. This famous Bengali revolutionary was among the new age brahmins who introduced the Marxist perception through his political theories and movements.

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### 3 RISE OF CONGRESS LEFT WING

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There were many circumstances which favoured the growth of the left movements in India. The result of the World War I was that the prices of necessities of life rose. There were famine conditions in many parts of the country. There were crippling financial burdens on the people. The success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 fired the imagination of the Indian intellectuals, political leaders, the terrorists and even the workers and made them aware of a new ideology. The slogans of Swaraj and Swadesi by Mahatma Gandhi and his efforts to carry the message to the people gave a new orientation to the nationalist movement in the country. Even the workers and peasants were drawn into the national mainstream life. Those developments helped the growth of the socialist movement. The growing unemployment among the educated people made them lose faith in liberalism of the 19th century and they were attracted towards terrorism and revolutionary ideology. Many radicals were not satisfied with the weak policy of Mahatma Gandhi. They felt that policy of non-violence stood in the way of the development of a revolutionary mass struggle against the British government.

Lala Lajpat Rai was possibly the first Indian writer to write about socialism and Bolshevism, but his attitude towards the latter was not sympathetic. He presided over the first Indian Trade Union Congress held in 1920. In 1920-23, M. N. Roy wrote two books in which he criticized the bourgeois domination of the Indian National Congress. Roy and Virendra Chattopadhyaya were the two Indian leaders who were deeply interested in Communism in the early twenties. In 1926, Moti Lal and Jawaharlal Nehru visited the Soviet Union. In 1918, a Kisan Sabha was organized at Allahabad but it was not influenced by socialist ideology. In 1924, the Central Kisan Sangh was established at Allahabad. In April 1986, the All India Kisan Sabha was established.

#### 3.1 Rise of the Communist in India

World War II came as a shock to India as elsewhere too many people who began to find out some solution to the social and economic ills were responsible for the World War. When this was going on, the Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky broke out. The leaders of the Russian Revolution promised to the people of the world a better future on peace, equality and social justice. It was on this wave of idealism that communism came to India. India at that time was preparing to launch its mass struggle against the British rule under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In this atmosphere, the Russian Revolution was received favourably in India and was considered as a great liberating force. The intellectual and emotional climate in India in the early twenties was receptive to the ideas of communism.



The Soviet leaders tried to establish a section of Communist International in the heart of India itself. Organizationally, M. N. Roy was perhaps the first link between the Communist International and the newly born communism in India which was throughout the greater part of the twenties still at the level of ideas. M. N. Roy made his first appearance in Russia in 1920. Roundabout 1921-22, he began to publish from various places in Europe an English periodical first entitled '*Vanguard*' and later '*The Masses of India*'. A large number of copies of this journal were sent to individual nationalists, trade unionists and intellectuals in India. In 1923, S. A. Dange started the publication of an English weekly entitled '*Socialist*'. At about the same time, *Janavani*, a Bengali Weekly, was started from Calcutta. In July 1924, the Comintern decided to accept the advice of M. N. Roy that the Communist Party of India should be established as a branch of the Communist International.

Organized communism came to India when the followers of Roy came to this country. Nalini Gupta returned to India in 1921 on behalf of M. N. Roy. Abani Mukherji came to India in 1923 on behalf of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya. Both of them had been members of terrorist organizations in Bengal before they went abroad. Their activities resulted in the Kanpur conspiracy case in 1924. The charge against the communist leaders was that they were organizing a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of India by violent means. The accused, in that case were S. A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad, Shank at Usmani and Nalini Gupta.

Roundabout 1924, the Communist International developed some doubt about the ability of M.N. Roy to deliver the goods. It was decided to adopt new tactics to strengthen communist movement in India. It was agreed to adopt a scheme of direct contact between the Comintern and the communist organization and groups in British India. However, the Communist organizations in India were directed through the Communist Party of Great Britain and R. Palme Dutt became an important figure in this connection. He was throughout in close touch with Moscow than most of his colleagues in the Communist Party of Great Britain.

A series of British communists were sent to India to help the communists in this country. Percy E. Glading was the first to come to India. He was followed by George Allison who arrived in Bombay in April 1926. He was sent to India to develop the left-wing inside the Trade Union Congress but to keep out of party politics except in an advisory capacity. However, he took a prominent part in labour troubles in Bombay and Bengal as a result of which he was apprehended in 1926, prosecuted and convicted on a charge of using forged documents and having counterfeited the seal and stamp of the British Foreign Office on his passport. He was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and was deported on the expiry of his sentence.

The place of George Allison was taken by Phillip Spratt who arrived in India in December 1926 to open in India a Labour Research Organization through which Soviet money could be received and distributed in India. When Spratt came to India, the Communist Party of India had barely a dozen nominal members and not much activity. Spratt devoted all his energy to the development of Communist Party in India. He was joined in September 1927 by Benjamin Francis Bradley who also took an active part in the organization of the Workers and Peasants Party and of the employees of cotton mills and railways. H. L. Hutchison came to Bombay in September 1928 but his mission was not a success.

It is worthy of notice that during those early days, the hand of Spratt was everywhere. He sowed the seeds of revolt in Punjab. He set up a Workers and Peasants



Party in the United Provinces which held its inaugural conference at Meerut in October 1928. Within a month, branches were set up in Delhi, Allahabad, Meerut, Gorakhpur and Jhansi. During this time, Spratt was carrying on correspondence with his counterparts on the European Continent and in England informing them of the progress achieved, the difficulties experienced and the necessary instructions in that connection. There was a steady and expensive stream of communist literature into India and different methods were employed to smuggle communist literature.

Soon after the Comintern Resolution of September 1928 was passed, the Communist Party met at Calcutta in December 1928. It was at this meeting that the swing to the left was applied to India. A new central executive was first elected. The main decisions were to make the party active and to propagandize in the name of the Communist Party of India, to affiliate to the Communist International and send Muzaffar Ahmed to Moscow as a delegate to the executive committee of the Communist International.

Perhaps the greatest success of the communists during this period was the influence they managed to acquire in trade unions in India and their success in disrupting and splitting them to their advantage. As a result of industrialization of India, a sizeable labour force had been created. Rising prices and the consequent unrest encouraged the birth of trade unions. The Madras Union was established by B. P. Wadia in 1918. In 1920, the All India Trade Union Congress was established for purposes of coordination. The All India Railwaymen's Federation was formed in 1925. By 1925-26, labour organizations acquired a certain measure of strength and stability and their spokesman in the legislatures succeeded in giving expression to some of the needs of the workers. The Communists appeared on the scene and their sole objective was to capture the key trade unions with a view to utilize them for the political ends of their party. From 1926 to 1928, the influence of the communists increased immensely. They started several weekly journals like *Kranti* in Marathi.

### 3.2 Communist Party of India

Upto August 1939, the Communists in India were praising the Soviet Union under Stalin and condemning Hitler. However, they found themselves in an awkward position after Stalin entered into a non-aggression pact with Hitler. Overnight, Hitler became a friend of peace and England and France became the imperialist war-mongers. The Communists condemned England for dragging India into an imperialist war against her will. Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru were denounced as saboteurs of Indian independence and agents of imperialism. The Congress Socialists were described as henchmen of Mahatma Gandhi. A virulent attack was started against the leaders of the Congress and the Socialist Party. The Communists did not succeed entirely because the rank and file of both the parties were loyal to their leaders. However, the Communists did succeed in causing a split in the All-India Students' Federation and the All-India Kisan Sabha which had been built by the Socialists. The All-India Trade Union Congress gradually became the preserve of the Communists. The Congress Socialist Party which had been working very hard for a united front saw the futility and danger of trying to work with the Communists and decided to break the alliance. The result was that all the Communists were expelled from the Congress Socialist Party. It is pointed out that this decision was taken in the nick of time and a little delay would have broken the Congress Socialist Party entirely. However, while parting ways, the Communists carried with them almost intact three of the best organized state branches of the Congress Socialist Party in Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.



The Communists induced the workers to go on strike to impair war production. On 2 October 1939, the Communists organized a strike in Bombay in which 90,000 workers were stated to have participated. The Government of India took action against the Communists by arresting their leaders. The Communists continued to be arrested in 1940.

However, everything changed for the Communist Party of India after Hitler attacked Russia on 22 June 1941. The imperialist war became a 'people's war'. The Communists in India decided to support the Government of India in every way in their war-effort as England and Russia were to fight together against Hitler. The Government of India released the Communist leaders from detention. The ban on the Communist Party was lifted and it could now work as a legal party. The Communist Party recommended that the Cripps proposals be accepted and it attacked the Congress for rejecting them. After the Quit India Resolution was passed by the Congress on 8 August 1942 and the arrest of its leaders, the Communist Party fought on the side of the British government. The Communists considered it as their duty to spy on the Indian patriots and get them arrested wherever possible. They became police informers. There was complete cooperation between the officials of the Government of India and the members of the Communist Party. The Communist Party placed its services at the disposal of the Government of India against all those who took part in the Quit India Movement and the Azad Hind Fauj of Subhas Chandra Bose. They struggled hard to get them arrested. On the industrial front, the Communists did their utmost to keep the workers out of the national unrest. There were to be no strikes but more and more work for the government. The workers were asked to forget the class struggle to work for increased production and rather than going on strikes. The peasants were asked to forget their grievances and grow more food and surrender it to the government to feed the armies.

