

STUDY MATERIAL FOR B.A HISTORY
FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA
SEMESTER - III, ACADEMIC YEAR 2020 - 21

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UNIT-I
ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN NATIONALISM

Learning Objectives

Students will acquire knowledge about

1. The growth of East India Company's Rule in India.
2. Origin and growth of nationalism in India.
3. Birth of Indian National Congress.
4. The objectives and methods of Early Nationalist Movement.
5. Leaders of this period.
6. Achievements of moderates.

Origin of Indian Nationalism

Factors Promoting the Growth of Nationalism in India

The following causes are responsible for the origin and growth of nationalism in India.

1. Political Unity

For the first time, most of the regions in India were united politically and administratively under a single power (the British rule). It introduced a uniform system of law and government.

2. English Language and Western Education

The English language played an important role in the growth of nationalism in the country. The English educated Indians, who led the national movement developed Indian nationalism and organized it. Western education facilitated the spread of the concepts of liberty, equality, freedom and nationalism and sowed the seeds of nationalism.

3. The Role of the Press

The Indian Press, both English and vernacular, had also aroused the national consciousness.

5. Social and Religious Movements of the Nineteenth Century

The leaders of various organizations like the Brahma Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Arya Samaj, and Theosophical Society generated a feeling of regard for and pride in the motherland.

6. Economic Exploitation by the British

A good deal of anti-British feeling was created by the economic policy pursued by the British government in India. The English systematically ruined the Indian trade and native industries. Therefore, economic exploitation by the British was one of the most important causes for the rise of Indian nationalism.

7. Racial Discrimination

The Revolt of 1857 created a kind of permanent bitterness and suspicion between the British and the Indians. The English feeling of racial superiority grew. India as a nation and Indians as individuals were subjected to insults, humiliation and contemptuous treatment.

8. Administration of Lytton

Lord Lytton arranged the Delhi Durbar at a time when the larger part of India was in the grip of famine. He passed the Vernacular Press Act which curbed the liberty of the Indian Press. His Arms Act was a means to prevent the Indians from keeping arms. All these measures created widespread discontent among the Indians.

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9. The Elbert Bill controversy

The Elbert Bill was presented in the Central Legislature during the Vice royalty of Lord Ripon. The Bill tried to remove racial inequality between Indian and European judges in courts. This Bill was opposed by the British residents in India. Ultimately the Bill was modified. Thus various factors contributed to the rise of nationalism and the formation of the Indian National Congress.

Early Political Associations

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| The British Indian Association | - 1851 Bengal |
| The Bombay Association | - 1852 Dadabhai Naoroji |
| East India Association | - 1856 London |
| Madras Native Association | - 1852 |
| Poona Sarvojanik | - 1870 |
| The Madras Mahajana Saba | - 1884 |

Birth of Indian National Congress (1885)

Allan Octavian Hume, a retired civil servant in the British Government took the initiative to form an all-India organization. Thus, the Indian National Congress was founded and its first session was held at Bombay in 1885.

W.C. Banerjee was its first president. It was attended by 72 delegates from all over India. Persons attending the session belonged to different religious faiths. They discussed the problems of all the Indians irrespective of their religion, caste, language and regions. Thus Indian National Congress from the start was an all-India secular movement embracing every section of Indian society. The second session was held in Calcutta in 1886 and the third in Madras in 1887.

The history of the Indian Movement can be studied in three important phases:

- I. The phase of moderate nationalism (1885-1905) when the Congress continued to be loyal to the British crown.
- II. The years 1906-1916 witnessed- Swedish Movement, rise of militant nationalism and the Home Rule Movement.
- III. The period from 1917 to 1947 is known as the Gandhia era.

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Moderate Nationalism

The leading figures during the first phase of the National Movement were A.O. Hume, W.C. Banerjee, Surendranath Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, Feroze Shah Mehta, Gopalakrishna Gokhale, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Badruddin Tyabji, Justice Ranade and G. Subramanya Ayer.

Surendranath Banerjee was called the Indian Burke. He firmly opposed the Partition of Bengal. He founded the Indian Association (1876) to agitate for political reforms. He had convened the Indian National Conference (1883) which merged with the Indian National Congress in 1886. G. Subramanian Ayer preached nationalism through the Madras Mahajana Saba. He also founded the Hindu and Swadesamitran. Dadabhai Naoroji was known as the Grand Old Man of India. He is regarded as India's unofficial Ambassador in England. He was the first Indian to become a Member of the British House of Commons. Gopalakrishna Gokhale was regarded as the political guru of Gandhi. In 1905, he founded the Servants of India Society to train Indians to dedicate their lives to the cause of the country.

For a few years the Congress enjoyed the patronage of the British administrators. Between 1885 and 1905, the Congress leaders were moderates.

The Moderates had faith in the British justice and goodwill. They were called moderates because they adopted peaceful and constitutional means to achieve their demands.

Main Demands of Moderates

- Expansion and reform of legislative councils.
- Greater opportunities for Indians in higher posts by holding the ICS examination simultaneously in England and in India.
- Separation of the judiciary from the executive.
- More powers for the local bodies.
- Reduction of land revenue and protection of peasants from unjust landlords
- Abolition of salt tax and sugar duty.
- Reduction of spending on army.
- Freedom of speech and expression and freedom to form associations.

Methods of Moderates

The Moderates had total faith in the British sense of justice and fair play. They were loyal to the British. They looked England for inspiration and guidance. The Moderates used petitions, resolutions, meetings, leaflets and pamphlets, memorandum and delegations to present their demands. They confined their political activities to the educated classes only. Their aim was to attain political rights and self-government stage by stage.

In the beginning, the British Government welcomed the birth of the Indian National

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Congress. In 1886, Governor General Lord Dufferin gave a tea garden party for the Congress members in Calcutta. The government officials had also attended Congress sessions. With the increase in Congress demands, the government became unfriendly. It encouraged the Muslims to stay away from the Congress. The only demand of the Congress granted by the British was the expansion of the legislative councils by the Indian Councils Act of 1892.

Achievements of Moderates

1. The Moderates were able to create a wide national awakening among the people.
2. They popularized the ideas of democracy, civil liberties and representative institutions.
3. They explained how the British were exploiting Indians. Particularly, Dadabhai Naoroji in his famous book Poverty and Un British Rule in India wrote his Drain Theory.

He showed how India's wealth was going away to England in the form of:

- a) Salaries
- b) Savings
- c) Pensions,
- d) Payments to British troops in India and
- e) Profits of the British companies.

In fact, the British Government was forced to appoint the Welby Commission, with Dadabhai as the first Indian as its member, to enquire into the matter.

4. Some Moderates like Ranade and Gokhale favoured social reforms. They protested against child marriage and widowhood.
5. The Moderates had succeeded in getting the expansion of the legislative councils by the Indian Councils Act of 1892.

Extremists Nationlism

Indian National Movement (1905-1916)

Learning Objectives

Students will come to know

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1. The causes for the rise of extremism in the Indian National Movement.
2. Main objective and methods of extremists.
3. Leaders of extremists such as Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Ray.
4. The impact of the Partition of Bengal on national movement.
5. Swedish Movement and the achievements of extremists.
6. The birth of Muslim League.
7. The Home Rule Movement.

The period from 1905 was known as the era of extremism in the Indian National Movement. The extremists or the aggressive nationalists believed that success could be achieved through bold means. The important extremist leaders were Lala Lajpat Ray, Bala Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Eurobond Gosh.

Causes for the Rise of Extremism

1. The failure of the Moderates to win any notable success other than the expansion of the legislative councils by the Indian Councils Act (1892).
2. The famine and plague of 1896-97 which affected the whole country and the suffering of the masses.
3. The economic conditions of the people became worse.
4. The ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa on the basis of color of skin.
5. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 in which Japan defeated the European power Russia. This encouraged Indians to fight against the European nation, Britain.
6. The immediate cause for the rise of extremism was the reactionary rule of Lord Curzon:
 - He passed the Calcutta Corporation Act, (1899) reducing the Indian control of this local body.
 - The Universities Act (1904) reduced the elected members in the University bodies. It also reduced the autonomy of the universities and made them government departments.
 - The Sedition Act and the Official Secrets Act reduced the freedom of all people.
 - His worst measure was the Partition of Bengal (1905).

Main Objective of Extremists

Their main objective was to attain Swaraj or complete independence and not just self-government.

Methods of the Extremists

The Extremists had no faith in the British sense of justice and fair play. They pointed out the forceful means by which the British had taken control of India. They believed that political rights will have to be fought for. They had the spirit of self-reliance and self-determination.

The methods used by the extremists were:

1. Not cooperating with the British Government by boycotting government courts, schools and colleges.
2. Promotion of Swedish and boycott of foreign goods.
3. Introduction and promotion of national education.

Leaders of the Extremists

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The extremists were led by Bala Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Ray, Bipin Chandra Pal and Eurobond Gosh.

Bala Gangadhar Tilak is regarded as the real founder of the popular anti-British movement in India. He was known as 'Lokamanya'. He attacked the British through his weeklies The Maratha and the Kesari. He was jailed twice by the British for his nationalist activities and in 1908 deported to Mandalay for six years. He set up the Home Rule League in 1916 at Poona and declared "Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it."

Lala Lajpat Ray is popularly known as the 'Lion of Punjab'. He played an important role in the Swedish Movement. He founded the Indian Home Rule League in the US in 1916. He was deported to Mandalay on the ground of sedition. He received fatal injuries while leading a procession against the Simon Commission and died on November 17, 1928.

Bipan Chandra Pal began his career as a moderate and turned an extremist. He played an important role in the Swedish Movement. He preached nationalism through the nook and corner of Indian by his powerful speeches and writings. Eurobond Gosh was another extremist leader and he actively participated in the Swedish Movement. He was also imprisoned. After his release he settled in the French territory of Pondicherry and concentrated on spiritual activities.

Partition of Bengal and the Rise of Extremism

The Partition of Bengal in 1905 provided a spark for the rise of extremism in the Indian National Movement.

Curzon's real motives were:

- To break the growing strength of Bengali nationalism since Bengal was the base of Indian nationalism.
- To divide the Hindus and Muslims in Bengal.
- To show the enormous power of the British Government in doing whatever it liked.

On the same day when the partition came into effect, 16 October 1905, the people of Bengal organized protest meetings and observed a day of mourning. The whole political life of Bengal underwent a change. Gandhi wrote that the real awakening in India took place only after the Partition of Bengal. The anti-partition movement culminated into the Swedish Movement and spread to other parts of India.

The aggressive nationalists forced Dadabhai Naoroji to speak of Swaraj (which was not a Moderate demand) in the Calcutta Session of Congress in 1906. They adopted the resolutions of Boycott and Swedish. The Moderate Congressmen were unhappy. They wanted Swaraj to be achieved through constitutional methods. The differences led to a split in the Congress at the Surat session in 1907. This is popularly known as the famous Surat Split. The extremists came out of the

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Congress led by Tilak and others.

Swedish Movement

The Swedish Movement involved programs like the boycott of government service, courts, schools and colleges and of foreign goods, promotion of Swedish goods, Promotion of National Education through the establishment of national schools and colleges. It was both a political and economic movement.

The Swedish Movement was a great success. In Bengal, even the landlords joined the movement. The women and students took to picketing. Students refused using books made of foreign paper.

