

Assembly and the Upper House was named the Council of State. Both the Houses were to have an elected majority. The consent of both the Houses was necessary for any enactment but the financial bills had to be first put in the Lower House. The Viceroy had of course the power to over-ride any decision regarding a money bill if he was of opinion that the bill was necessary in the greater interest of the country.

The Central Government and its formation

The provincial subjects were divided into Reserved and Transferred Subjects. The Reserved Subjects were reserved by the Governors and their executive councils. For his actions regarding the Reserved Subjects, the provincial Governor would not be responsible to the Provincial Legislature—but would be to the Viceroy. The Transferred Subjects remained with the Governor and the ministers chosen by him from amongst the elected members of the Legislature. The ministers were responsible for their actions to the Legislature. The Diarchy was established in the province. The Legislative Assembly had no power over the Reserved Subjects while the provincial Governors had always the emergency power to override the opinion of the Legislative Assembly and the ministers. The Legislative Assembly was to have elected majority.

The Provincial Government and its functions

Diarchy in the provinces

The Act of 1919 created separate electorate for the Sikhs, the Anglo-Indians etc. It may be mentioned that the Act of 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms) had provided for separate electorate for the Muslim community. The Act of 1919 is no

Criticism of the Act of 1919

doubt a great step towards the realisations of the self-government. But inspite of that, it could not fulfil the aspirations of the Indian people. The act was condemned as hollow, without substance and extremely reactionary in nature. The movement for self-government did not calm down, on the contrary, it increased.

The Montague-Chelmsford Reform posed as if Government was acting according to the promise declared in 1917, but in reality, it tried to cut the root of strength of nationalism by dividing the Indian people and providing separate electorate for each of the communities. The British Government made some administrative reforms in one hand and let loose severe repression on the other. The relation between the Indian people and in British rulers became very strained and the British Government issued some highly repressive Legislation known as the Rowlatt Acts. The whole of India was reverberated with protests against the Rowlatt Acts and things took a very serious turn in the Punjab. On the 14th April, 1919 Protest Day was observed throughout India and in the Punjab, police and military opened fire on a peaceful meeting summoned to observe the Baisakhi Purnima (the Full Moon day of the first month of the year). Several hundreds of people were killed. This incident is known as the Massacre of Jallianwallabag. The barbarism of British Government at Jallianwallabag, the repressive Rowlatt Acts and the failure of the Reforms of 1919—all created widespread effects and a new chapter was opened up in the national movement.

Reform and
Repression
Simultaneously

Rowlatt Act and
the massacre at
Jallianwallabag

At this time, Mohundas Karamchand Gandhi took the

leadership in Indian politics. In South Africa he had successfully experimented with a new weapon—the weapon of non-violence. He had devised the weapon of Passive Resistance

—of meeting the enemy on moral fields. He made a great use of the national consciousness

and by associating the masses in the struggle, he increased the strength of the movements. When in 1919-20, the frustration due to the failure of the Reform, the repression of the Government and the post war weariness had created an uncertain atmosphere, the Indian

National Congress, at the instigation of Gandhiji took up the programme of Non-Co-operation. The Programme was to Non-

Violent Non-Co-operation with the British Government in every way—the members of the Legislative Assemblies would resign their seats, the lawyers were to boycott the courts and the students were to come out of the schools and colleges. Along with Non-Co-operation came the movement for the boycott of British goods and the use of Indian goods. The movement for Non-Co-operation received further strength when Gandhiji allied it with the Khilafat Movement. The Khilafat Movement was being conducted by the Indian Muslims at that time for the preservation of Khilafat of Turkey.

The wave of Non-Co-operation flooded the country. Two very eminent Indians, Barrister Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das left their profession and came to join the move-

ment. British goods were boycotted and the imported cloth from England was put to fire. The British Government adopted stringent repressive measures but the movement could not

be cowed down. In 1921, the Congress reiterated its stand on the Non-Violent Non-Co-operation and Gandhiji was authorised full power to conduct the campaign. In that year, Gandhiji was conducting 'satyagraha' in Bardouli when a mob violence broke out in a place called Chowrichera in Bihar. The infuriated mob burnt down a police station and 22 policemen were burnt to death. At this outbreak of violence, Gandhiji withdrew his movement. This withdrawal caused disappointment throughout the country. Subhas Chandra Bose stated that this withdrawal at the moment of victory was nothing short of a national calamity. These words expressed the sentiment of the whole nation.