The Communists did their utmost to sabotage the national movement for India's freedom. They also tried to sabotage the efforts aimed at bringing about a compromise between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. They whole-heartedly supported the demand for Pakistan. They went a step further by saying that every linguistic group in India had a distinct nationality and was, therefore, entitled to the right to secede. That would have resulted in the dismemberment of the country and its Balkanization into a large number of independent states.

For practically three years from 1942 to 1945, every active Indian patriot and political worker was either in jail or underground. This gave an opportunity to the Communists to capture the labour, students, peasants and women organizations in the country. The All India Trade Union Congress became a purely Communist front. The Communists infiltrated into the All India Women's Conference.

In spite of all this, the Communists were isolated and discredited by 1945. Their efforts to destroy the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders failed completely. Their efforts to approach Jinnah and the Muslim League also failed. They lost support both among the peasants and the industrial workers. Their only influence was among the upper class intellectuals with whom it was fashionable to be Communists. When Mahatma Gandhi was released in 1944, the Communists tried to approach him but he refused to have anything to do with them. When the members of the Congress Working Committee were released in June 1945, the Congress resumed normal functioning and the Communists were expelled from the Congress.



### 3.3 Meerut Conspiracy Case

Communist activity was abruptly cut short by the arrest of 31 of its most important leaders from different parts of India on 20 March 1929, including Spratt, Bradley, Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaukat Usmani and S. A. Dange. Hutchison was arrested a few weeks later. There were comprehensive searches throughout the country and a large amount of information was collected about the working of the communists in the country. The lower court made a preliminary enquiry into the case and finalised its hearing of the case on 14 January 1930. The Court found that it had been definitely proved that Communist International was founded in 1919 with its headquarters at Moscow and its chief aim was to establish workers' republics in every country. For that purpose, it excited violent revolutions in all countries. It was determined to bring about a revolution in India with the object of overthrowing the sovereignty of the King Emperor in British India. With that object, it formed a conspiracy with persons and bodies in Europe and India and elsewhere to excite the Indian workers and peasants to revolution. The conspirators laid down a general plan of campaign under the direction of the Communist International. That plan included the formation of such bodies as a Communist Party of India and Workers and Peasants Party. The immediate work of those parties was to gain control of the working classes by organizing them in unions, teaching them the principles of communism, inciting them to strikes in order to educate them and teach them solidarity and to use every possible method of propaganda and instruction. The workers were taught mass organization with a view to the declaration of a general strike followed by revolution. The peasants were also organized to form an effective reserve force for the proletarian masses and to effect an agrarian revolution. In pursuance of these aims, a Communist Party in India and four Workers and Peasants Party in Mumbai, Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces were formed. These bodies were given financial aid from Moscow and their policy was dictated from Moscow, directly and via England and the Continent, through communications conducted in a secret and conspiratorial manner. In addition to this, Allison, Spratt and Bradley were sent to India for the purpose of organizing the work and fomenting revolution. In pursuance of those directions and with financial help thus obtained, those bodies organized unions, conducted demonstrations, edited papers, instituted youth movements, initiated and conducted strikes and used all possible methods of propaganda. In all those activities, the accused had taken part with full knowledge and approval of their aims and objects and directly or indirectly in league with the conspirators outside India.

The additional sessions judge who took up the actual trial of the case, pronounced judgment on 16 January 1933, sentencing four of the 31 accused persons to varying terms of imprisonment. Muzaffar Ahmed was sentenced to life imprisonment. S. A. Dange, S. V. Ghate, K. N. Jogkelar, R. S. Nimbkar and Spratt were given 12 years. Bradley, Mirajkar and Usmani were given 10 years' transportation. The lightest sentence was 3 years' imprisonment. The Allahabad High Court confirmed all the findings but reduced the sentences of imprisonment of the various accused. Some of them were immediately released in September 1934 and the rest in the autumn of 1935.

It is worthy of notice that there was widespread nationalist sympathy for the accused at Meerut. The communists were able to enlist for their legal advice and defence the services of younger nationalist spokesmen. Among them were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Farid-ul-Huq Ansari and Dr. Kailash Nath Katju. The trial lasted for many years and the accused took full advantage of it to make propaganda in favour of communism. However, the removal of the leading communists in March 1929 dealt a heavy blow to



the Communist Party of India. The industrial situation improved considerably. There, was a cessation of strikes in general. Rivalries and petty squabbles grew within the Communist Party.

The period from 1930 to 1935 was one of wilderness for the Communist Party in India. The Communists not only stayed away from the freedom struggle led by the Indian National Congress during this period but also did everything they could to weaken and sabotage it. While the patriotic Indians were boycotting foreign cloth, the Communists advocated the use of foreign cloth as a gesture of solidarity with the British workers in Lancashire. While Mahatma Gandhi advocated the methods of non-violent resistance, the Communists asserted the right to use violence. The Indian Communists insulted the national flag of India in Mumbai. To the Communists in India, the struggle for national independence was not so much a struggle for national liberation as one for strengthening a sector of world capitalism and imperialism. A new constitution was adopted by the Communist Party of India in 1934. The Communists gave a call for a country-wide strike of all textile workers with effect from 23 April 1934, which was heeded. The Government took immediate action and arrested the Communist leaders. The Communist Party was declared illegal in July 1934 along with some dozen trade unions under Communist control and the Young Workers League. The workers of the Communist Party completely went underground.

R. Palme Dutt and Bradley published their thesis entitled 'The Anti-Imperialist People's Front' in India in March 1936. They described the Indian National Congress as merely the united front of the Indian people in the nationalist struggle. They advised the Communists to join the Indian National Congress and utilize the Congress organization to strengthen the left-wing within the Congress called the Congress Socialist Party and oust the reactionary right-wing elements in the Congress. The Communists, the Congress Socialist Party and the Trade Unionists planned to organize a popular front on the basis of a common minimum programme. However, the Communists did not meet with much success as they did not work with the Congress in the spirit of cooperation. Their object was merely to isolate the Congress leadership from the rank and file and capture the larger organization for its party. Everything was done to belittle the role and inspiration of the nationalist movement led by the Congress. In order to implement the 'Trojan horse' strategy, a minimum programme was decided upon and instructions were issued to individual Communists to push it through. The Politbureau declared that 'individual enrollment is not a substitute for collective affiliation but only one of the means to intensify the agitation and strengthen the demands for collective affiliation, from inside the Indian National Congress platform in alliance with the Indian National Congress rank and file and by mobilizing them under our leadership on this and other allied immediate issues.' The agitation was not to be carried on from inside alone but was to be supported by agitation from outside. After infiltrating into the Congress, a programme of appeal to the rank and file of the Congress was started. The Communists complained that the failures of Mahatma Gandhi in the Congress watered down the anti-imperialist content in the Lahore Resolution of 1929 on complete independence. The Communists failed in their objective. They could neither capture the Congress leadership nor make it accept their programme nor—adopt their slogans. It was clear that so long as Mahatma Gandhi's personality dominated the national scene, the Communists could not succeed so far as the Congress was concerned. Efforts were made to influence the Congress through Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and the Congress Socialist Party under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan. The Congress Socialist Party opened its doors



to the Communists and through that party the Communists came to occupy important positions in the Indian National Congress.

### **Karl Marx on Indian Revolutionary Movements**

Even before the popular Marxist movements took shape in the Indian freedom movements, Karl Marx had given his views on the struggle between the British rule and the revolution that was going against them. These works were published in the *New York Tribune* and were transcribed by Tony Brown. Some of the points of these transcriptions are as follows:

- Those who wanted to make personal complaints to the collector had to travel long distances
- People were scared of *tahsildars*
- The means to punish the criminals were not efficient
- The court cases carried on for longer duration like if a police or revenue officer was charged with extorting money then he was first charged by the assistant collector and then by the collector. He could, if he found the judgement unsatisfactory, even appeal to the Revenue Board.

### **The exploitative thesis**

The economic exploitation of India has a long history, but before you indulge in that, you need to have a clear understanding of the exploitative thesis.

### **Economic exploitation**

Economic exploitation in general terms refers to a situation where a person is using the labour of another person and not giving him adequate reimbursement for the same. Economic exploitation has the following viewpoints:

- **Organizational exploitation:** This denotes the exploitation at a micro level.
- **Structural exploitation:** This denotes the exploitation at the macro level and is in close resemblance to the Marxist theory where the whole capitalist class was seen as one exploitative entity.

### **The Marxist theory**

The theory of economic exploitation in Marxist terms starts with the domination of private property by the capitalists. Karl Marx was of the opinion that the capitalist class has made commodities valuable and hard to get for the lower classes of people. Thus, material things, including money, were getting much more importance than it deserved. He could foresee the future where money would be equivalent to God in many people's lives.

Marx argued that in a capitalistic economy the position of a human being was actually dependent upon their wealth. Hence, it was the means of production that determined the affluence of a human being. The actual labour which was done by poor workers in the accumulation of the surplus wealth went unnoticed. Marx believed that this kind of a system was extremely dangerous for the society.