The government adopted several tough measures. It passed several Acts to crush the movement. The Swedish volunteers were beaten badly. The cry of Banda Mataram was forbidden. Schools and colleges were warned not to allow their students to take part in the movement or else their aid would be stopped. Some Indian government employees lost their jobs. Extremist leaders Bala Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Ray, Bipin Chandra Pal and Eurobond Gosh were imprisoned and deported.

Achievements of Extremists

The achievements of extremists can be summed up as follows:

- a. They were the first to demand Swaraj as a matter of birth right.
- b. They involved the masses in the freedom struggle and broadened the social base of the National Movement.
- c. They were the first to organize an all-India political movement, the Swedish Movement.

Formation of the Muslim League (1906)

In December 1906, Muslim delegates from all over India met at Dacca for the Muslim Educational Conference. Taking advantage of this occasion, Nawab Sal mullah of Dacca proposed the setting up of an organization to look after the Muslim interests. The proposal was accepted. The All-India Muslim League was finally set up on December 30, 1906. Like the Indian National Congress, they conducted annual sessions and put their demands to the British government. Initially, they enjoyed the support of the British. Their first achievement was the separate electorates for the Muslims in the Minto-Morley reforms.

The Lucknow Pact (1916)

During the 1916 Congress session at Lucknow two major events occurred. The divided Congress became united. An understanding for joint action against the British was reached between the Congress and the Muslim League and it was called the Lucknow Pact. The signing of the Lucknow Pact by the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916 marked an important step in the Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Indian National Movement (1917-1947)

Advent of Gandhi

The third and final phase of the Nationalist Movement [1917-1947] is known as the Gandhian era. During this period Mahatma Gandhi became the undisputed leader of the National Movement. His principles of non-violence and Satyagraha were employed against the British Government. Gandhi made the nationalist movement a mass movement.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born at Porbandar in Gujarat on 2 October 1869. He

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studied law in England. He returned to India in 1891. In April 1893 he went to South Africa and involved himself in the struggle against apartheid (Racial discrimination against the Blacks) for twenty years. Finally, he came to India in 1915. Thereafter, he fully involved himself in the Indian National Movement.

Mahatma Gandhi began his experiments with Satyagraha against the oppressive European indigo planters at Champaran in Bihar in 1917. In the next year he launched another Satyagraha at Keda in Gujarat in support of the peasants who were not able to pay the land tax due to failure

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of crops. During this struggle, Sardar Vallabhai Patel emerged as one of the trusted followers of Gandhi. In 1918, Gandhi undertook a fast unto death for the cause of Ahmedabad Mill Workers and finally the mill owners conceded the just demands of the workers.

On the whole, the local movements at Champaran knead and Ahmedabad brought Mahatma Gandhi closer to the life of the people and their problems at the grass roots level. Consequently, he became the leader of the masses.

UNIT-II
HOME RULE MOVEMENT

All India Home Rule League

We may recall that many foreigners such as A.O. Hume had played a pivotal role in our freedom movement in the early stages. Dr. Annie Besant played a similar role in the early part of the twentieth century. Besant was Irish by birth and had been active in the Irish home rule, Fabian socialist and birth control movements while in Britain. She joined the Theosophical Society, and came to India in 1893. She founded the Central Hindu College in Banaras (later upgraded as Banaras Hindu University by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1916). With the death of H. S. Alcott in 1907, Besant succeeded him as the international president of the Theosophical Society. She was actively spreading the theosophical ideas from its headquarters, Adair in Chennai, and gained the support of a number of educated followers such as Jamnadas Dwarkadas, George Arundel, Shankerlal Banker, Indulal Yagnik, C.P. Ramaswamy and B.P. Wadia.

In 1914 was when Britain announced its entry in First World War, it was claimed that it fighting for freedom and democracy. Indian leaders believed and supported the British war efforts. Soon they were disillusioned as there was no change in the British attitude towards India. Moreover, split into moderate and extremist wings, the Indian National Congress was not strong enough to press for further political reforms towards self-rule. The Muslim League was looked upon suspiciously by the British once the Sultan of Turkey entered the War supporting the Central powers.

It was in this backdrop that Besant entered into Indian Politics. She started a weekly The Commonweal in 1914. The weekly focused on religious liberty, national education, social and political reforms. She published a book 'How India Wrought for Freedom' in 1915. In this book she asserted that the beginnings of national consciousness are deeply embedded in its ancient past.

She gave the call, 'The moment of England's difficulty is the moment of India's opportunity' and wanted Indian leaders to press for reforms. She toured England and made many speeches in the cause of India's freedom. She also tried to form an Indian party in the Parliament but was unsuccessful. Her visit, however, aroused sympathy for India. On her return, she started a daily newspaper New India on July 14, 1915. She revealed her concept of self-rule in a speech at Bombay: "I mean by self-government that the country shall have a government by councils, elected by the people, and responsible to the House". She organized public meetings and conferences to spread the idea and demanded that India be granted self-government on the lines of the White colonies after the War.

On September 28, 1915, Besant made a formal declaration that she would start the Home Rule League Movement for India with objectives on the lines of the Irish Home Rule League. The moderates did not like the idea of establishing another separate organization. She too realized that the sanction of the Congress party was necessary for her movement to be successful.

In December 1915 due to the efforts of Tilak and Besant, the Bombay session of Congress suitably altered the constitution of the Congress party to admit the members from the extremist section. In the session she insisted on the Congress taking up the Home Rule League program before September 1916, failing which she would organize the Home Rule League on her own.

In 1916, two Home Rule Movements were launched in the country: one under Tilak and

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the other under Besant with their spheres of activity well demarcated. The twin objectives of the Home Rule League were the establishment of Home Rule for India in British Empire and arousing in the Indian masses a sense of pride for the Motherland.

(A) Tilak Home Rule League

Tilak Home Rule League was set up at the Bombay Provincial conference held at Belgaum in April 1916. It League was to work in Maharashtra (including Bombay city), Karnataka, the Central Provinces and Berar. Tilak's League was organized into six branches and Annie Besant's League was given the rest of India. How India wrought for freedom

Tilak popularized the demand for Home Rule through his lectures. The popularity of his League was confined to Maharashtra and Karnataka but claimed a membership of 14,000 in April 1917 and 32,000 by early 1918. On 23 July 1916 on his 60th birthday Tilak was arrested for propagating the idea of Home Rule.

(b) Besant's Home Rule League

Finding no signs from the Congress, Besant herself inaugurated the Home Rule League at Madras in September 1916. Its branches were established at Kanpur, Allahabad, Banaras, Mathura, Calicut and Ahmednagar. She made an extensive tour and spread the idea of Home Rule. She declared that "the price of India's loyalty is India's Freedom". Moderate congressmen who were dissatisfied with the inactivity of the Congress joined the Home Rule League. The popularity of the League can be gauged from the fact that Jawaharlal Nehru, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, B. Chakravarti and Jitendralal Banerjee, Satyamurti and Khaliqzaman were taking up the membership of the League.

As Besant's Home Rule Movement became very popular in Madras, the Government of Madras decided to suppress it. Students were barred from attending its meetings. In June 1917 Besant and her associates, B.P. Wadia and George Arundel were interred in Ootacamund. The government's repression strengthened the supporters, and with renewed determination they began to resist. To support Besant, Sir S. Subramanian renounced his knighthood. Many leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Surendranath Banerjee who had earlier stayed away from the movement enlisted themselves. At the AICC meeting convened on 28 July 1917 Tilak advocated the use of civil disobedience if they were not released. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Shankerlal Banker, on the orders of Gandhi, collected one thousand signatures willing to defy the interment orders and march to Besant's place of detention. Due to the growing resistance the interned nationalists were released.

On 20 August 1917 the new Secretary of State Montagu announced that 'self-governing institutions and responsible government' was the goal of the British rule in India. Almost overnight this statement converted Besant into a near-loyalist. In September 1917, when she was released, she was elected the President of Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in 1917.

(c) Importance of the Home Rule Movement

The Home Rule Leagues prepared the ground for mass mobilization paving the way for the launch of Gandhi's Satyagraha movements. Many of the early Gandhi satyagrahia had been members of the Home Rule Leagues. They used the organizational networks created by the Leagues to spread the Gandhian method of agitation. Home Rule League was the first Indian political movement to cut across sectarian lines and have members from the Congress, League,

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Theosophist and the Laborites

(d) Decline of Home Rule Movement

Home Rule Movement declined after Besant accepted the proposed Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms and Tilak went to Britain in September 1918 to pursue the libel case that he had filed against Valentine Chirol, the author of Indian Unrest.

Rowlatt act (1919)

It was as part of the British policy of ‘rally the moderates and isolate the extremists’ that the Indian Councils Act 1919 and the Rowlatt Act of the same year were promulgated. Throughout the World War, the repressive measures against the terrorists and revolutionaries had continued. Many of them were hanged or imprisoned for long terms. As the general mood was restive, the government decided to arm itself with more repressive powers. Despite every elected member of the central legislature opposing the bill, the government passed the Rowlett Act in March 1919. This Act empowered the government to imprison any person without trial.

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Gandhi and his associates were shocked. It was the 'Satyagraha Saba' founded by Gandhi, which pledged to disobey the Act first. In the place of the old agitational methods such as meetings, boycott of foreign cloth and schools, picketing of toddy shops, petitions and demonstrations, a novel method was adopted. Now 'Satyagraha' was the weapon to be used with the wider participation of labor, artisan and peasant masses. The symbol of this change was to be khadi, which soon became the uniform of nationalists. India's Swaraj would be a reality only when the masses awakened and became active in political work. Almost the entire country was electrified when Gandhi called upon the people to observe 'hartal' in March–April 1919 against the Rowlatt Act. He combined it with the Khilafat issue which brought together Hindus and Muslims.

Jallianwalla Baugh Tragedy

The colonial government was enraged at the mass struggles and the enthusiasm of the masses as evidenced in the upsurge all over the country. On 13th April 1919, in Amritsar town, in the Jallianwalla Baugh enclave that the most heinous of political crimes was perpetrated on an unarmed mass of people by the British regime. More than two thousand people had assembled at the venue to peacefully protest against the arrest of their leaders Satya pal and Saifudding Kitchlew. Michael O'Dwyer was the Lt. Governor of Punjab and the military commander was General Reginald Dyer. They decided to demonstrate their power and teach a lesson to the dissenters. The part where the gathering was held had only one narrow entrance. Dyer ordered firing on the trapped crowd with machine guns and rifles till the ammunition was exhausted. While the official figures of the dead were only about 379 the real number was over a thousand. Martial law was imposed all over Punjab and people were subject to untold indignities.

The entire country was horrified at the brutalities. In Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore there were widespread protests against the Rowlatt Act where the protesters were fired upon. There was violence in many towns and cities. Protesting against the brutalities many celebrities renounced their titles, of which Rabindranath Tagore was one.

Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood immediately after the Jallian walla Baugh massacre. In his protest letter to the viceroy on May 31, 1919, Tagore wrote "The time has come when the badge of honour makes our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and, I for my part, wish to stand shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who for their so-called insignificance are liable to suffer degradation not fit for human beings."

A Sikh teenager who was raised at Khalsa Orphanage named Udham Singh saw the happening in his own eyes. To avenge the killings of Jallian Wallach Baugh, on 30 March 1940, he assassinated Michael O'Dwyer in Caxton Hall of London. Udham Singh was hanged at Bentonville jail, London.

The Khilafat Movement

Gandhi and the Congress, who were bent upon Hindu-Muslim unity, now stood by their Muslim compatriots who felt betrayed by the British regime. The Ali brothers – Sukkah and Muhammad – and Maul Ana Abul Kalam Azad were the prime movers in the Khilafat movement.

In the First World War the Sultan of Turkey sided with the Triple Alliance against the allied powers and attacked Russia. The Sultan was also the Caliph and was the custodian of the Islamic sacred places. After the war, Britain decided to weaken the position of Turkey and the Treaty of

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Sevres was signed. The eastern part of the Turkish Empire such as Syria and Lebanon were mandated to France, while Palestine and Jordan became British protectorates. Thus the allied powers decided to end the caliphate.

The dismemberment of the Caliphate was seen as a blow to Islam. Muslims around the world, sympathetic to the cause of the Caliph, decided to oppose the move. Muslims in India also organized themselves under the leadership of the Ali brothers – Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali started a movement known as Khilafat Movement. The aim was to support the Ottoman Empire and protest against the British rule in India. Numerous Muslim leaders such as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, M.A. Ansari, Sheikh Shaukat Ali Siddiqui and Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhara joined the movement.

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The demands of the Khilafat Movement were presented by Mohammad Ali to the diplomats in Paris in March 1920. They were:

- a. The Sultan of Turkey's position of Caliph should not be disturbed.
- b. The Muslim sacred places must be handed over to the Sultan and should be controlled by him.
- c. The Sultan must be left with sufficient territory to enable him to defend the Islamic faith and
- d. The Jazeera-ul-Arab (Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Palestine) must remain under his sovereignty.

Gandhi had been honored with Kaiser- Hind gold medal for his humanitarian working South Africa. He had also received the Zulu War silver medal for his services as an officer of the Indian volunteer ambulance corps in 1906 and Boer War silver medal for his services as assistant superintendent of the Indian volunteer stretcher-bearer corps during Boer War of 1899–1900. When Gandhi launched the scheme of non-cooperation in connection with Khilafat Movement, he returned all the medals saying, '...events that have happened during the past one month have confirmed in me the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, criminal and unjust manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a government.'□□□

The demands of the movement had nothing do to with India but the question of Caliph was used as a symbol by the Khilafat leaders to unite the Indian Muslim community who were divided along regional, linguistic, class and sectarian lines. In Gail Minault's words: "A pan-Islamic symbol opened the way to pan- Indian Islamic political mobilization." It was anti-British, which inspired Gandhi to support this cause in a bid to bring the Muslims into the mainstream of Indian nationalism. Gandhi also saw this as an opportunity to strengthen Hindu–Muslim unity.

The Khilafat issue was interpreted differently by different sections. Lower-class Muslims in U.P. interpreted the Urdu word khilaf (against) and used it as a symbol of general revolt against authority, while the Mappillais of Malabar converted it into a banner of ant landlord revolt.

UNIT - III
NON - CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

Causes

The two immediate causes responsible for launching the non-cooperation movement were

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the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. While the khilafat issue related to the position of the Turkish Sultan Vis-a-Vis the holy places of Islam, the Punjab issue related to the exoneration of the perpetrators of the Jallian walla Baugh massacre.

Launch of Non-Cooperation Movement

The Khilafat Conference, at the instance of Gandhi, decided to launch the non-cooperation movement from 31 August 1920. Earlier an all-party meet at Allahabad had decided on a program of boycott of government educational institutions and their law courts. The Congress met in a special session at Calcutta in September 1920 and resolved to accept Gandhi's proposal on non-cooperation with the colonial state till such time as Khilafat and Punjab grievances were redressed and self-government established.

Non-cooperation movement included boycott of schools, colleges, courts, government offices, legislatures, foreign goods, return of government conferred titles and awards. Alternatively, national schools, panchayats were to be set up and Swadeshi goods manufactured and used. The struggle at a later stage was to include no tax campaign and mass civil disobedience, etc. A regular Congress session held at Nagpur in 1920 endorsed the earlier resolutions. Another important resolution at Nagpur was to recognize and set up linguistic Provincial Congress Committees which drew a large number of workers into the movement. In order to broaden the Congress, the workers were to reach out to the villages and enroll the villagers in the Congress on a nominal fee of four annas (25 paise). The overall character of the Congress underwent change and an atmosphere where a large majority of the masses could develop a sense of belonging to the nation and the national struggle developed. But it also led to some conservatives who were opposed to mass participation in the struggle to leave the Congress. Thus the Congress under Gandhi was shedding its elitist character, becoming a mass organization and in a real sense 'National'.

Impact of Gandhi's Leadership

Thousands of schools and hundreds of colleges and vidyapeethas were established by the natives as alternatives to the government institutions. Several leading lawyers gave up their practice. Thousands of school and college students left the government institutions. The Ali brothers were arrested and jailed on sedition charges. The Congress committees called upon people to launch civil disobedience movement, including no tax movements if the Congress committees of their region were ready. The government as usual resorted to repression. Workers were arrested indiscriminately and put behind bars. The visit of Prince of Wales in 1921 to several cities in India was also boycotted. The calculation of the colonial government that the visit of the Prince would evoke loyal sentiments of the Indian people was proved wrong. Workers and peasants had gone on strike across the country. Gandhi promised Swaraj, if Indians participated in the non-cooperation movement on non-violent mode within a year.

South India surged forward during this phase of the struggle. The peasants of Andhra, withheld payment of taxes to the zamindars and the whole population of Chirala-Perala refused to pay taxes and vacated the town en-mass. Hundreds of village Patel's and Shanbagues resigned their jobs. Non-Cooperation movement in Tamil Nadu was organized and led by stalwarts like C. Rajagopalachari, S. Satyamurthi and Periyar E.V.R. In Kerala, peasants organized anti-jenmi struggles.

The Viceroy admitted in a letter to the Secretary of State that the movement had seriously affected lower classes in certain areas of UP, Bengal, Assam, Bihar and in Orissa the peasants have

~~been affected. Impressed by the intensity of the movement, in a~~

special session the Congress reiterated the intensification of the movement. In February 1922 Gandhi announced that he would lead a mass civil disobedience, including no tax campaigns, at Bardoli, if the government did not ensure press freedom and release the prisoners within seven days.

Chauri Chaura Incident and Withdrawal of the Movement

The common people and the nationalist workers were exuberant that Swaraj would dawn soon and participated actively in the struggle. It had attracted all classes of people including the tribal living in the jungles. But at the same time sporadic violence was also witnessed along with arson. In Malabar and Andhra two very violent revolts also took place. In the Rampa region of coastal Andhra the tribal revolted under the leadership of Alluri Sitarama Raju. In Malabar, Muslim (Mapilla) peasants rose up in armed rebellion against upper caste landholders and the British government.

Chauri-Chaura, a village in Gorakhpur district of UP had an organized volunteer group which was participating and leading the picketing of liquor shops and local bazaar against high prices. On 5 February 1922, a Congress procession, 3000 strong, was fired upon by police. Enraged by the firing; the mob attacked and burnt down the police station. 22 policemen lost their lives. It was this incident which made Gandhi announce the suspension of the non-cooperation movement.

The Congress Working Committee ratified the decision at Bardoli, to the disappointment of the nationalist workers. While the younger workers resented the decision, the others who had faith in Gandhi considered it a tactical retreat. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose were critical of Gandhi, who was arrested and sentenced to 6 years in prison. Thus ended the non-cooperation movement.

The Khilafat issue was made redundant when the people of Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha rose in revolt and stripped the Sultan of his political power and abolished the Caliphate and declared that religion and politics could not go together.

Swarajist Party

There was a dilemma what would be done next, following the suspension of Non-cooperation. Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru proposed a new line of activity. They wanted to return to active politics which included entry into electoral politics and demonstrate that the nationalists were capable of obstructing the working of the reformed legislature by capturing them and arousing nationalist spirit. This group came to be called the 'Swarajists and pro-changers'. In Tamil Nadu, Satyamurti joined this group.

There was another group which opposed council entry and wanted to continue the Gandhian line by mobilizing the masses. This team led by Rajagopalachari, Vallabhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad was called 'No changers.' They argued that electoral politics would divert the attention of nationalists and pull them away from the work of mass mobilization and their issues. They favoured the continuation of the Gandhian constructive program of spinning, temperance,

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Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and mobilize rural masses and prepare them for new mass movements. The pro-changers launched the Swarajya party as a part of the Congress. A truce was soon worked out and both the groups would engage themselves in the Congress programs and their work should complement each other's activities under the leadership of Gandhi, though Gandhi personally favored constructive work.

The Swarajya party did reasonably well in the elections to Central Assembly by winning 42 of the 101 seats open for election. With the cooperation of other members they were able to stall many anti-people legislations of the colonial regime, and were successful in exposing the inadequacy of the Act of 1919. But their efforts and enthusiasm petered out as time passed by and consciously or unconsciously they came to be co-opted by the Government as members of several committees constituted by it.

In the absence of nationalist mass struggle fissiparous tendencies started rising their head. There were a series of communal riots with fundamentalist elements occupying the space. Even the Swaraj party was affected by the sectarianism as one group in the name of 'responsivists' started cooperating with the government, claiming to safeguard "Hindu interests". The Muslim fundamentalists similarly seized the space created by the lull in national struggle and started fanning communal feeling. Rise of Left Radicalism Gandhi was pained at the developments. To contain the communal frenzy he went on a 21 day fast.

Left Movement

Meanwhile socialist ideas and its activists also had filled some space through their work among peasants and workers. The labor and peasant movements were organized by the 'leftists'. Marxism as an ideology to criticize colonialism and capitalism had gained ground. It manifested itself in the organization of students and youth apart from trade unions. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose contributed to the spread of leftist ideology. They argued that both colonial exploitation and the internal exploitation by the emerging capitalists should be fought. A group of youngsters with S. A. Dange, M. N. Roy, and Mustafa Ahmed along with elderly persons such as Singaravelu from Tamilnadu founded the peasants and worker's parties. The government came down heavily on the communist-socialists and the revolutionaries a series of 'conspiracy cases' such as Kanpur, Meerut, and Kakori were booked.

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It was at this juncture Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad, Raj guru and Sukhdev emerged on the scene. The Naujawan Bharat Saba, Hindustan Republican Association were started and thousands of young men and women became active anti-colonialists and revolutionaries. Youth and student conferences were organized all over the country. Meanwhile Ram Prasad Bismil and Ashfaqullah were convicted to death and 17 others were sentenced to long term imprisonment in the Kakori conspiracy case. Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad and Raj guru, enraged at the police brutality and death of Lajpat Rai, killed Saunders, the British police officer who led the lath charge at Lahore. Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutt threw a bomb into the central Assembly hall on 8 April 1929. In 1929 the Meerut conspiracy case was filed and three dozen communist leaders were sentenced to long spells of jail terms. All these developments and incidents are discussed in detail in the next lesson.

Simon Commission

The Act of 1919 included a provision for its review after a lapse of ten years. However, the review commission was appointed by the British Government two Motilal Nehru years earlier of its schedule in 1927. It came to be known as Simon Commission after the name of its chairman, Sir John Simon. All its seven members were Englishmen. As there was no Indian member in it, the Commission faced a lot of criticism even before its landing in India. Almost all the political parties including the Congress decided to oppose the Commission.