Karl Marx was right in saying that material things were given far more importance than they deserved.



In his words, 'The commodity is first of all, an external object; a thing which through its qualities satisfies human needs of whatever kind. The nature of these needs, whether they arise, for example, from the stomach, or the imagination, makes no difference. Nor does it matter here how the thing satisfies man's need, whether directly as a means of subsistence, i.e. an object of consumption, or indirectly as a means of production.'

There is a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increase capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance.

Marx believed that in an ideal society there should always be a competitive market where the prices of commodities are always regulated.

Karl Marx took his theory of economic exploitation even further when he stated that the richer nations were exploiting the poorer or the so called third world countries for their own good. Money which was essentially a mere mean of exchange for commodities had become the capital requirement for all human beings and capitalism was to be blamed for it.

### **Economic exploitation during 1757-1947**

Agriculture was the main source of income for the general mass in those times. Apart from the ruling class who dominated every aspect of the economy in those times, various sections of the society were also looking to take control of the agricultural land.

This case was applicable to all parts of the country. Apart from the agricultural resources that formed the major component of trade and income, luxury trade became an important part of system more so in the capital cities as the royal classes had different tastes and spent their fortunes in a lavish manner. This was in close comparison with the Marxist statements of the capitalist elites using the poor, where the poor barely met their ends and the affluent class had much more than they needed.

Even though there were great inequalities between people prior to British rule, there was a huge resource of wealth in India. Of course the surplus wealth was the cause; the British were attracted towards India. As the British set their foot in India, the period of drainage of wealth started. It was not as if that foreign trade started only after the coming of the British in India. Historical accounts give us an overview that various varieties were exported even during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Textile was the main source of export during those times.

Historical records show that silk was in great demand among the affluent classes of people in the countries of Indonesia, Philippines and Malaysia. Bengal was among the major silk producing regions in India, similarly Kerala was famous for its cloth printing. Each region had specialization in various fields of work. The engravings that one sees in the palaces today show the kind of artistic talent that existed among people of those times. These artisans and labourers however never got their due as they were paid less in comparison to the work they did.



The poor and the underprivileged faced an even bitter time when the British Raj was introduced in India. The British were busy exploiting the country and resources for their own good. Wealth was being drained in huge amounts from the country and being taken to Britain while the royal class who were just the nominal rulers of the country as they became puppets in the hands of the British lived a laid back life and hardly cared about the worsening situation of the general mass. The royals still continued to live a lavish life spending the fortunes which were left behind as the British took huge sums out of every kingdom, in the form of taxes and other provisions, which they had imposed.

The problems of poverty and a low level of national income, which India had to face after the Independence was a result of the exploitation of resources done by the British regime during their rule.

It is a notable fact that agriculture grew under the British regime, as the British gave great attention towards increasing the agricultural productivity. But they did nothing to improve the conditions of the peasants. Increasing the agricultural productivity was necessary for the British regime as agriculture was the chief source of raising the land revenue. The taxes that were imposed by the zamindars on the poor peasants during the British rule broke their backs completely. Besides, the British kept experimenting with different measures to increase the productivity without showing any concern of health and the other aspects of poor peasants.

Another reason for the British regime to pay greater attention to the agricultural productivity was that the agricultural products also provided the raw materials that were needed for the British industry in England. These cheap raw materials, like cotton, and food grains were exported to the European countries at a very cheap cost. Thus, the scope of the economic exploitation broadened with such acts as not only the peasants, but the whole country was now being economically exploited.

### **3.4 Telengana**

When India became independent in August 1947, the Communist Party decided to give support to the Nehru government. Their underlying motive was to support Prime Minister Nehru against Sardar Patel. The idea was to create a schism or split in the Congress ranks. The Communist support to Nehru, did not last long on account of a change in the Russian policy and world alignments. Communist agitation was very strong in the rural districts of Telengana in Hyderabad. The Communists had entrenched themselves in that area before the police action against Hyderabad in 1948. It was found that there was no law and order in that area and the Communists practically ruled that area. The Government of India decided to take strong action against the Communists. Between October and December 1950, there were no less than 344 serious incidents, including 96 murders, 151 attacks on the police and military and 82 attacks on the home guards and village officials. During this period, the police killed 223 Communists and arrested 143 of them. They recovered from them guns and rifles along with ammunition and explosives. Towards the end of 1951, there was a decrease in terrorism.

Attempts were made by the Communists to persuade the police and the troops to desert their offices, murder their officers and join the Communist Party. On 17 September 1951, the Communist Party issued a statement from Bombay in which they challenged the Government of India to withdraw the Preventive Detention Act and stop the policy of repression against the Communists. In return, the Communist Party promised to give up terrorism and act in a legal manner through constitutional means.



When the General Elections were held in India in 1952, the Communists were able to capture as many as 23 seats in Parliament and the Communist Party came second only to the Congress Party. In many State Assemblies also, the Communist Party emerged as the second largest party and was leading the Opposition group. Critics point out that the Communists were able to achieve this success by concentrating on certain selected constituencies. Although the Socialist Party got 10.50 per cent votes and the Communist 5.81 per cent votes, the Communists were able to show better results. The General Elections gave an excellent opportunity to the Communist Party to enlist sympathisers, restore mass contact and revitalise the Communist Party. On 4 September 1953, P. Sundarayya, the Communist leader in Rajya Sabha, declared that the members of his party were in Parliament to see that the Indian Constitution was wrecked and replaced by a new Constitution.

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## 4 LEFT PARTIES

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When the General Elections were held in India in 1952, the Communists were able to capture as many as 23 seats in Parliament and the Communist Party came second only to the Congress Party. In many state assemblies also, the Communist Party emerged as the second largest party and was leading the Opposition group. Critics point out that the Communists were able to achieve this success by concentrating on certain selected constituencies. Although the Socialist Party got 10.5 per cent votes and the Communist 5.81 per cent votes, the Communists were able to show better results. The General Elections gave an excellent opportunity to the Communist Party to enlist sympathizers, restore mass contact and revitalize the Communist Party. On 4 September 1953, P. Sundarayya, the Communist leader in Rajya Sabha, declared that the members of his party were in Parliament to see that the Indian Constitution was wrecked and replaced by a new Constitution.

### 4.1 PEPSU

In the beginning of 1952, efforts at reorganizing the peasant front by the Communists became noticeable and reports of peasant discontent fostered by the Communists began to appear from various corners of India, including Assam and Nepal. However, the situation was the worst in the states of PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union) where the Communists were able to set up zones of parallel government. Self-constituted panchayats started dispossessing the farmers of their lands and distributing them among the landless labourers. Neither the farmers nor the police were able to counter the mass intimidation practised by the Communist Panchayats. By March 1953, there was complete chaos in the states of PEPSU. Ultimately, the Constitution was suspended in the State of PEPSU and the Government of India was able to crush the Communist agitation. At that time the Communists revived their old front of All-India Kisan Federation. They also decided to hold in New Delhi by the end of 1953 an Asian Peasant Convention in order to help cement fraternal bonds of mutual understanding between peasants of all Asiatic countries and strengthen the forces of peace and dissipate the clouds of imperialist war from our fair Continent.

### 4.2 Split in Communist Party

There was a split in the Communist Party of India after the Vijayawada Congress of 1961 and another Communist Party of India called CPI (Marxist) came into existence.



The old Communist Party continued under the leadership of S. A. Dange. The claim of the CPI-M is that it is the only party which stands firmly consistently for socialism and rejects the 'parliamentary road to socialism'. It also aims at socialization of means of production. The Communist Party of India supported Prime Minister Indira Gandhi during the Emergency (1975-77) but it was opposed by CPI-M. At present, the Communist Party of India is weaker than CPI-M.

### 4.3 Congress Socialist Party

The foundation of the Congress Socialist Party in May 1934 was an important step in the development of socialism in India. The Bihar Socialist Party was founded in 1931 and the Bombay Socialist group was organised in 1934. 'The Congress Socialist Party was founded by those younger Congressmen who during their long terms of imprisonment in the Civil Disobedience Movement came in contact with Marxist ideas. They were not satisfied with the conservative leadership of the Congress Party after 1933. They had their reservations about Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme. They felt that it was necessary to organize the workers and peasants on the lines of class and bring them into the freedom movement. Those who thought alike met together at Patna and Bombay in 1934 and thus the Congress Socialist Party was launched with Jayaprakash Narayan as its General Secretary. Acharya Narendra Deva, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Yusuf Meherally, Minoo Masani, S. M. Joshi and other comrades were his colleagues. There were also young people like E.M.S. Namboodiripad, P. Ramamurthy, Sundarayya and others. They later on left the Congress Socialist Party and joined the Communist Party. However, Jayaprakash Narayan continued to have excellent relations with them.

At its first Conference in Bombay in 1934, the Congress Socialist Party adopted a 15-Point Programme which included the repudiation of the public debt of India, transfer of all power to producing masses, planned development of the economic life of the country by the state, socialization of the key industries, state monopoly of foreign trade, cooperative and collective farming, organization of cooperatives for production, distribution and credit and elimination of princes and landlords without compensation. The members of the Congress Socialist Party criticized the leadership of the Congress but professed loyalty to the organization. In the words of Acharya Narendra Deva, their object was 'to resuscitate and reinvigorate the Congress' and to draw into it the mass of workers and peasants in order to widen the base of the anti-imperialist front. They criticized Mahatma Gandhi and his non-violence, his ethical approach to politics and his theory of trusteeship.

There was bound to be a clash between the members of the Congress Socialist Party and the old members of the Congress. They differed on the question of the Government of India Act, 1935, the formation of ministries in 1937, the organization of Kisan Sabhas and agitation for agrarian reforms, the release of political detenus and agitation in the Indian States. There were bitter controversies in which the Congress leadership was severely criticized. Jayaprakash Narayan went to the extent of saying that 'Gandhism has played its part. It cannot carry us further and hence we must march and be guided by the ideology of socialism.' The leaders of the Congress Socialist Party did not realize the difficulties of the Congress Party which had to fight both against the British Government and the Muslim League and that could not be done without discipline in the Congress Party itself.



It is true that Jawaharlal Nehru was ideologically the closest to the Congress Socialist Party. He was in jail when the new party was formed and when he became the Congress President, he included Jayaprakash Narayan, Narendra Deva and Achyut Patwardhan in the Congress Working Committee. Mahatma Gandhi was against the Congress Socialist Party and he made it clear that if the Congress Socialist Party gained ascendancy in the Congress, he would not remain in the Congress. He did not approve of class war, expropriation and violence. Subhas Chandra Bose asked Nehru to be firm with the Congress establishment but Nehru was not prepared to defy Gandhi or break away from the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi offered again and again to step down if his ideas were not acceptable to the Working Committee or the All India Congress Committee. In October 1939, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Nehru, 'I must not lead if I cannot carry all with me. There should be no divided counsels among the members of the Working Committee. I feel you should take full charge and lead the country leaving me free to voice my opinion.' Nehru was not prepared to allow Mahatma Gandhi to give up the leadership of the Congress. He was not unaware of his own limitations. He could rouse the masses and inspire the intelligentsia but he was not an expert in party management.

Whatever the differences between the Congress Socialist Party and the leadership of the Indian National Congress, there was no intention to carry the opposition to the breaking point. The Congress Socialists knew well that they could not realize their programme unless the British were ousted from India and that could be done only by the Indian National Congress. The Congress Socialist Party got a lot of support from the youth, the industrial labour and the peasantry, but it was still a minority. It was not a homogeneous group. It consisted of Marxists like J.P. Narayan and Narendra Deva, Socialist Democrats like Asoka Merita and M. R. Masani, Gandhians like Patwardhan and populists like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. It is true that the Congress Socialist Party was not able to have its own way on many important issues but it certainly succeeded in giving radical orientation to the Congress policies in certain respects. The Second World War and the breach with the Government brought the Congress Socialists nearer to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leadership. Both the Congress leadership and the Congress Socialists worked against the Government during the Quit India Movement. During that movement, J. P. Narayan who was already in jail since 1940, made a daring escape from Hazaribagh jail with colleagues like Ram Nandan Misra and joined the ranks of the freedom fighters. Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Dr. Lohia, Sucheta Kriplani and others were operating under the name of the underground All India Congress Committee and trying to widen the scope of the mass struggle. When J. P. Narayan came out of jail, he declared that only armed resistance could achieve the objectives. He organized squads which operated in Bihar. Nepal was used as a base of operations. Ultimately, J.P. Narain and Dr. Lohia were arrested.

The Congress Socialists were always keen to consolidate all leftist forces in the country. The Congress Socialist Party opened its doors to the Communists in 1936. The Communist Party was an illegal party at that time and its leaders were happy to get a chance of functioning openly through the Congress Socialist Party and the Indian National Congress. The Communists created trouble for the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party and hence were expelled from it in 1940. However, they took away with them the Southern branches of the Congress Socialist Party. If the Communists had not been expelled in 1940, they would have created more trouble.



About the Congress Socialist Party, Shri P. L. Lakhanpal wrote the following in 1946, 'The role played by the C.S.P. within the Congress as well as without it was magnificent indeed. Within it, it served as a rallying point for all the radical elements; without it, it organized peasant movements, brought about a union between the various T. U. Congress and Federations, won the sympathy and support of the other radical organizations and put socialism till then a subject for academic discussion on the political map of India'. (p. 46, History of the Congress Socialist Party, Lahore, 1946) In March 1918, at the Nasik Convention, the Socialists decided to leave the Congress because the leadership of the Congress forbade all inner groupings within that organization. The Socialists left the Congress in 1948 and formed a separate party known as the Socialist Party of India. After the General Elections of 1952, the Socialist Party and Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party led by J. B. Kriplani decided to merge. The decision for merger was taken on 25 August 1952 at Lucknow and the merger actually took place at a meeting in Bombay on 26 and 27 September 1952.

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party at its meeting in Bombay on 16 October 1959 outlined a 12-point programme for India. It stood for intensification of agricultural and industrial production, equitable distribution and democratic decentralization. Its basic political and economic philosophy was to bring about a reconciliation and synthesis of nationalism, secularism and democratic decentralization.

The Socialist Party was merged in the Janata Party in 1977 and also joined the Janata Government. After the fall of the Janata Government in 1979, some of the Socialist members remained in the Janata Party and some joined the Lok Dal.

### **Other Left Parties**

A reference may be made to some other minor leftist parties in India. The Forward Bloc was formed by Subhas Chandra Bose after his quarrel with Mahatma Gandhi. The Forward Bloc accepted the creed, policy and programme of the Congress but was not bound to have confidence in the Congress high command. When India became free in 1947, the Forward Bloc described the transfer of power as a bogus one. Its view was that the bourgeois leadership of the Congress had entered into a partnership with British imperialism to defeat the mass struggle.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party was started in 1940. In the tussle between Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose, it supported Subhas Chandra Bose. It did not support the Government of India even after the Soviet Union joined World War II. The Bolshevik Party of India was started in 1939 by N. Dutt Mazumdar. The Revolutionary Communist Party was started in 1942. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party was started in 1941. Shri M. N. Roy started the Radical Democratic Party in 1940.

### **ACTIVITY**

Research on the Internet and make a report on the topic 'Impact of Marxism in India'.



## DID YOU KNOW

- When Marx was in university his father had to bail him out because he had racked up enormous debt.

Marx's first public writings on the plight of the poor was an article in which he described the hardships and poverty of Germany's vineyard workers.

Marx wrote the *Communist Manifesto* in six weeks and the draft was written by his friend and colleague, Friedrich Engels.

- Marx and Engels started a newspaper called *The New Rheinisch Gazette* that published radical articles condemning the inequalities in German (and European) society and promoted revolutionary ideas and activities. The government shut the paper down in May, 1849 and expelled its publishers. The last issue was printed in red ink.
- Marx lived in terrible poverty for most of his adult life. His friend, Engels sent him 5 pounds a month on which to live. For most of this time in England, Marx wrote constantly with his teenage daughter, Eleanor, helping with the editing and discussion of ideas.

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## 5 SUMMARY

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In this unit, you have learnt that:

- There were many circumstances which favoured the growth of the left movements in India. The result of the World War I was that the prices of necessities of life rose. There were famine conditions in many parts of the country. There were crippling financial burdens on the people.
- The success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 fired the imagination of the Indian intellectuals, political leaders, the terrorists and even the workers and made them aware of a new ideology. The slogans of Swaraj and Swadesi by Mahatma Gandhi and his efforts to carry the message to the people gave a new orientation to the nationalist movement in the country.
- The World War II came as a shock in India as elsewhere to many people who began to find out some solution of the social and economic ills which were responsible for the World War. When this was going on, the Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky broke out. The leaders of the Russian Revolution promised to the people of the world a better future on peace, equality and social justice. It was on this wave of idealism that communism came to India.
- Up to August 1939, the Communists in India were praising the Soviet Union under Stalin and condemning Hitler. However, they found themselves in an awkward position after Stalin entered into a Non-Aggression Pact with Hitler. Overnight, Hitler became a friend of peace and England and France became the imperialist war-mongers.



- The Communist Party placed its services at the disposal of the Government of India against all those who took part in the Quit India Movement and the Azad Hind Fauj of Subhas Chandra Bose.
- In the beginning of 1952, efforts at reorganizing the peasant front by the Communists became noticeable and reports of peasant discontent fostered by the Communists began to appear from various corners of India, including Assam and Nepal. However, the situation was the worst in the State of PEPSU where the Communists were able to set up zones of parallel Government.

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## 6 KEY TERMS

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- **Communism:** A political theory derived from Karl Marx, advocating class war and leading to a society in which all property is publicly owned
- **Radicals:** People who advocate thorough or complete political or social reform

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## 7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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1. The Communist Party of India was formed in 1920 by M. N. Roy.
2. Ruling, poor
3. One reason for the rise of left movements in India was that there were famine conditions in many parts of the country.
4. Communism
5. Russian Revolution
6. Communist Party of India called CPI (Marxist)
7. There was bound to be a clash between the members of the Congress Socialist Party and the old members of the Congress, because they differed on the question of the Government of India Act, 1935, the formation of ministries in 1937, the organization of Kisan Sabhas and agitation for agrarian reforms, the release of political detenus and agitation in the Indian States.
8. Forward Bloc

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## 8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short-Answer Questions

1. How did Hitler's attack on Russia affect the Communist Party of India?
2. Briefly state the Communist agitation in Telengana.
3. Write a note on the split in the Communist Part of India
4. Write a short note on the Forward Bloc.

### Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the rise of Congress Left Wing.
2. Write a short note on the Meerut Conspiracy case.

3. What was the Telengana Struggle about. Discuss
4. Write a short note on the Congress Socialist Party.

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## 9 FURTHER READING

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Biswas, S.K. 2008. *Nine Decades of Marxism in the Land of Brahminism*. Other Books, Calicut.





# UNIT 5 FREEDOM AND PARTITION

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## Structure

- 0 Introduction
- 1 Unit Objectives
- 2 World War II and its Impact
  - 2.1 Congress and the War
  - 2.2 Impact on British Policy in India
  - 2.3 Political Effects
- 3 Towards Independence and Partition
  - 3.1 August Offer, 1940
  - 3.2 Cripps' Proposal
  - 3.3 Quit India Movement
  - 3.4 Demand for Pakistan
  - 3.5 Role of Indian National Army (INA)
  - 3.6 Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)
  - 3.7 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)
  - 3.8 Direct Action Day
  - 3.9 Attlee's Announcement
  - 3.10 Mountbatten Plan
- 4 Indian Independence Act, 1947
  - 4.1 Independence and Partition
- 5 Summary
- 6 Key Terms
- 7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 8 Questions and Exercises
- 9 Further Reading

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## 0 INTRODUCTION

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The highlights of the two final years of the British occupation of India were the discussions that took place between the British Congress and the Muslim League statesmen. Simultaneously, there was a rise in communal violence, which finally resulted in the freedom of India along with its partition. The CR Formula (1944), Gandhi-Jinnah talks (1944), Simla Conference (1945) and Direct Action Day were few of the crucial happenings that led to Partition. The Partition of India is regarded as a significant chapter in the history of India and Pakistan.

In this unit, you will study about the events that led to the Partition of India and establishment of the Indian republic.

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## 1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss World War II and its impact
- Describe the incidents that led to Independence and Partition



## 2 WORLD WAR II AND ITS IMPACT

In 1939, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, made an announcement that India was at war. This was done without consulting the Indian assembly. The Government Act of India calls for the Viceroy to consult the Executive Committee prior to any decision-making, related to defence or external affairs. However, this move caused deterioration in the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League.

The war on Germany had complete support from the League. This move by Jinnah was in the interest of Muslims. In 1940, Jinnah's speech referred to an independent Muslim state for the first time, this was an important historical event which was later named the Lahore Declaration. The name 'Pakistan' was used during this speech. At the time of the war, the power of the League increased with its number of members crossing 2 million.

### 2.1 Congress and the War

Gandhi exerted pressure on the British government for negotiating with Hitler. This policy was, however, not supported by a large number of Congress members. More importantly, Nehru, who had at that time come back from Europe, was of the belief that India should support Britain in its stand against fascists. However, the idea that India should independently decide on this issue was also supported by him. Nehru was fully supported by the Congress and the announcement that India was at war with Germany was rejected. As a mark of protest, resignations were given by all Congress state governments. In 1940, a condition was put forward by the Congress, according to which India would only support the war if a national government was established. This demand was rejected by the Viceroy. This led to the start of a campaign of civil disobedience, which was led by the Congress. During this campaign, 1700 members of the Congress were arrested. Since many members of the Congress were arrested between 1940 and 1945, its position became very weak. At the same time, the British government began to support the Muslim League, which had become more powerful and influential.

### 2.2 Impact on British Policy in India

More than 30,000 British soldiers were sent to India, for restoring law and order. Thousands of people died as a result of this. A large number of prominent members of the Congress were also placed under arrest and in prisons by the British. Gandhi was imprisoned till 1944. The British released Nehru, then arrested him again and kept him in prison till 1945. The Congress was declared as illegal by the British government and all its finances were seized. There was no effective existence of the Congress between 1942 and 1944.

At the time of the Second World War, Subhash Chandra Bose opposed the British. He was a former member of the Congress who was also against Gandhi's strategy of non-violence. He established the 'Forward Bloc', which believed in the practice of militancy to achieve independence. As war began in 1939, Bose affirmed support to the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan).

The British arrested him but he escaped from prison and went to Nazi Germany. From there he was sent to Singapore by the Germans. In Singapore, he began recruiting Indian prisoners of war as members of the Indian National Army. Later, the membership



increased to 20,000 volunteers. This went at war with Japan, to prevent it from invading India from Burma. Bose later established the Provisional Government of free India in 1943. In 1945, Bose died in a plane crash. After his death, support for the Indian National Army in India declined. When the war ended, its leaders were arrested and put on trial for subversive activities. They were then sent to a penal colony. When protests came from the Congress, the British government changed their sentence and dismissed them from the army. Nevertheless, a large number of the Indians who had fought the war against the Japanese returned with new ideas for an independent nation.

These ideas served the nationalist movements that began in parts of South East (Asia).

### **.2.3 Political Effects**

The existence of the Congress almost ended at the time of the war because it rejected British proposals in the form of Cripps' Mission. On the other hand, the number of members of the Muslim League increased and reached the 2 million mark, since the late 1930s. It was forced to adopt a policy to support the British Government at the time of the war. Its popularity grew in the provincial elections of 1945, when it won 90 per cent of Muslim seats against its 5 per cent win in the 1937 elections. The Congress could not afford to ignore the League any more. After consolidating its position, the League was on the same level as that of the Congress in any negotiation with the British. The League and other Indian groups expected that the British would leave India after the war. However, as this did not happen, the middle class Indian and the army declined to support the British.

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## **3 TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE AND PARTITION**

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The result of so many political events was that many great political leaders jointly tried to pave a final way for the attainment of India's independence.

### **3.1 August Offer, 1940**

Meanwhile, a change of government took place in Britain in May 1940 and Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister (1940–1945). The fall of France temporarily softened the attitude of the Congress. Britain was in immediate danger of Nazi occupation. On 1 June 1940, Gandhi wrote, 'We do not seek our independence out of British ruin'. As the war was taking a menacing turn from the allies' point of view, the Congress offered to cooperate in the war effort, if at least a provisional National Government was constituted at the Centre and the right of India to complete independence was acknowledged by Great Britain. The government's response came as a statement from the Viceroy, on 8 August 1940. This was known as the August Offer. It referred to the need to consult representatives of 'several communities' and it was made clear that the British would not transfer responsibilities 'to any system of government' whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. This in effect was an approval of one of Jinnah's central demands, since the outbreak of the war. Jinnah was not only the League sole spokesman for India's Muslims, but he also had the League's power to veto any constitutional changes that the League considered detrimental.

Meanwhile, the British government stated that it would welcome the efforts of representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement. They hoped



that immediate effect would be given to the enlargement of the Central Executive Council by nominating additional Indian members and to the establishment of a War Advisory Council. The War Advisory Council was believed to comprise representatives of British India and the Indian states. The August Offer shocked nationalists and Gandhi at last, sanctioned Civil Disobedience, but of a peculiarly limited and deliberately ineffective kind. The Congress started its individual Satyagraha. The first man to court arrest was Vinobha Bhave, the Bhoodan leader. He was followed by Jawaharlal Nehru, who in November, was sentenced to four years of rigorous imprisonment. Others, such as Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Azad also participated in this Satyagraha.

Nearly 20,000 Congressmen courted arrest during the 1940–1941. However, the movement petered out by the autumn of 1941. It was decided that if the government did not arrest a Satyagrahi, he or she would not only repeat the performance but would also move into the villages and start a trek towards Delhi. This marked the beginning of a movement that came to be known as the Delhi Chalo movement. The aims clearly were not to cause any serious embarrassment to the British, but merely to register the presence of the Congress and hostility to a war being waged without consulting Indians. This was also meant to give Linlithgow no opportunity for a major crackdown. At the same time, this movement was also intended to give the British Government further opportunity to peacefully accept the Indian demands.

In February, Chiang Kai-Shek, during his visit to India, publicly expressed sympathy for India's aspirations for freedom. All this provided an opening for relatively pro-India groups, particularly Labour members of War Cabinet like Cripps and Attlee in Britain. These groups persuade the War Cabinet in the first week of March 1942 to agree to a draft declaration that promised post-war dominion status with the right of secession. A constitution-making body was elected by provincial legislatures, with individual provinces being given the right not to join it and with the states being invited to appoint representatives. Cripps proposal also had a clause that invited immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of Indians in the national council on urgent issues. However, this clause also insisted that the British, during the war, would have to retain the control and direction of the defence to India. The declaration was not published immediately, but Cripps went to India on March 23 to negotiate on its basis with Indian leaders. Negotiations between Cripps and the Congress leaders broke down. The Congress objected to the provision for Dominion status instead of complete independence, the representation of the princely states in the constituent assembly not by the people of the states but by the nominees of the rulers and above all, by the provision for the partition of India.