On the fateful day of 3 February 1928 when the Commission reached Bombay, a general hartal was observed all over the country. Everywhere it was greeted with black flags and the cries of 'Simon go back'. At Lahore, the students took out a large anti-Simon Commission demonstration on 30 October 1928 under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai. In this demonstration, Lala Lajpat Rai was seriously injured in the police lath charge and he passed away after one month.

The report of the Simon Commission was published in May 1930. It was stated that the constitutional experiment with Diarchy was unsuccessful and in its place the report recommended the establishment of autonomous government. There is no doubt that the Simon Commission's Report became the basis for enacting the Government of India Act of 1935.

It announced the setting up of Indian Statutory commission (known as 'Simon Commission' after its chairman). The commission had only white men as members and it was an insult to Indians. The Congress at its annual session in Madras in 1927 resolved to boycott the commission. The Muslim league and the Hindu Mahasaba also supported the decision. A series of conferences were held and the consensus was to work for an alternative proposal. Most of the parties agreed to challenge the colonial attitude towards India and the result was the Motilal Nehru Report. However the All Parties meet held in 1928 December at Calcutta failed to accept it on the issue of communal representation.

Simon go back

But the most important development was the popular protest against the Simon Commission. Whenever the commission went, protests were held and the slogan 'Simon Go Back' rent the air. The movement demonstrated that the masses were gearing up for the next stage of the struggle. It was at Calcutta that the Congress met in December 1928. To conciliate the left wing it was announced that Jawaharlal would be the President of the next session in 1929. Thus

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Jawaharlal Nehru, son of Motilal Nehru, who presided over Congress in 1928, succeeded his father.

Nehru Report (1928)

In the meanwhile, the Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead, challenged the Indians to produce a Constitution that would be acceptable to all. The challenge was accepted by the Congress, which convened an all-party meeting on 28 February 1928. A committee consisting of eight was constituted to draw up a blueprint for the future Constitution of India. It was headed by Motilal Nehru. The Report published by this Committee came to be known as the Nehru Report.

The Report favoured:

- Dominion Status as the next immediate step.
- Full responsible government at the Centre.
- Autonomy to the provinces.
- Clear cut division of power between the Centre and the provinces.
- A bicameral legislature at the Centre.

However, the leader of the Muslim League, Mohammad Ali Jinnah regarded it as detrimental to the interests of the Muslims. Jinnah convened an All India Conference of the Muslims where he drew up a list of Fourteen Points as Muslim League demand.

UNIT - IV
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT (1930 - 1934)

Lahore Congress Session-Poorna Swaraj

Lahore session of the Congress has a special significance in the history of the freedom movement. It was at the Lahore session that the Congress declared that the objective of the Congress was the attainment of complete independence. On 31 December 1929 the tricolour flag of freedom was hoisted at Lahore. It was also decided that 26 January would be celebrated as the Independence Day every year. It was also announced that civil disobedience would be started under the leadership of Gandhi.

Dandi March

As a part of the movement Gandhi announced the 'Dandi March'. It was a protest against the unjust tax on salt, which is used by all. But the colonial government was taxing it and had a near monopoly over it. The Dandi March was to cover 375 kms from Gandhi's Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi on the Gujarat coast. Joined by a chosen band of 78 followers from all regions and social groups, after informing the colonial government in advance, Gandhi set out on the march and reached Dandi on the 25th day i.e. 6 April 1930. Throughout the period of the march the press covered the event in such a way that it had caught the attention of the entire world. He broke the salt law by picking up a fist full of salt. It was symbolic of the refusal of Indians to be under the repressive colonial government and its unjust laws.

On 9th April, Mahatma Gandhi laid out the program of the movement which included making of salt in every village in violation of the existing salt laws; picketing by women before the shops selling liquor, opium and foreign clothes; organizing the bonfires of foreign clothes; spinning clothes by using charkha fighting untouchability; boycotting of schools and colleges by students and resigning from government jobs by the people. Over and above all these, the program also

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called upon the people not to pay taxes to the government.

Soon, the movement spread to all parts of the country. Students, workers, farmers and women, all participated in this movement with great enthusiasm. As a reaction, the British Government arrested important leaders of the Congress and imprisoned them.

Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha

In Tamilnadu, a salt march was led by Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) to Vedaranyam. Vedaranyam, situated 150 miles from Tiruchirapalli from where March started was an obscure coastal village in Thanjavur district. Rajaji had just been elected president of the Tamilnadu Congress. The march started on 13th April and reached Vedaranyam on 28th April 1930.

The Thajavur collector J.A Thorne had warned the public of severe action if the marchers were harbored. But the Satyagrahis were warmly welcomed and provided with food and shelter. Those who dared to offer food and shelter were severely dealt with. The Satyagrahis marched via Kumbakonam, Semmangudi, and Thiruthuraipoondi where they were given good reception. The Vedaranyam movement stirred the masses in south India and awakened them to the colonial oppression and the need to join the struggle.

Round table conferences

The Simon Commission had submitted the report to the government. The Congress, Muslim league and Hindu Mahasaba had boycotted it. The British regime went ahead with the consideration of the report. But in the absence of consultations with Indian leaders it would have been useless. The British government adopted the strategy of talking to different political parties by convening the Round Table Conferences.

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First Round Table Conference

Head of the conference- Ramsay macdonald (England prime minister)

The first Round Table Conference was held in 1930 November 12 to 1931 January 19 at London and it was boycotted it by the Congress Leaders and Gandhi.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931 march 5)

In January 1931 in order to create a conducive atmosphere for talks, the government lifted the ban on the Congress Party and released its leaders from prison. On 5 March 1931 the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed. As per this pact, Mahatma Gandhi agreed to suspend the Civil-Disobedience Movement and participate in the Second- Round Table Conference.

The 'Gandhi-Irwin Pact' was a political agreement signed by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India, on 5 March 1931 before the second Round Table Conference in London. Before this, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, had announced in October 1929 a vague offer of 'dominion status' for British-occupied India in an unspecified future and a Round Table Conference to discuss a future constitution. The second Round Table Conference was held from September to December 1931 in London.

"The Two Leaders"—as Sarojini Naidu described Gandhi and Lord Irwin—had eight meetings that totaled 24 hours. Gandhi was impressed by Irwin's sincerity. The terms of the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact" fell manifestly short of those Gandhi prescribed as the minimum for a truce.

Below are the proposed conditions:-

- Discontinuation of Salt March by the Indian National Congress
- Participation by the Indian National Congress in the Second Round Table Conference
- Withdrawal of all ordinances issued by the Government of India imposing curbs on the activities of the Indian National Congress
- Withdrawal of all prosecutions relating to several types of offenses except those involving violence
- Release of prisoners arrested for participating in the Salt March.
- Removal of the tax on salt, which allowed the Indians to produce, trade, and sell salt legally and for their own private use

Many British officials in India, and in Great Britain, were outraged by the idea of a pact with a party whose avowed purpose was the destruction of the British Raj. Winston Churchill publicly expressed his disgust "...at the nauseating and humiliating spectacle of this one-time Inner Temple lawyer, now seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceroy's palace, there to negotiate and parley on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor."

In reply, His Majesty's Government agreed to:

1. Withdraw all ordinances and end prosecutions

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2. Release all political prisoners, except those guilty of violence
3. Permit peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops
4. Restore confiscated properties of the satyagrahis
5. Permit free collection or manufacture of salt by persons near the sea-coast
6. Lift the ban over the Congress.

The Viceroy, Lord Irwin, was at this time directing the sternest repression Indian nationalism had known, but did not relish the role. The British-run Indian Civil Service and the commercial community favored even harsher measures. But Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, and William Benn, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, were eager for peace, if they could secure it without weakening the position of the Labour government in Whitehall. They wanted to make a success of the Round Table Conference and knew that this body, without the presence of Gandhi and the Congress, could not carry much weight. In January 1931, at the closing session of the Round Table Conference, Ramsay MacDonald went so far as to express the hope that the Congress would be represented at the next session. The Viceroy took the hint and promptly ordered the unconditional release of Gandhi and all members of the Congress Working Committee. To this gesture Gandhi responded by agreeing to meet the Viceroy.

Gandhi's motives in concluding a pact with Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, can be best understood in terms of his technique. The satyagrahi movements were commonly described as "struggles", "rebellions" and "wars without violence". Owing, however, to the common connotation of these words, they seemed to lay a disproportionate emphasis on the negative aspect of the movements, namely, opposition and conflict. The object of satyagraha was, however, not to achieve the physical elimination or moral breakdown of an adversary—but, through suffering at his hands, to initiate a psychological processes that could make it possible for minds and hearts to meet. In such a struggle, a compromise with an opponent was neither heresy nor treason, but a natural and necessary step. If it turned out that the compromise was premature and the adversary was unrepentant, nothing prevented the satyagrahi from returning to non-violent battle.

This was the second high-level meeting between Gandhi and a Viceroy in 13 years and should be read in the context of the Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms that were the basis of the Government of India Act, 1919.

Second round table conference

Head of the conference- Ramsay macdonald (England prime minister)

The second Round Table Conference was held in London from 7 September 1931 to 1 December 1931 with the participation of Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. Two weeks before the Conference convened, the Labor government had been replaced by the Conservatives. At the conference, Gandhi claimed to represent all people of India. This view, however, was not shared by other delegates. In fact, the division between the many attending groups was one of the reasons why the outcomes of the second Round Table Conference were again no substantial results regarding India's constitutional future. Meanwhile, civil unrest had spread throughout India again, and upon return to India Gandhi was arrested along with other Congress leaders. A separate province of Sind was created and the interests of minorities were safeguarded by MacDonald's Communal Award.

Third round table conference

Head of the conference- Ramsay macdonald (England prime minister)

The third Round Table Conference (17 November 1932 - 24 December 1932) was not

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attended by the Indian National Congress and Gandhi. Many other Indian leaders were also absent. Like the two first conferences, little was achieved. The recommendations were published in a White Paper in March 1933 and debated in Parliament afterwards. A Joint Select Committee was formed to analyze the recommendations and formulate a new Act for India. The Committee produced a draft Bill in February 1935 which was enforced as the Government of India Act of 1935 in July 1935.

Communal Award

A meeting between Gandhi and Ambedkar on this issue of separate electorates before they went to London to attend the Second Round Table Conference ended in failure. There was an encounter between the two again in the RTC about the same issue. It ended in a deadlock and finally the issue was left to be arbitrated by the British Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald. The British government announced in August 1932 what came to be known as the Communal Award. Ambedkar's demands for separate electorates with reserved seats were conceded.

Poona Pact

Gandhi was deeply upset. He declared that he would resist separate electorates to untouchables 'with his life'. He went on a fast unto death in the Yervada jail where he was imprisoned. There was enormous pressure on Ambedkar to save Gandhi's life. Consultations, confabulations, meetings, prayers were held all over and ultimately after a meeting with Gandhi in the jail, the communal award was modified. The new agreement, between Ambedkar and Gandhians, called the 'Poona Pact' was signed.

The Poona Pact took away separate electorates but guaranteed reserved seats for the untouchables. The provision of reserved seats was incorporated in the constitutional changes which were made. It was also built into the Constitution of independent India.

Ambedkar and Party Politics

Ambedkar launched two political parties. The first one was the Independent Labor party in 1937 and the second Scheduled Caste Federation in 1942. The colonial government recognizing his struggles and also to balance its support base used the services of Ambedkar. Thus he was made a member of the Defense Advisory Committee in 1942, and a few months later, a minister in the Viceroy's cabinet.