The British government also refused to accept the demand for immediate transfer of effective power to Indians and a real share in the responsibility for India's defence of India. Gandhi urged the Working Committee to reject the postdated proposal. The reason for the failure was that Cripps was asked not to go beyond the draft declaration. Moreover, Churchill, the Secretary of State (Amery), the Viceroy (Linlithgow) and the Commander-in-Chief (Wavell), did not want Cripps to succeed and constantly sabotaged his efforts to accommodate Indian opinion. Cripps left behind frustrated and embittered Indian people.

### **3.2 Cripps' Proposal**

After Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in December 1941, it was evident that India would be the next target of the Japanese forces. In April 1942, Britain sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India. He came with an offer for all provinces, for complete dominion status with the



right to leave the Empire and Commonwealth, after the war. It was also recommended by Cripps that any province that did not wish to join India could turn into an independent state. As the war approached India (Singapore fell on 15 February 1942, Rangoon on 8 March and the Andaman islands on 23 March), the British at last felt obliged to make some gestures to win over India's public opinion. Roosevelt raised the topic of Indian political reforms in his talks with Churchill in Washington, in December 1941. On 2 January, Indian liberal leaders like Sapru and Jayakar appealed for an immediate dominion status and expansion of the Viceroy's executive into a national government.

### 3.3 Quit India Movement

Cripps' proposal was rejected by Nehru and the Congress, who instead demanded a complete cabinet government in which Indians had complete power of decision-making in India. The concept of independence of provinces was against the aim of the Congress to create a strong and united India with central governance. These demands were rejected by the British government. This followed the Congress's decision to support Gandhi's non-violent 'Quit India' campaign. This campaign was declared in August 1942. Independence with immediate effect was Gandhi's demand and this demand was supported by a threat of a movement of mass non-violence (satyagraha). His demand was that the British move out of India, with the exception of the troops that were fighting against Japan. Indian cities began to witness peaceful demonstrations. Later, these demonstrations mostly turned violent. This movement also blocked supplies for the British forces. In these circumstances and a constantly declining support base for the British, Mahatma Gandhi decided to launch a final offensive against the British rule. Thus, the famous Quit India movement began in August 1942. Following were the reasons for the outbreak of the movement:

- There was anger and hostility towards meaningless war, especially when thousands of wounded soldiers returned from the Burmese war.
- Prices of food grains were rising; almost 60-point rise in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also shortage of rice and salt.
- The majority of British, American and Australian soldiers stationed in India ill-treated Indians; many of them even raped Indian women.
- The boats of common men, in Bengal and Assam were seized and destroyed, due to the fear of Japanese attack in Bengal and Assam. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*, 'To deprive people in East Bengal of boats is like cutting off vital limbs' (3 May 1942).
- During the crisis of food grains, Indian markets were controlled by black marketeers and profiteers. This affected the poor most, especially in eastern India.
- The war made some traders and capitalist wealthy, but a large section of *Banias* and *Marwaris* started suffering losses in Malaya and Burma, from mid-1942 onwards. The capitalist element in the Congress Working Committee took notice of it.
- The success story of Japanese in South-East Asian countries demystified the superiority of Europeans, especially the British.

Thus, in mid-1942, the condition in India was that of chaos. Even Gandhi, who was generally patient, was becoming impatient and in a different and militant mood. He urged the British, 'This orderly disciplined anarchy should go and if as a result there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it.' Congress leaders met at Wardha in mid-July to



discuss the course of action and on 8 August 1942, the Quit India resolution was passed by the Bombay session of the AICC (All India Congress Committee). The leaders made an enthusiastic call for mass struggle on non-violent lines, on the widest possible scale. In his famous 'do or die' speech, Gandhi declared, 'let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. Mere jail going would not do.' Interestingly, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajgopalachari opposed the Quit India resolution. Though Nehru, as always, fell in line and moved the Quit India resolution, which had the following conditions:

- Immediate end to British rule in India. The British were clearly told, 'Quit India'.
- India is committed to defend itself against all types of Fascism and Imperialism.
- A provisional government of India after British withdrawal. Apart from formal resolutions, Gandhi, in an informal way at Gowalia Tank Ground (Bombay), addressed various sections of society:
  - o To the students: Be ready for sacrifice and be confident and leave studies
  - o To the peasants: If zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent
  - o To the soldiers: Do not open fire on fellow countrymen
  - o To government servants: Do not resign but oppose the government from within
  - o To princes: Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people
  - o To the people of princely states: Support the ruler only if he is anti-government and declare your state to be a part of the Indian nation

The government took no time in taking decision and arrested most of the leaders on 9 August 1942, including Gandhi. The sudden crackdown of the British gave rise to spontaneous reaction among the people. In this movement, there were no other demands made to the British.

The nationalist leaders simply asked the British to quit India. However, the colonial government retaliated to Gandhi's call of quit India by arresting not only him but all other active members of the Congress Working Committee. People were angry at the arrest of their leaders; masses came out openly on the streets and launched attacks on the colonial government in whatever way they could. With no leaders to show them the way, people resorted to violent methods, attacked, looted and destroyed government property. The government reacted with equal severe measures and blindly killed people in open firing. With the help of large-scale killings and arrests, the British government was finally able to suppress the movement.

By the end of 1943, the number of people arrested was well over 91,000 as per the official figures. While they were successful in suppressing the people, it was becoming increasingly apparent to the British government that it would no longer be possible to hold onto India for very long. Till then, the colonial government had ruled the country with the help of the support system they had established in the country since the 19th century. This system was eroding in the face of the call for freedom and series of struggles launched by nationalist leaders.

It was apparent that without the support of people of different sections, including the peasants, workers, middle classes, rich people, police and army, it would not be possible to keep control over the country. Upon this realization, the British started preparing for a gradual and peaceful withdrawal from India. Beginning 1944, all leaders of the Congress were gradually released from jail. The process to transfer power from the



British to Indian hands was also initiated. Finally, India gained independence from the mighty British imperialists in August 1947.

However, this was not an absolute victory. The country suffered a massive blow in the face of partition into two states, India and Pakistan, solely on the religious lines. The partition and independence was accompanied by communal violence at a very large scale. Thus, while the year 1947 is one of triumphs in the form of successful end to the long-drawn struggle for independence, it was also one of a great tragedy for the unity of India as the country.

### **3.4 Demand for Pakistan**

Communal politics took a new turn in India, which was marked by propagation of the 'two-nation theory'. This theory stated that India consisted of two separate nations, on the basis of religion: Hindus and Muslims. The 'two-national theory' was considered false in the history of India. During medieval times, a common culture was shared by both, Hindus and Muslims. Both of them had fought for freedom together during and after the Revolt of 1857. Hindus and Muslims together were equally repressed during the national struggle for independence. In 1940, Pakistan was demanded as an independent state at the Lahore session by the Muslim League. The basis of this demand was the two-nation theory. Many Muslims in India did not support this demand.

### **3.5 Role of Indian National Army (INA)**

The Indian National Army (INA) was founded by Subhash Chandra Bose in 1942. They sided with the Axis Powers during the Second World War (1939–1945) with a motive to overthrow the colonial powers from the Indian soil. The INA was also termed as the 'Azad Hind Fauz'. Japanese forces defeated the British in 1941 at Malaya. This incident inspired the Indian populace residing in Southeast Asia. The Indians came together and organized a number of associations based out of South East Asia. Pritam Singh was a leader of such an organization. He, along with Japanese officer, Major Fujihara, requested Mohan Singh to constitute an Indian Army comprising the captured Indian soldiers. Though initially reluctant, Mohan Singh yielded and Fujihara handed over around 40,000 Indian soldiers who had surrendered to him. This paved the way towards the formation of the INA. Singapore, surrendered to the Japanese in February 1942. Revolutionary activist Rash Behari Bose, then residing in Japan arranged an association named Free Indians living in Japan. A conference was held in Bangkok on 15 June 1942, where it was decided upon that a National Indian Army would be constituted. A five member working committee was formed and Rash Behari Bose was made its president. The formation of the INA was formally declared.

In the meantime, Subhash Bose left Calcutta on 17 January 1941 and arrived in Germany after travelling through Afghanistan. In Berlin, he organized an India government in exile and extended support to Germany. He began to broadcast his aims and objectives over Radio Berlin and made contact with Japan. Bose also came in touch with Adolf Hitler, who extended his help to the former. This aroused tremendous enthusiasm in India. Indians in Germany gave him the title of 'Netaji' and the slogan of 'Jai-Hind' was initiated here during this time. Bose arrived in Tokyo in June 1943, and was cordially received by the Hideki Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister (1941–44). Japan extended their help to India. A huge crowd gathered at Singapore to receive Bose when he arrived there on 2 July 1943. On 4 July Rash Behari Bose resigned and Bose was appointed the president of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia. On August 25, Bose took



the leadership of the INA; on 21 October 1943, declared the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and on the 23<sup>rd</sup> declared war on Britain and America.

With the INA headquarters now shifted to Rangoon, Bose and his brigade arrived in Rangoon in 1944.