The crowning recognition of his services to the nation was electing him as the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the independent India's Constitution. After independence Ambedkar was invited to be a member of the Nehru cabinet.

The Second World War and National Movement

In 1937 elections were held under the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935. Congress Ministries were formed in seven states of India. On 1 September 1939 the Second World

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War broke out. The British Government without consulting the people of India involved the country in the war. The Congress vehemently opposed it and as a mark of protest the Congress Ministries in the Provinces resigned on 12 December 1939. The Muslim League celebrated that day as the Deliverance Day. In March 1940 the Muslim League demanded the creation of Pakistan.

Individual Satyagraha

During the course of the Second World War in order to secure the cooperation of the Indians, the British Government made an announcement on 8 August 1940, which came to be known as the 'August Offer'. The August Offer envisaged that after the War a representative body of Indians would be set up to frame the new Constitution. Gandhi was not satisfied with its offer and decided to launch Individual Satyagraha.

Individual Satyagraha was limited, symbolic and non-violent in nature and it was left to Mahatma Gandhi to choose the Satyagrahis. Acharya Vinoba Bhave was the first to offer Satyagraha and he was sentenced to three months imprisonment. Jawaharlal Nehru was the second Satyagrahi and imprisoned for four months. The individual Satyagraha continued for nearly 15 months.

Cripps Mission (1942)

In the meantime, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow expanded his Executive Council by including five more Indians into it in July 1941. However, in the midst of worsening wartime international situation, the British Government in its continued effort to secure Indian cooperation sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India on 23 March 1942. This is known as Cripps Mission.

The main recommendations of Cripps were:

- The promise of Dominion Status to India,
- Protection of minorities setting up of a Constituent Assembly in which there would be representatives from the
- Princely States along with those of the British Provinces,

- There would be provision for any Province of British India not prepared to accept this Constitution, either to retain its present constitutional position or frame a constitution of its own.

The major political parties of the country rejected the Cripps proposals. Gandhi called Cripps proposals as a "Post-dated Cheque". They did not like the rights of the Princely States either to send their representatives to the Constituent Assembly or to stay out of the Indian Union. The Muslim League was also dissatisfied as its demand for Pakistan had not been conceded in the proposal.

UNIT - V QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

Sometime in May 1942 Gandhi took it upon himself to steer the Indian National Congress into action. Gandhi's decision to launch a mass struggle this time, however, met with reservation from C. Rajagopalachari as much as from Nehru. Conditions were ripe for an agitation. Prices of commodities had shot up many-fold and there was shortage of food grains too.

Congress Meet at Wardha

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It was in this context that the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress met at Wardha on July 14, 1942. The meeting resolved to launch a mass civil disobedience movement. C. Rajagopalachari and Bhulabhai Desai who had reservations against launching a movement at that time resigned from the Congress Working Committee. Nehru, despite being among those who did not want a movement then bound himself with the majority's decision in the Working Committee.

'Do or Die' The futility that marked the Cripps mission had turned both Gandhi and Nehru sour with the British than any time in the past. Gandhi expressed this in a press interview on May 16, 1942 where he said: 'Leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy. This ordered disciplined anarchy should go and if there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it.' The Mahatma called upon the people to 'Do or Die' and called the movement he launched from there as a 'fight to the finish'.

Quit India

The colonial government did not wait. All the leaders of the Indian National Congress, including Gandhi, were arrested early in the morning on August 9, 1942. The Indian people too did not wait. The immediate response to the pre-dawn arrests was hartals in almost all the towns where the people clashed, often violently, with the police. Industrial workers across India went on strike. The Tata Steel Plant in Jamshedpur closed down by the striking workers for 13 days

beginning August 20. The textile workers in Ahmedabad struck work for more than three months. Industrial towns witnessed strikes for varied periods across India.

Brutal Repression

The colonial government responded with brutal repression and police resorted to firing in many places. The army was called in to suppress the protest. The intensity of the movement and the repression can be made out from the fact that as many as 57 battalions were called in as a whole. Aircrafts were used to strafe protesters. The momentum and its intensity was such that Linlithgow, wrote to Churchill, describing the protests as 'by far the most serious rebellion since 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security.'

Though this phase of the protest, predominantly urban, involving the industrial workers and the students was put down by use of brutal force, the upsurge did not end. It spread in its second phase into the villages. A sixty-point increase in prices of food-grains recorded between April and August 1942 had laid the seeds of resentment. In addition, those leaders of the Congress, particularly the Socialists within, who had managed to escape arrest on August 9 fanned into the countryside where they organized the youth into guerrilla actions.

Outbreak of Violence

Beginning late September 1942, the movement took the shape of attacks and destruction

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of communication facilities such as telegraph lines, railway stations and tracks and setting fire to government offices. This spread across the country and was most intense in Eastern United Provinces, Bihar, and Maharashtra and in Bengal. The rebels even set up 'national governments' in pockets they liberated from the colonial administration. An instance of this was the 'Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar' in the Midnapore district in Bengal that lasted until September 1944. There was a parallel government in Satara.

Socialists like Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Asaf Ali, Yusuf Mehraly and Ram Manohar Logia provided leadership. Gandhi's 21 day fast in jail, beginning February 10, 1943, marked a turning point and gave the movement (and even the violence in a limited sense) a great push.

Spread and Intensity of the Movement

The spread of the movement and its intensity can be gauged from the extent of force that the colonial administration used to put it down. By the end of 1943, the number of persons arrested across India stood at 91, 836. The police shot dead 1060 persons during the same period. 208 police outposts, 332 railway stations and 945 post offices were destroyed or damaged very badly. At least 205 policemen defected and joined the rebels. R.H. Niblett, who served as District Collector of Azamgarh in eastern United Province, removed from service for being too mild with the rebels, recorded in his diary that the British unleashed 'white terror' using an 'incendiary police to set fire to villages for several miles' and that 'reprisals (becoming) the rule of the day.' Collective fines were imposed on all the people in a village where public property was destroyed.

Clandestine Radio

Yet another prominent feature of the Quit India movement was the use of Radio by the rebels. The press being censored, the rebels set up a clandestine radio broadcast system from Bombay. The transmitter was shifted from one place to another in and around the city. Usha Mehta was the force behind the clandestine radio operations and its broadcast was heard as far away as Madras.

The Quit India movement was the most powerful onslaught against the colonial state hitherto. The movement included the Congress, the Socialists, and the Forward Bloc. The movement witnessed unprecedented unity of the people and sent a message that the colonial rulers could not ignore.

Gandhi's release from prison, on health grounds, on May 6, 1944 led to the revival of the Constructive Programme. Congress committees began activities in its garb and the ban on the Congress imposed in the wake of the Quit India movement was thus overcome. The colonial state, meanwhile, put forward a plan for negotiation. Lord Archibald Wavell, who had replaced Linlithgow as Viceroy in October 1943, had begun to work towards another round of negotiation. The message was clear: The British had no option but to negotiate!

Indian National Army

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the INA

A considerably large contingent of the Indian Army was posted on the South East Asian countries that were part of the British Empire. They were in Malaya, Burma and elsewhere. The forces, however, could not stand up to the Japanese army. The command of the British Indian Army in the South-East Asian front simply retreated leaving the ranks behind as Prisoners of War

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(POWs).

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~~Mohan Singh, an officer of the British Indian Army in Malaya, approached~~ the Japanese for help and they found in this an opportunity. Japan's interests lay in colonizing China and not much India. The Indian POWs with the Japanese were left under Mohan Singh's command. The fall of Singapore to the Japanese forces added to the strength of the POWs and Mohan Singh now had 45,000 POWs under his command. Of these, Mohan Singh had drafted about 40,000 men in the Indian National Army by the end of 1942. Indians in the region saw the INA as saviors against Japanese expansionism as much as the commander and other officers held out that the army would march into India but only on invitation from the Indian National Congress.

On July 2, 1943, Subhas Chandra Bose reached Singapore. From there he went to Tokyo and after a meeting with Prime Minister Tojo, the Japanese leader declared that his country did not desire territorial expansion into India. Bose returned to Singapore and set up the Provisional Government of Free India on October 21, 1943. This Provisional Government declared war against Britain and the other allied nations. The Axis powers recognized Bose's Provisional Government as its ally.

After the Indian National Congress acted against Bose in August 1939, shunting him out of all offices including as president of the Bengal Congress Committee, Bose embarked upon a campaign trail, to mobilize support to his position, across India. He was arrested by the British on July 3, 1940 under the Defense of India Act and kept under constant surveillance. As the war progressed in Europe Bose believed that Germany was going to win. He began to nurture the idea that Indian independence could be achieved by joining hands with the Axis powers. In the midnight of January 16-17, 1941, Bose slipped out of Calcutta, and reached Berlin by the end of March, travelling through Kabul and the Soviet Union on an Italian passport. Bose met Hitler and

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Goebbels in Berlin. Both the Nazi leaders were cold and the only concession they gave was to set up the Azad Hind Radio. Nothing more came out of his rendezvous with Hitler and his aides. With Germany facing reverses, Bose found his way to Singapore in July 1943.□□

SUBASH and INA

Bose enlisted civilians too into the INA and one of the regiments was made up of women. The Rani of Jhansi regiment of the INA was commanded by a medical doctor and daughter of freedom fighter Ammu Swami Nathan from Madras, Dr. Lakshmi. On July 6, 1944, Subhas Bose addressed a message to Gandhi over the Azad Hind Radio from Rangoon. Calling him the 'Father of the Nation', Bose appealed to Gandhi for his blessing in what he described as 'India's last war of independence.'

INA with Axis Powers in War

A battalion of the INA commanded by Shah Nawaz accompanied the Japanese army, in its march on Impala. This was in late 1944 and the Axis powers, including the Japanese forces, had fallen into bad times all over. The Impala campaign did not succeed and the Japanese retreated before the final surrender to the British command in mid-1945. Shah Nawaz and his soldiers of the INA were taken prisoners and charged with treason.

The INA trials were held at the Red Fort in New Delhi. The Indian National Congress fielded its best lawyers in defense of the INA soldiers. Nehru, who had given up his legal practice as early

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as in 1920 responding to Gandhi's call for non-cooperation, wore his black gown to appear in defense. Even though the INA did not achieve much militarily, the trials made a huge impact in inspiring the masses.

The colonial government's arrogance once again set the stage for another mass mobilization. The Indian National Congress, after the debacle at the Shimla Conference (June 25 and July 14, 1945) plunged into reaching out to the masses by way of public meetings across the country. The INA figured more prominently as an issue in all these meetings than even the Congress's pitch for votes in the elections (under the 1935 Act) that were expected soon.

It was in this context that the colonial rulers sent up three prominent officers of the INA – Shah Nawaz Khan, P.K. Sehgal and G.S. Dillon – to trial. The press in India reported the trials with all empathy and editorials sought the soldiers freed immediately. The INA week was marked by processions, hartals and even general strikes across the nation demanding release of the soldiers.