It was decided to keep the Indian detachment as big as a battalion; that it would be commanded by an Indian and the war would continue as per the Joint plan of Action. Meanwhile, the Indians were to fight as a separate unit on selected spots. The battles were to be held at the Kaladan valley of Arakan and Kalam and Haka centre of China hills to the east of Lusai hills. For this purpose, the Subhash Brigade was divided into three battalions. The first contingent captured Paletoa and Doletmai as it advanced across both the banks of Kaladan. Maudak, a British border out-post at a distance of 64 kilometres from Doletmai, was also captured by the battalion a few days later.

Soon after, the army ran short of arms and ammunition. Due to this, many soldiers left the battalion and those who were left were commanded by Surajmal.

Two other battalions, in the meantime, took charge of the Haka-Kalan borderline. It was later decided that INA would take position at Kohima, Nagaland, after the fall of Imphal at Manipur. This was done so as to allow it to enter Bengal after crossing Brahmaputra. Meanwhile, the Gandhi and Azad Brigades also advanced towards Imphal. On March 21, the Prime Minister of Japan announced that those Indian territories which had been freed from the British would be administered under the provisional independent government to be formed by Netaji.

Despite various hazards, including the short supply of food and ammunitions, the INA made advance of 241 kms inside India. A few days after the Japanese PM had made the declaration, the Americans and the British took joint steps to invade into Japan. Thus, the latter was forced to withdraw its support to India. Consequently, the INA also had to make a retreat and when the allied powers recaptured Burma, it was forced to surrender. It was then that a proposal was forwarded by Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari to provide a solution to the political impasse between All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress. This proposal is also known as the C. Rajagopalachari's formula (or C.R. formula or Rajaji formula) and was given on the eve of the Indian independence from the British. However, Gandhi argued that the formula conceded to the core demand of the Muslim League. Gandhi wanted the League to renounce its Lahore Resolution, which he argued was based on the two-nation theory. On the other hand, Mohammad Ali Jinnah opined that Gandhi must accept the demand of the League and accept that Hindus and Muslims were two independent nations.

### 3.6 Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)

After the talks between Gandhi-Jinnah failed, the new viceroy of India called Wavell, who had Lord Linlithgow, was of the opinion that any new initiative should be forwarded by the government. On June 14, 1945, new proposals were put forward in order to make fresh constitutional changes in India within the framework of the 1935 Government of India Act. On June 25, 1945, a conference was organized in Shimla in order to bring the representatives of both the parties on the same table. While the proposals that were put forward were conciliatory, they also proved unsatisfactory and provocative for some others. As per the Viceroy, the Executive Council was to be completely comprised of Indian except for the Viceroy himself and the British Commander-in-Chief.

It was decided that while the special powers of the Viceroy would not lapse officially but they would not be used 'unreasonably'. Such characteristics of the proposals,





which were divisive in nature to some extent, were also put on the table at the conference. It was hence decided that both the communities, i.e. the Hindus and the Muslims, would be equally represented in the Council. In other words, the demand of the Muslim League for parity on a communal basis had been officiated through an official declaration of the British policy for the first time. The summoning of the Simla Conference was the concrete outcome to the Wavell Plan.

The Simla Conference started on a note of optimism. Gandhi believed in the sincerity of the Wavell Plan and that it would lead to freedom of the nation. However, Jinnah 'flatly refused to cooperate', as was later reported by Wavell. He felt that the leader of the Muslim League undermined the conference and will continue to do so until it conceded to its terms. One of these demands was that those Muslims who do not belong to the League not be appointed to the Executive Council. However, Abul Kalam Azad, who was the then Congress president, firmly opposed such a demand. He felt that the party would be deceiving its Muslim members if it were to accept the demands of the Muslim League.

However, Wavell refused to go ahead without the approval of Jinnah. When Jinnah refused to cooperate, the viceroy announced that the conference had failed. For many months to come, the Muslim League refused to concede to the common demands of the proposal. Therefore, the struggle of freedom came to be dominated with communal colours. While it was now clear that the British were ready to free India of its clutches, the conflict arose between those who wished to see India as a united and secular state and those who wanted a division on religious lines.

### **3.7 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)**

The aim of the British Cabinet Mission of 1946 to India was to discuss and plan for the transfer of power from the British Raj to Indian leadership. The objective was to provide India with independence under Dominion status in the Commonwealth of Nations. The Mission was formulated at the initiative of Clement Richard Attlee, the Prime Minister of the UK. It comprised of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India; Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade; and A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty. However, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, did not participate.

#### **Background**

During the general elections of England, held in 1945, the Labour Party, under the authority of Attlee, routed the Conservatives, under British Conservative politician and statesman, Winston Churchill. Later on, Lord Wavell was summoned to London who informed that Britain had decided to quit India.

Soon after, general elections were also held in India in 1945-46 for provincial assemblies and the legislative assembly at the Centre. In these elections, the Congress won fifty-seven seats in the central legislative assembly, while the Muslim League took over all the thirty seats reserved for the Muslims. In 1937, the Congress had 714 seats in the provinces, while it won 923 seats in 1946.

On the other hand, in 1937, the Muslim League was able to occupy only 109 seats out of the Muslim quota of 492; however, in 1946, it won 425 seats. The British Cabinet Mission, a special mission of cabinet ministers, came to India on 24 March 1946 to enable the nation to gain independence as fast as possible. The Mission was in India for almost five weeks to discuss important issues with significant representatives of Indian states and those of British India.



A conference was held on 5 May 1946 at Simla, wherein leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League participated to discuss about:

- Grouping of provinces
- Character of the federal union
- Setting up of a constitution-making machinery

However, the conference was closed due to incompatibility between the Congress and the League. On 16 May 1946, the Mission published a statement, popularly known as the Cabinet Mission Plan, with their recommendations. The important provisions of the Plan are as follows:

1. A federation comprising of both the princely states and British India was to be formed, which should deal with defence, foreign affairs and communications.
2. The federation should comprise of an executive and a legislature.
3. The provinces of British India should be vested with all residuary powers and all subjects, except for the Union subjects.
4. All subjects would be under the princely states except for those surrendered to the Union.
5. Provinces should have the liberty to form groups (sub-federal).
6. A provision should be made in the constitution of the Union, which would allow any province, by a majority vote of its legislative assembly, to necessitate a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of ten years.
7. A constituent assembly should be formed on the basis of the recently elected provincial legislatures. The assembly should be formed by allotting to each province a total number of seats proportional to its population. Elections should be held by a method of proportional representation with single transferable vote.
8. The administration of the country should be carried out while the Constitution of India was being formulated. An interim government should also be set up which should have the support of major political parties.

### 13.8 Direct Action Day

The League decided that 16 August 1946 would be observed as 'Direct Action Day' throughout the country for the purpose of winning the separate Muslim state. In this tense situation, the viceroy's decision to invite the Congress to form the interim government at the Centre added fuel to the fire. In Calcutta, on 16 August 1946, the League organized public demonstrations and strikes, resulting in clashes and rioting all over the city. The mob fury continued for four consecutive days, after which normalcy was gradually restored. The Bengal government led by the League leader, H.S. Suhrawardy, had declared 16 August a public holiday, which made things worse. Nor did it call the army until the situation became completely out of control.

### 13.9 Attlee's Announcement

It was obvious that something drastic had to be done to break the deadlock. The initiative was taken by Attlee, who on 20 February 1947, announced in Parliament that the government's 'definite intention was to transfer power' into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948. This historic declaration caught everyone by surprise. It was declared that the British would be pulling out of the country little more than a year



hence. The Indian people would have to settle their differences before then. Attlee, on 20 February 1947, announced that the British would withdraw from India by 30 June 1948, and that Lord Mountbatten would replace Wavell.

British powers and obligations vis-à-vis the princely states would lapse with transfer of power but these would not be transferred to any successor government in British India. Partition of the country was implicit in the provision that if the constituent assembly were not fully representative then power would be transferred to more than one Central government. It was hoped that fixing a deadline would shock both parties to come to an agreement. The Muslim League launched civil disobedience in Punjab, which led to the fall of Punjab Chief Minister, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan's ministry.

Jinnah saw victory in sight and made a desperate attempt to secure control over the provinces with Muslim majority. Riots broke out in wild frenzy in Calcutta, Assam, Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. The new Viceroy reached India on 22 March 1947. He had come with instructions to work for a united India; but meetings with leaders of different parties and communities soon convinced him that partition was inevitable. Few people desired the country's dismemberment. Gandhi declared that India would be divided 'over my dead body'. Abul Kalam Azad was vehemently opposed to the creation of Pakistan. But Jinnah was adamant: Muslims must have their own state.