The choice of the three men to be sent up for trial ended up rallying all political opinion behind the campaign. The Muslim League, the Shiromani Akali Dal and the Hindu Maha Saba, all those who had stayed clear of the Quit India campaign, joined the protests and raised funds for their defense. Although the trial court found Sehgal, Dillon and Shah Nawaz Khan guilty of treason, the commander in chief remitted the sentences and set them free on January 6, 1946. The INA trials, indeed, set the stage for yet another important stage in the history of the Indian National Movement in February 1946. The ratings of the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) raised the banner of revolt.

Wavell Plan (1945 July 14)

Rajaji Proposals and the Wavell Plan

Demand for a Separate Nation

Meanwhile, the communal challenge persisted and the Muslim League pressed with its demand for a separate nation. The Lahore resolution of the Muslim League in March 1940 had altered the discourse from the Muslims being a 'minority' to the Muslims constituting a 'nation'. Mohammed Ali Jinnah was asserting this right as the sole spokesperson of the community.

Rajaji's Proposals

In April 1944, when the Congress leaders were in jail, Rajagopalachari put out a proposal to resolve the issue.

It contained the following:

- A post-war commission to be formed to demarcate the contiguous districts where the Muslims were in absolute majority and a plebiscite of the adult population there to ascertain whether they would prefer Pakistan;
- In case of a partition there would be a mutual agreement to run certain essential services, like defense or communication;
- The border districts could choose to join either of the two sovereign states;

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- The implementation of the scheme would wait till after full transfer of power.

After his release from prison, Gandhi, in July 1944, proposed talks with Jinnah based on what came to be the 'Rajaji formula'. The talks did not go anywhere.

Wavell Plan:

After his release from prison, Gandhi, in July 1944, proposed talks with Jinnah based on what came to be the 'Rajaji formula'. The talks did not go anywhere. In June 1945 Lord Wavell moved to negotiate and called for the Shimla conference. The rest of the Congress leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and the Congress president, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were released from jail for this. Wavell had set out on this project in March 1945 and sailed to London. There he convinced Churchill of the imperative for a Congress–Muslim League coalition government as a way to deal with the post-war political crisis.

The Viceroy's proposal before the leaders of all political formations and most prominently the Congress and the Muslim League was setting up of an Executive Council, exclusively with Indians along with himself and the commander in- chief; equal number of representatives in the council for the caste Hindus and the Muslims and separate representation for the Scheduled Castes; and start of discussions for a new constitution.

The proposal displeased everyone. The Shimla Conference held between June 25 and July 14, 1945 ended without resolution. The talks broke down on the right of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League to nominate members to the Viceroy's Council.

The Muslim League insisted on its exclusive right to nominate Muslim members to the Council. Its demand was that the Congress nominees shall only be caste Hindus and that the Indian National Congress should not nominate a Muslim or a member from the Scheduled Caste! This was seen as a means to further the divide on communal lines and deny the Congress the status of representing the Indian people. Lord Wavell found a council without Muslim League representation as unworkable and thus abandoned the Shimla talks.

The years between the Lahore resolution of 1940 and the Shimla Conference in 1945 marked the consolidation of a Muslim national identity and the emergence of Jinnah as its sole spokesperson. It was at a convention of Muslim League Legislators in Delhi in April 1946, that Pakistan was defined as a 'sovereign independent state'. For the first time the League also declared its composition in geographical terms as 'the region consisting of the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal and Assam in the Northeast and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the Northwest. The Congress president Maulana Abul Kalam Azad rejected this idea and held that the Congress stood for a united India with complete independence.

All these were developments after the Shimla conference of June–July 1945 and after Churchill was voted out and replaced by a Labor Party government headed by Clement Attlee. Times had changed in a substantial sense. British Prime Minister, Attlee had declared the certainty of independence to India with only the terms left to be decided.

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Cabinet Mission (1946)

After the Second World War, Lord Atlee became the Prime Minister of England. On 15 March, 1946 Lord Atlee made a historic announcement in which the right to self-determination and the framing of a Constitution for India were conceded. Consequently, three members of the British Cabinet - Pathick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander - were sent to India. This is known as the Cabinet Mission.

The Cabinet Mission put forward a plan for solution of the constitutional problem. Provision was made for three groups of provinces to possess their separate constitutions. The Cabinet Mission also proposed the formation of a Union of India, comprising both the British India and the Princely States. The Union would remain in charge of only foreign affairs, defense and communications leaving the residuary powers to be vested in the provinces. A proposal was envisaged for setting up an Interim Government, which would remain in office till a new government was elected on the basis of the new Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly. Both the Muslim League and the Congress accepted the plan.

Consequently, elections were held in July 1946 for the formation of a Constituent Assembly. The Congress secured 205 out of 214 General seats. The Muslim League got 73 out of 78 Muslim seats. An Interim Government was formed under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru on 2 September 1946.

Mount Batten Plan

Mount batten came up with a definite plan for partition. It involved splitting up Punjab into West and East (where the west would go to Pakistan) and similar division of Bengal wherein the Western parts will remain in India and the East become Pakistan. The Congress Working Committee, on 1 May 1947, conveyed its acceptance of the idea of partition to Mountbatten. The viceroy left for London soon after and on his return disclosed the blueprint for partition and, more

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importantly, the desire to advance the date of British withdrawal to 15 August 1947. There were only 11 weeks left between then and the eventual day of independence. The AICC met on 15 June 1947. It was here that the resolution, moved by Govind Ballabh Pant, accepting partition, was approved. It required the persuasive powers of Nehru and Patel as well as the moral authority of Gandhi to get the majority in the AICC in favour of the resolution.

The period between March 1946 and 15 August 1947 saw many tumultuous events such as

- i. The setting up of the Cabinet Mission,
- ii. The formation of the interim government,
- iii. The birth of the Constituent Assembly and
- iv. The widening of rift between the Congress and the Muslim League leading to the partition and finally the dawn of independence.

On June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten put forward his plan which outlined the steps for the solution of India's political problem. The outlines of the plan discussed below:

- India to be divided into India and Pakistan
- Bengal and Punjab will be partitioned and a referendum in NEFP (North-East Frontier Province) and Sylhet district of Assam would be held.
- There would be a separate constituent assembly for Pakistan to frame its constitution.
- The Princely states would enjoy the liberty to join either India or Pakistan or ever remain Independent.
- August 15, 1947, was date fixed for handing over power to India and Pakistan.
- The British Government passed the Indian Independence Act of 1947 in July 1947, which contained the major provisions put forward by the Mountbatten plan.

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Mountbatten Plan Background

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

Provisions of the Mountbatten Plan

- British India was to be partitioned into two dominions – India and Pakistan.
- The constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly would not be applicable to the Muslim-majority areas (as these would become Pakistan). The question of a separate constituent assembly for the Muslim-majority areas would be decided by these provinces.
- As per the plan, the legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab met and voted for the partition. Accordingly, it was decided to partition these two provinces along religious lines.
- The legislative assembly of Sind would decide whether to join the Indian constituent assembly or not. It decided to go with Pakistan.
- A referendum was to be held on NWFP (North-Western Frontier Province) to decide which dominion to join. NWFP decided to join Pakistan while Khan Abdul Gaffer Khan boycotted and rejected the referendum.
- The date for the transfer of power was to be August 15, 1947.
- To fix the international boundaries between the two countries, the Boundary Commission was established chaired by Sir Cyril Radcliffe. The commission was to demarcate Bengal and Punjab into the two new countries.
- The princely states were given the choice to either remain independent or accede to India or Pakistan. The British suzerainty over these kingdoms was terminated.
- The British monarch would no longer use the title 'Emperor of India'.
- After the dominions were created, the British Parliament could not enact any law in the territories of the new dominions.
- Until the time the new constitutions came into existence, the Governor-General would

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assent any law passed by the constituent assemblies of the dominions in His Majesty's name. The Governor-General was made a constitutional head.

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

Indian Independence Act 1947

- The British Government accorded formal approval to the Mountbatten Plan by enacting the Indian Independence Act on 18 July 1947. The salient features of this Act were:
- The partition of the country into India and Pakistan would come into effect from 15 August 1947.
- The British Government would transfer all powers to these two Dominions.
- A Boundary Commission would demarcate the boundaries of the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal.
- The Act provided for the transfer of power to the Constituent Assemblies of the two Dominions, which will have full authority to frame their respective Constitutions.

The Radcliff Boundary Commission drew the boundary line separating India and Pakistan. On 15th August 1947 India, and on the 14th August Pakistan came into existence as two independent states. Lord Mountbatten was made the first Governor General of Independent India, whereas Mohammad Ali Jinnah became the first Governor General of Pakistan. The most tragic incident occurred on 30 January 1948, when Mahatma Gandhi - the father of the nation- on his way to a prayer meeting was assassinated by Nathuram Godse.

Dawn of Indian Independence

Introduction

Freedom from colonial rule came with a price. The partition of India involved dividing the provinces of Bengal and Punjab into two. Though not envisaged at the time of the division, it was followed by migration of Hindus from East Bengal to West Bengal and Muslims from Bihar and West Bengal to East Bengal. Similarly, Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab had to migrate to eastern Punjab and Muslims in eastern Punjab to western Punjab. The boundaries between India and Pakistan were to be determined on the composition of the people in each village on their religion; and villages where the majority was Muslims were to constitute Pakistan and where the Hindus were the majority to form India. There were other factors too: rivers, roads and mountains acted as markers of boundaries. The proposal was that the religious minorities – whether Hindus or Muslims – in these villages were to stay on and live as Indians (in case of Muslims) and Pakistanis

(in case of Hindus) wherever they were.

There was a separate scheme for those villages where the Muslims were a majority and yet the village not contiguous with the proposed territory of Pakistan and those villages where the Hindus were a majority and yet not contiguous with the proposed territory of India: they were to remain part of the nation with which the village was contiguous. A new complication had arisen by this time and that was the recognition of Sikhs as a religious identity in Punjab, in addition to the Hindus, and the Muslims; the Akali Dal had declared its preference to stay on with India irrespective of its people living in villages that would otherwise become part of Pakistan.

~~This complex situation was the consequence of the fast pace of developments in Britain~~ on the issue of independence to India. The declaration on February 20, 1947 by Prime Minister Atlee, setting June 30, 1948 for the British to withdraw from India and Mountbatten's arrival as viceroy replacing Wavell on March 22, 1947 had set the stage for the transfer of power to Indians. This was when the Muslim League leadership had gathered the support of a vast majority of the Muslim community behind it and disputing the claims of the Congress to represent all Indians. On June 3, 1947, Mountbatten advanced the date of British withdrawal to August 15, 1947. As for the communal question and the issue of two nations, the proposal was to hand over power to two successor dominion governments of India and Pakistan. The division of Bengal and the Punjab, as proposed, meant partition – a reality to which Congress finally reconciled. The Mountbatten plan for independence along with partition of India was accepted at the AICC meeting at Meerut on June 14, 1947.

Gandhi, who had opposed the idea of division with vehemence in the past, now conceded its inevitability. Gandhi explained the change. He held that the unabated communal violence and the participation in it of the people across the Punjab and in Bengal had left himself and the Congress with no any strength to resist partition. Sadly, the canker of communalism and the partition system that the colonial collaborators produced took its toll on the infant Indian nation. It began with the assassination of the Mahatma on January 30, 1948. How did the infant nation take up the challenge, resolving some and grappling with some others in the years to come?