### 3.10 Mountbatten Plan

Mountbatten now set about convincing Congress leaders of the necessity of partition. He made use of two opposite lines of reasoning. On the one hand, he declared that 'the truncated Pakistan, if conceded now, was bound to come back later'; on the other hand, he promised that if India's two unwilling wings were lopped off, a strong and united Centre would be the result. This second argument appealed to Home Minister Sardar Patel, who was already taking into consideration the internal security of the country. Mountbatten overcame Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's objection by an appeal to his democratic instinct. No community, the Viceroy said, should be forced to join a nation against its will. Now, it was time to speak with Gandhi. In a last desperate effort, Gandhi suggested making Jinnah the head of the government of an undivided India. The Muslim leader could select the entire ministry himself. But after their sad experiences in the interim government, Patel and Nehru were unwilling to expose themselves to Jinnah's caprices. Finally, even Gandhi relented. Attlee announced the plan in the House of Commons on 3 June 1947, which came to be known as the 'June 3rd Plan.' The Government's Plan or the Mountbatten Plan dealt with the method by which power will be transferred from British to Indian hands, in particular the methods by which Muslim-majority provinces would choose whether they would remain in India or opt for the 'new entity' that is Pakistan. In Sind and Baluchistan, a straightforward decision would be made by the provincial legislatures. The legislatures of Bengal and Punjab would have to make two choices; first, whether the majority was for joining Pakistan, and, if so, whether the provinces should be partitioned into Muslim and non-Muslim areas. Special arrangements were made to determine the popular will in the North-West Frontier Provinces and in the Muslim majority district of Sylhet in Assam. Boundary commissions would be set up if partition was desired.

The Indian constituent assembly would continue to function but a separate assembly would be convened for areas that chose to become parts of Pakistan. The provincial choices went as expected. Baluchistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier opted for Pakistan. Punjab and Bengal decided for double partition—the provinces would leave



India, but their Muslim-minority areas would remain parts of the mother country. Sylhet would join the eastern wing of Pakistan.

Boundary commissions were set up to delineate frontier between Muslim and non-Muslim areas of Punjab and Bengal. The English Chairman of the two tribunals, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, was ultimately requested to make his own award. Not only the land, but also the financial and material assets of India had to be divided. Each of the new nations had to have its own civil services and armed forces. Lord Mountbatten showed considerable 'expedition and dispatch' in bringing about a solution to these and other problems before the deadline expired.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 gave a legal effect to the June 3<sup>rd</sup> Plan. The Bill was introduced in the British Parliament on 4 July 1947. It was passed quickly and without amendment, and on 18 July 1947, it received the Royal assent. India had won her freedom but the price had been partition. The Dominion of Pakistan was inaugurated in Karachi on 14 August 1947. At midnight of 15 August 1947, as the clock struck 12, India became free. Nehru proclaimed it to be the nation with his famous 'Tryst with Destiny' speech. On the morning of 15 August 1947, Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as Governor-General and he in turn swore in Jawaharlal Nehru as the first Prime Minister of a free India. The 15 August 1947 dawned, revealing the dual reality of independence and partition. Lakhs of refugees, forced to leave the lands of their forefathers, were pouring into the two new states. The symbol of this tragedy at the moment of national triumph was the forlorn figure of Gandhiji—the man who had given the message of non-violence, truth, love and courage, and manliness to the Indian people. In the midst of national rejoicing, he was touring the hate-torn land of Bengal, trying to bring comfort to people who were even then paying the price of freedom through senseless communal slaughter.

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## **.4 INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, 1947**

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The Indian Independence Act declared that the British power over the Indian states would lapse on 15 August 1947. The states were allowed to join either India or Pakistan. Before that date, most of the states had signed the Instrument of Accession by which they agreed to accede to India. But there were some states which thought that in the changed situation, they were entitled to declare their independence.

### **4.4.1 Independence and Partition**

The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between British, Congress and League statesmen. These were increasingly accompanied by communal violence, culminating in freedom accompanied by partition and sporadic, localized but often extremely militant and united mass action—the INA release movement and the RIN mutiny in 1945–1946, the Tebhaga upsurge in Bengal, Punnappa vayalar in Travancore and the Telengana peasant armed revolt in Hyderabad.

In addition, there were numerous agitations, strikes and demonstrations all over the country. The mass pressure, thus generated, helped in bringing about the decisive shift in the British policy. Another important development was the change in the total objective situation worldwide as well as in India. Germany had been destroyed and Japan had surrendered after Hiroshima bombing in August 1945. Socially radical regimes with communist leadership or participation were emerging throughout Eastern Europe



and seemed on the point of doing so even in France and Italy. The Chinese revolution was forging ahead, and a tremendous anti-imperialist wave was sweeping through South-East Asia with Vietnam and Indonesia resisting efforts to restore French and Dutch colonial rule. With a war weary army and people and a ravaged economy, Britain would have had to retreat; the labour victory further quickened the process somewhat.

The partition was to be effected in the following manner. If the members of legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab were to decide in favour of partition by a simple majority, a boundary commission, set up by the viceroy, would demarcate the appropriate boundaries. Sind and Baluchistan would decide which constituent assembly to join. In the NWFP, there was to be a referendum to ascertain whether it would join Pakistan or not. The Muslim-majority district of Sylhet was also to decide by referendum whether it would join East Bengal or would remain in Assam. The British Parliament would undertake legislation to transfer power before the end of 1947 to one or two successor authorities on a dominion status basis. This was to be done without any prejudice to the final decision of the constituent assembly on whether to stay in the Commonwealth or not.

The Muslim League accepted the plan within a week and so did the Congress. The Congress had no alternative, according to Abul Kalam Azad, but to accept the plan. It was important to arrest the drift towards anarchy and chaos.

The lesser evil had to be chosen. Partition was better than murder of the hapless citizens. Gandhi, who had till now steadfastly opposed the division of India, also supported the resolution. The task was enormous but time was running out. Punjab and Bengal were divided by two boundary commissions with Sir Cyril Radcliffe as the chairman of both. East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan opted for Pakistan while West Bengal and East Punjab opted for India. Sylhet threw its lot with Pakistan. In the NWFP, Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Red Shirts demanded an independent Pakhtoonistan. This was found to be unacceptable. The Red Shirts did not participate in the plebiscite, which went in favour of joining Pakistan.

### ACTIVITY

Independent India has also been a victim of communalism. Analyse the Godhra Riots in this light.

### DID YOU KNOW

The Government of India celebrated the year 2007 as the 150th anniversary of 'India's First War of Independence'. Several books written by Indian authors were released in the anniversary year including Amresh Mishra's '*War of Civilizations*' a controversial history of the Rebellion of 1857, and '*Recalcitrance*' by Anurag Kumar, one of the few novels written in English by an Indian based on the events of 1857.





## .5 SUMMARY

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In this unit, you have learnt that:

- In 1939, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, made an announcement that India was at war. This was done without consulting the Indian assembly. The Government Act of India calls for the Viceroy to consult the Executive Committee prior to any decision-making, related to defence or external affairs. However, this move caused deterioration in the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League.
- At the time of the Second World War, Subhash Chandra Bose opposed the British. He was a former member of the Congress who was also against Gandhi's strategy of non-violence. He established the 'Forward Bloc', which believed in the practice of militancy to achieve independence. As war began in 1939, Bose affirmed support to the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan).
- After Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in December 1941, it was evident that India would be the next target of the Japanese forces. In April 1942, Britain sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India. He came with an offer for all provinces, for complete Dominion status with the right to leave the Empire and Commonwealth, after the war. It was also recommended by Cripps that any province that did not wish to join India could turn into an independent state.
- Cripps proposal was rejected by Nehru and the Congress, who instead demanded a complete cabinet government in which Indians had complete power of decision-making in India. The concept of independence of provinces was against the aim of the Congress to create a strong and united India with central governance. These demands were rejected by the British Government. This followed the Congress's decision to support Gandhi's non-violent 'Quit India' campaign.
- Communal politics took a new turn in India, which was marked by propagation of the 'two-nation theory'. This theory stated that India consisted of two separate nations, on the basis of religion: Hindus and Muslims.
- The Indian National Army (INA), also known as the Azad Hind Fauj, was an armed force formed in 1942 by Indian nationalists in South East Asia during World War II.
- The Gandhi-Jinnah talks are very important with regard to the political issues of India and the Pakistan Movement. The talks between the two great leaders started in response to the appeal of the general public for a settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences.

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## .6 KEY TERMS

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- **Imperialism:** A policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force
- **Partition:** The action or state of dividing or being divided into parts
- **Proposal:** A plan or suggestion put forward for consideration or discussion by others





## 10.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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1. Subhash Chandra Bose
  2. Cripps Mission
  3. Prices of food grains were rising up; almost 60-point rise in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also shortage of rice and salt.
  4. Cabinet Mission Plan
  5. Azad Hind Fauj
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## 10.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the Cabinet Mission Plan?
2. Briefly state the Mountbatten Plan.
3. What was Atlee's Announcement?
4. What was the significance of Gandhi-Jinnah talks (1944)?

### Long-Answer Questions

1. How did World War II impact on the Congress?
  2. Discuss the political effects of World War II.
  3. Write a short note on Cripps' proposal.
  4. What do you understand by Quit India Movement?
  5. Explain the role of the Indian National Army.
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## 10.9 FURTHER READING

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- Majumdar, R.C. 1963. *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*. Kolkata: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay.
- Savarkar, V.D. 1986. *The Indian War of Independence, 1857*. New Delhi: Rajdhani Granthagar.
- Chandra, Bipan. 2000. *India's Struggle for Independence*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 1983. *Modern India, 1885-1947*, New Delhi: Macmillan.



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