Consequences of Partition

The challenges before free India included grappling with the consequences of partition, planning the economy and reforming the education system (which will be dealt with in the following lesson), making a Constitution that reflected the aspirations kindled by the freedom struggle, merger of the Princely states (more than 500 in number and of different sizes), and resolving the diversity on the basis of languages spoken by the people with the needs of a nation-state. Further, a foreign policy that was in tune with the ideals of democracy, sovereignty and fraternity had to be formulated.

The partition of India on Hindu–Muslim lines was put forth as a demand by the Muslim League in vague terms ever since its Lahore session (March 1940). But its architecture and execution began only with Lord Mountbatten's announcement of his plan on June 3, 1947 and advancing the date of transfer of power to August 15, 1947. The time left between the two dates was a mere 72 days.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a lawyer by training with no exposure to India and its reality, was sent from London to re-draw the map of India. Its execution was left to the dominion governments of India and Pakistan after August 15, 1947.

Radcliffe arrived in India on July 8, 1947. He was given charge of presiding over two Boundary Commissions: one for the Punjab and the other for Bengal. Two judges from the Muslim community and two from the Hindu community were included. The commissions were left with five weeks to identify villages as Hindu or Muslim majority on the basis of the 1941 census. It is widely accepted that the census of 1941, conducted in the midst of the World War II led to faulty results everywhere.

The commissions were also constrained by factors such as contiguity of villages and by demands of the Sikh community that villages in West Punjab where their shrines were located be

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taken into India irrespective of the population of Sikhs in those villages. The two commissions submitted the report on August 9, 1947. Mountbatten's dispensation, meanwhile, decided to postpone the execution of the boundaries to a date after power was transferred to the two dominions. The contours of the two dominions – India and Pakistan – were drawn in the scheme on August 14/15, 1947 insofar as the administration was concerned; the people, however, were not informed about the new map when they celebrated Independence Day on August 14/15, 1947.

Radcliffe's award contained all kinds of anomalies. The provincial assembly in Punjab had resolved that West Punjab would go to Pakistan. The other provinces, which were geographically contiguous with Pakistan such as Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Provinces, followed this. Similarly, the Bengal Assembly resolved that the eastern parts of the province were to constitute Pakistan on this side.

The award Radcliffe presented, on August 9, 1947, marked 62,000 square miles of land that was hitherto part of the Punjab to Pakistan. The total population (based on the 1941 census) of this region was 15,800,000 people of whom 11,850,000 were Muslims. Almost a quarter of the populations in this territory – West Punjab – were non-Muslims; and the Mountbatten Plan as executed by Sir Radcliffe meant they continued to live as minorities in Pakistan. Similarly, East Punjab that was to be part of India was demarcated to consist of 37,000 square miles of territory with a population of 12,600,000. Of this, 4,375,000 were Muslims. In other words, more than a third of the population in east Punjab would be Muslims.

The demographic composition of the Indian and Pakistani parts of Bengal was no less complicated. West Bengal that remained part of India accounted for an area of 28,000 square miles with a population of 21,200,000 out of which 5,300,000 were Muslims; in other words, Muslims constituted a quarter of the population of the Indian part of the former Bengal province. Sir Radcliffe's commission marked 49,400 square miles of territory from former Bengal with 39,100,000 people for Pakistan. The Muslim population there, according to the 1941 census, was 27,700,000. In other words, 29 per cent of the populations were Hindus. East Pakistan (which became Bangladesh in December 1971) was constituted by putting together the eastern part of divided Bengal, Sylhet district of Assam, the district of Khulna in the region and also the Chittagong Hill tracts. Such districts of Bengal as Murshidabad, Malta and Nadia which had a substantially large Muslim population were left to remain in India. The exercise was one without a method.

The re-drawn map of India was left with the two independent governments by the colonial rulers. It was left to the independent governments of India and Pakistan to fix the exact boundaries. However, the understanding was that the religious minorities in both the nations the Hindus in West and East Pakistan and the Muslims in India, in East Punjab and West Bengal as well as in United Provinces and elsewhere – would continue to live as minorities but as citizens in their nations.

After the partition, there were as many as 42 million Muslims in India and 20 million non-Muslims (Hindus, Sindh's and Sikhs) in Pakistan. The vivisection of India, taking place as it did in the middle of heightened Hindu-Muslim violence, had rendered a smooth transition impossible. Despite the conspicuous exhibition of Hindu-Muslim unity during the RIN mutiny and the INA trials (see previous lesson), the polity now resembled a volcano. Communal riots had become normal in many parts of India, and were most pronounced in the Punjab and Bengal.

Minorities on both sides of the divide lived in fear and insecurity even as the two nations were born. That Gandhi, who led the struggle for freedom from the front and whom the colonial

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rulers found impossible to ignore, stayed far away from New Delhi and observed a fast on August 15, 1947, was symbolic. The partition brought about a system in place where the minorities on either side were beginning to think of relocating to the other side due to fear and insecurity.

As violence spread, police remained mute spectators. This triggered more migration of the minorities from both nations. In the four months between August and November 1947, as many as four-and-a-half million people left West Pakistan to India, reaching towns in East Punjab or Delhi. Meanwhile, five-and-a-half million Muslims left their homes in India (East Punjab, United Provinces and Delhi) to live in Pakistan. A large number of those who left their homes on either side of the newly marked border thought they would return after things normalized; but that was not to be. Similar migration happened between either sides of the new border in Bengal too.

Historian Gyanendra Pandey records 500,000 non-Muslim (Hindus and Sikhs) refugees flowing into the Punjab and Delhi in 1947-48. Pandey also records that several thousand Muslims were forced out of their homes in Delhi and nearby places by violent mobs to seek asylum in camps set up around the Red Fort and the PuranaQuila. Refugee camps were set up but they had hardly any sanitation and water supply.□□

In both countries property left behind by the fleeing families were up for grabs. The long line of refugees walking crossing the borders was called 'kafila'. The refugees on the march were targets for gangs belonging to the 'other' community to wreak vengeance. Trains from either side of the new border in the Punjab were targeted by killer mobs and many of those reached their destination with piles of dead bodies. The violence was of such a scale that those killed the numbers of remains mere estimates. The number ranges between 200,000 to 500,000 people dead and 15 million people displaced.

Even as late as in April 1950, the political leadership of the two nations wished and hoped to restore normality and the return of those who left their homes on either side. On April 8, 1950, Nehru and Liqueate Ali Khan signed the Delhi pact, with a view to restoring confidence among the minorities on both sides. This, however, failed to change the ground reality. Even while the pact

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was signed the Government of India was also working on measures to rehabilitate those who had left West Punjab to the East and to Delhi and render them vocational skills and training. The wounds caused by the partition violence hardly healed even after decades. Scores of literary works stand testimony to the trauma of partition.

The partition posed a bigger challenge before Nehru and the Constituent Assembly, now engaged with drafting the founding and the fundamental law of the nation: to draft a constitution that is secular, democratic and republican as against Pakistan's decision to become an Islamic Republic.

Constitutional Development (1858 – 1947)

The history of constitutional development in India begins from the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773. The Pitt's India Act of 1784 and the successive Charter Acts from 1793 to 1853 form part of the constitutional changes under the East India Company's rule. The Revolt of 1857 brought about important changes in the British administration in India. The rule of the East India Company came to an end. The administration of India came under the direct control of the British Crown. These changes were announced in the Government of India Act of 1858. The 'Proclamation of Queen Victoria' assured the Indians a benevolent administration. Thereafter, important development had taken place in constitutional history of India as a result of the Indian National Movement.

Government of India Act of 1858

The Government of India Act of 1858 was passed by the Parliament of England and received royal assent on 2nd August 1858. Following are the main provisions of the Act:

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- East India Company's rule came to an end and the Indian administration came under the direct control of the Crown.
- In England, the Court of Directors and Board of Control were abolished. In their place came the Secretary of State for India and India Council were established. The Secretary of State would be a member of the British cabinet. Sir Charles Wood was made the first Secretary of State for India. India Council consisting of 15 members would assist him.
- The Governor General of India was also made the Viceroy of India. The first Viceroy of India was Lord Canning.
- All the previous treaties were accepted and honoured by the Act.

Queen Victoria's Proclamation

On 1 November 1858 the Proclamation of Queen Victoria was announced by Lord Canning at Allahabad. This royal Proclamation was translated into Indian languages and publicly read in many important places. It announced the end of Company's rule in India and the Queen's assumption of the Government of India. It endorsed the treaty made by the Company with Indian princes and promised to respect their rights, dignity and honour. It assured the Indian people equal and impartial protection of law and freedom of religion and social practices. The Proclamation of Queen Victoria gave a practical shape to the Act of 1858.

Indian Councils Act of 1861

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 increased the number of members in the Governor-General's executive Council from 4 to 5. Further the Governor-General's Executive Council was enlarged into a Central Legislative Council. Six to twelve "additional members" were to be nominated by the Governor-General. Not less than half of these members were to be non-officials. Thus a provision was made for the inclusion of Indians in the Legislative Council. The functions of these members were strictly limited to making legislation and they were forbidden from interfering in the matters of the Executive Council. They did not possess powers of administration and finance.

Legislative Councils were also established in the provinces. The number of additional members in the provinces was fixed between four to eight. So, this Act was an important constitutional development and the people of India came to be involved in the law making process. The mechanism of Indian legislation developed slowly and reinforced further by the Acts of 1892 and 1909.

Indian Councils Act of 1892

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was the first achievement of the Indian National Congress. It had increased the number of "additional members" in the Central Legislative Council. They were to be not less than 10 and not more than 16. It had also increased the proportion of non-officials – 6 officials and 10 non-officials. The members were allowed to discuss the budget and criticize the financial policy of the government. In the provinces also the number of additional members was increased with additional powers.

Minto- Morley Reforms of 1909

The Indian Councils Act of 1909 was also known as Minto- Morley Reforms in the names of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India.

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Both were responsible for the passing of this Act. It was passed to win the support of the Moderates in the Congress. The important provisions of this Act were:

- The number of “additional members” of the Central Legislative Council was increased to a maximum of 60. Elected members were to be 27 and among the remaining 33 nominated members not more than 28 were to be officials.
- The principle of election to the councils was legally recognized. But communal representation was for the first time introduced in the interests of Muslims. Separate electorates were provided for the Muslims.
- The number of members in provincial legislative councils of major provinces was raised to 50.
- The Councils were given right to discuss and pass resolutions on the Budget and on all matters of public interest. However, the Governor-General had the power to disallow discussion on the budget.
- An Indian member was appointed for the first time to the Governor-General’s Executive Council. Sir S. P. Sinha was- the first Indian to be appointed thus.
- In Bombay and Madras, the number of members of the Executive Councils was raised from 2 to 4. The practice of appointing Indians to these Councils began.
- Two Indians were also appointed to the India Council [in England]. The Minto- Morley reforms never desired to set up a parliamentary form of government in India. However, the Moderates welcomed the reforms as fairly liberal measures. The principle of separate electorates had ultimately led to the partition of India in 1947.

Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919

The political developments in India during the First World War such as the Home Rule Movement led to the August Declaration. On 20th August, 1917 Montague, the Secretary of State for India made a momentous declaration in the House of Commons. His declaration assured the introduction of responsible government in India in different stages. As a first measure the Government of India Act of 1919 was passed by the Parliament of England. This Act is popularly known as Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. At that time Lord Chelmsford was the Viceroy of India. The main features of the Act were:

- Diarchy was introduced in the provinces. Provincial subjects were divided into “Reserved Subjects” such as police, jails, land revenue, irrigation and forests and “Transferred Subjects” such as education, local self-government, public health, sanitation, agriculture and industries. The Reserved subjects were to be administered by the Governor and his Executive Council. The Transferred subjects by the Governor and his ministers.
- A bicameral (Two Chambers) legislature was set up at the Centre. It consisted of the Council of States and the Legislative Assembly. The total member in the Legislative Assembly was to be a maximum of 145, out of which 105 were to be elected and the remaining nominated. In the Council of States there would be a maximum of 60 members out of which 34 were elected and the remaining nominated.
- The salaries of the Secretary of State for India and his assistants were to be paid out of the British revenues. So far, they were paid out of the Indian revenues.
- A High Commissioner for India at London was appointed. The most important defect in this Act was the division of powers under the system of Diarchy in the provinces.

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The Government of India Act of 1935

The Government of India Act of 1935 was passed on the basis of the report of the Simon Commission, the outcome of the Round Table Conferences and the White Paper issued by the British Government in 1933. This Act contained many important changes over the previous Act of 1919.

Following were the salient features of this Act:

- Provision for the establishment of an All India Federation at the Centre, consisting of the Provinces of British India and the Princely States. (It did not come into existence since the Princely States refused to give their consent for the union.)
- Division of powers into three lists: Federal, Provincial and Concurrent.
- Introduction of Diarchy at the Centre. The Governor-General and his councilors administered the "Reserved subjects". The Council of Ministers was responsible for the "Transferred" subjects.
- Abolition of Diarchy and the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in the provinces. The Governor was made the head of the Provincial Executive but he was expected to run the administration on the advice of the Council of Ministers. Thus provincial government was entrusted to the elected Ministers. They were responsible to the popularly elected Legislative Assemblies.
- Provincial Legislatures of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar and Assam were made bicameral.
- Extension of the principle of Separate Electorates to Sikhs, Europeans, Indian Christians and Anglo Indians.
- Establishment of a Federal Court at Delhi with a Chief Justice and 6 judges.

The working of the provincial autonomy was not successful. The Governors were not bound to accept the advice of the ministers. In reality, the real power in the Provincial Government was with the Governor. But, despite these drawbacks in the scheme, the Congress decided to take part in the elections to the Provincial Legislatures with the consideration that it was an improvement over the previous Acts.

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In accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 elections to the Provincial Legislatures were held in February 1937. The Congress had virtually swept the polls. On 7 July 1937, after the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, assured the Congress of his cooperation, the party formed its ministries in seven provinces.

UNIT - VI
INDIAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE TIMELINE

| Year | Event |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1885 | Establishment of INC. 1st INC Session was held at Bombay (Presided over By W.C.Bonnerjee) |
| 1897 | Ramakrishna Mission founded by Swami Vivekananda |
| July, 1905 | Partition of Bengal Announced by Lord Curzon |
| 16th October 1905 | Partition of Bengal |
| 31st December 1906 | All-India Muslim League Founded at Dacca |
| 1907 | Surat Split of INC |
| 11th August 1908 | Execution of Khudiram Bose |
| 1909 | Minto-Morley Reforms (Also called Indian Councils Act 1909) |
| 1910 | Indian Press Act |
| 1911 | Cancellation of Partition of Bengal |
| April 1916 | Establishment of Home Rule by BAL Gangadhar Tilak |
| December 1916 | Lucknow Pact (agreement reached between INC & Muslim League) |
| 1917 | Champaran Satyagraha |
| 1918 | Establishment of Madras Labour Union |
| 1919 | Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms |
| 16th February 1919 | Rowlett Act Passed |
| 13th April 1919 | Jallianwala Baugh massacre |
| 1920-22 | Non-Cooperation Movement |
| 5th February 1922 | Chauri Chaura incident took place |
| Late 1922 -Early 1923 | Establishment of Swarajya Party |
| 1925 | Kakori Conspiracy |
| 1927 | Establishment of Simon Commission |
| 1928 | (1) Assassination of Saunders by Bhagat Singh. (2) Nehru Report |
| 3rd February 1928 | Simon Commission arrives in India |
| December 1929 (Lahore Session) | Purna Swaraj Declaration |
| 8th April 1929 | Bombing in Central Legislative Assembly by Bhagat Singh & Batukeshwar Dutt. |
| 18th April 1930 | Chittagong armoury raid |
| 12th March 1930 | Civil Disobedience Movement starts with Dandi March |
| 6th April 1930 | Dandi March Ends |
| 30th November 1930 | 1st Round Table Conference |
| 5th March 1931 | (1) Gandhi – Irwin Pact |
| (5th March 1931) | (2) Karachi Session of INC |
| 7th September 1931 | 2nd Round Table Conference |

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| | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1932 | (1) Poona Act |
| | (2) 3rd Round Table Conference |
| 1935 | Government of India Act |
| 22th June 1939 | All India Forward Bloc formed |
| 18-22 August 1940 | August Offer by Lord Linlithgow |
| 1942 | Quit India Movement |

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| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1942 | (1) Cripps Missi (2) Establishment of Indian Independence League. (3) Formation of Azad Hind Fauj |
| (1st September) 1945- 1946 of | Wavell Plan announced in Shimla Conference Cabinet Mission (Formulated at the initiative of Clement Attlee, PM UK) |
| June 1947 1947 | Mountbatten Plan Indian Independence Act |
| 15th August 1947 | Independence Day of India |

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UNIT VII
Indian National Congress Sessions Timeline

Indian National Congress founders:

Allan Octavian Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji and Dinshaw Edulji Wacha. Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885.

The list of Indian National Congress sessions with their Presidents are given in the table below:

| Year | Location | President | Importance |
|------|-----------|------------------------|--|
| 1885 | Bombay | W C Banerjee | 1st session attended by 72 delegates |
| 1886 | Calcutta | Dadabhai Naoroji | National Congress and National Conference |
| 1887 | Madras | Syed Badruddin Tyabji | Appeal made to Muslims to join hands with other national leaders |
| 1888 | Allahabad | George Yule | First English president |
| 1889 | Bombay | Sir William Wedderburn | – |
| 1890 | Calcutta | Feroz Shah Mehta | – |
| 1891 | Nagpur | P. Ananda Charlu | – |
| 1892 | Allahabad | W C Banerjee | – |
| 1893 | Lahore | Dadabhai Naoroji | – |
| 1894 | Madras | Alfred Webb | – |
| 1895 | Poona | Surendranath Banerjee | – |
| 1896 | Calcutta | Rahimtullah M. Sayani | National song 'Vande Mataram' sung for the first time |
| 1897 | Amravati | C. Sankara Nair | – |
| 1898 | Madras | Ananda Mohan Bose | – |
| 1899 | Lucknow | Ramesh Chandra Dutt | – |
| 1900 | Lahore | N G Chandavarkar | – |
| 1901 | Calcutta | Dinshaw E. Wacha | – |

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| | | | |
|------|-------------------|--|---|
| 1902 | Ahmedabad | Surendranath Banerjee | – |
| 1903 | Madras | Lal Mohan Gosh | – |
| 1904 | Bombay | Sir Henry Cotton | – |
| 1905 | Benares | Gopal Krishna Gokhale | Expressed resentment against the partition of Bengal |
| 1906 | Calcutta | Dadabhai Naoroji | – |
| 1907 | Surat | Rash Behari Gosh | Party splits into extremists and moderates |
| 1908 | Madras | Rash Behari Gosh | Previous session continued |
| 1909 | Lahore | Madan Mohan Malaviya | Indian Councils Act, 1909 |
| 1910 | Allahabad | Sir William Wedderburn | – |
| 1911 | Calcutta | Bashan Narayan Dar | ‘Jana Gana Mana’ sung for the first time |
| 1912 | Bank pore (Patna) | RaghunathNarasinha Mudholkar | – |
| 1913 | Karachi | Syed Mohammed Bahadur | – |
| 1914 | Madras | Bhupendra Nath Basu | – |
| 1915 | Bombay | Satyendra Prasanna Sinha | – |
| 1916 | Lucknow | Ambica Charan Mazumdar | Lucknow Pact – joint session with the Muslim League |
| 1917 | Calcutta | Annie Besant | First woman president of the INC |
| 1918 | Bombay And Delhi | Syed Hassan Imam (Bombay) And Madan Mohan Malaviya (Delhi) | Two sessions were held. First in Bombay in August/September Second in Delhi in December |
| 1919 | Amritsar | Motilal Nehru | – |
| 1920 | Nagpur | C Vijayaraghavachariar | – |
| 1921 | Ahmedabad | Hakim Ajmal Khan (acting President For C R Das) | – |
| 1922 | Gaya | C R Das | – |

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| | | | |
|---------|------------|--|---|
| 1923 | Kakinada | Maulana Mohammad Ali, | – |
| 1924 | Belgaum | M K Gandhi | – |
| 1925 | Kanpur | Sarojini Naidu | First Indian woman president |
| 1926 | Guwahati | S Srinivasa Iyengar | – |
| 1927 | Madras | M A Ansari | – |
| 1928 | Calcutta | Motilal Nehru | All India Youth Congress formed |
| 1929 | Lahore | Jawaharlal Nehru | Resolution for 'Poorna Swaraj.' Civil Disobedience movement for complete independence to be launched, 26 January to be observed as 'Independence Day'. |
| 1930 | No Session | – | – |
| 1931 | Karachi | Vallabhbhai Patel | Resolution on fundamental rights and national economic progress. Gandhi-Irwin pact endorsed. Gandhi nominated to represent INC in the second round table conference |
| 1932 | Delhi | Amrit Ranchhorddas Seth | – |
| 1933 | Calcutta | Malaviya Was Elected But Mrs. Nellie Sengupta Presided | – |
| 1934 | Bombay | Rajendra Prasad | – |
| 1936 | Lucknow | Jawaharlal Nehru | – |
| 1937 | Faizpur | Jawaharlal Nehru | First session to be held in a village |
| 1938 | Haripura | Subhas Chandra Bose | National planning committee set up under Nehru |
| 1939 | Tripura | Subhas Chandra Bose | Bose was elected but had to resign since Gandhi supported Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Instead Rajendra Prasad was appointed |
| 1940 | Ramgarh | Abul Kalam Azad | – |
| 1941-45 | – | – | No session because of arrest |

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| | | | |
|------|---------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1946 | Meerut | Acharya Kripalani | Last session before independence |
| 1948 | Jaipur | Pattabhi Sitaramayya | First session after independence |
| 1950 | Nasik | Purushottam Das Tandon | – |
| 1951 | Delhi | Jawaharlal Nehru | – |
| 1953 | Hyderabad | Jawaharlal Nehru | – |
| 1954 | Kalyani | Jawaharlal Nehru | – |
| 1955 | Avadi(madras) | U. N. Dhebar | – |
| 1956 | Amritsar | U. N. Dhebar | – |
| 1958 | Gauhati | U. N. Dhebar | – |
| 1959 | Nagpur | Indira Gandhi | – |
| 1960 | Bangalore | Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy | – |
| 1961 | Bhavnagar | Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy | – |
| 1962 | Bhubaneswar | Damodaran Sanjvayya | – |
| 1963 | Patna | Damodaran Sanjvayya | – |
| 1964 | Bhubaneswar | K. Kamaraj | – |
| 1965 | Durgapur | K. Kamaraj | – |