When Gandhiji withdrew the movement, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and others formed the Swarajya Party and followed the programme of fighting the British and embarrassing them in the legislature. But C. R. Das died soon and with his death, the Swarajya Party nearly came to an end.

With the rise of Kemal Pasha in Turkey, the Khilafat had been abolished and the Khilafat Movement gradually died down. The Hindus and the Muslims had come nearer to each other for the urge of necessity. They now began to drift away from each other more and more.

Ten years after the introduction of the Reform Act of 1919, a commission was formed to investigate its effectiveness. This was the Simon Commission with Sir John Simon as the Chairman.

There was not a single Indian member in it and so, the Indians boycotted it. In 1927, the National

Withdrawal of
Non-Co-operation
Movement and
widespread
disappointment

Swarajya Party
and end of
Khilafat Movement

Simon
Commission

Congress declared Full Independence as the goal of Indian National Struggle. In 1928, a draft constitution was drawn up under the leadership of Motilal Nehru and it stated that the Dominion Status was the goal. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose and other young leaders objected

The demands and activities of the Congress

to it and declared that full independence and not the Dominion Status ought to be the goal. Gandhi proposed that if the British did not grant self-government to India within

one year, movement should be made to secure independence.

Independence Day

But the British Government showed no disposition for granting self-government to Indian people. The Congress declared

that 'Full Independence' was the goal of India. The Indian National flag was hoisted and 26th January, 1930 was celebrated as the Day of Independence.

About this time, the recommendation of the Simon Commission was published and Viceroy Lord Irwin declared

Lord Irwin's statement

that India would be allowed colonial self-government. He invited the leaders of Indian political parties to a Round Table

Conference to discuss the new constitution of India.

But the Congress launched the Civil Disobedience Movement as the British Government did not respond to

Civil Disobedience Movement

the Indian demands. Gandhiji himself went to Dandi to violate the Salt Law. Before proceeding to Dandi, Gandhiji made

appeals to the people to remain non-violent. The Government adopted highly repressive measures and thousands of Indians including Gandhiji were imprisoned.

The First Round Table Conference took place in 1929

and the Muslim League and other Indian political parties participated in it but the Congress did not take any part. Due to the non-participation of the Congress, the conference became abortive. After the failure of the First Round Table conference, Gandhiji and the Viceroy Lord Irwin came to an agreement which is known as Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The British Government withdrew its repressive measures and Gandhiji withdrew the Civil Disobedience Movement. The political prisoners were set free and Gandhi participated in the Second Round Table Conference that was convened in London in 1930. But due to the fantastic demands forwarded by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, Gandhiji could do nothing and the Second Round Table Conference bore no result.

When the Second Round Table Conference became unsuccessful, the National Congress again took recourse to movements and the British Government took extremely severe measures to suppress the movement.

Due to this measures the Congress did not take part in the Third Round Table Conference that was convened in 1932. About this time, the British Prime Minister Mr. Ramsay Macdonald tried to divide the Hindu Community into two sects—the Caste Hindus and the lower or Scheduled castes. This action of Macdonald is known as the Communal Award. In protest, Gandhiji began his historic Fast. Matters became critical but a timely conciliation was arrived at between Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the Scheduled castes. By this conciliation, it was agreed that some reservation would be made for the Scheduled

The First and
Second Round
Table Conferences

The Third
Round Table
Conference

Communal Award

castes and that they would vote jointly with the Caste Hindus. The intention to divide the Hindu Community was not successful.

Meanwhile, another round of reform in the administrative system of the Government of India had been made. This reform is known as the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Government of India Act of 1935 and its chief features

This Act is the last act of the British Government to initiate administrative changes in India and it was a big attempt too. The main features of the Government of India Act, 1935 were that it provided for the establishment of a 'Federation' of the British India and the Indian States, abolished the diarchy established by the Act of 1919, aimed at the establishment of responsible and representative Government in India and maintained and enlarged the formula of separate electorate. The most interesting feature of this Act was that the Government brought in and used the Indian princes as a check upon the ever growing movement for national-government.

Diarchy was established in the centre and the central subjects were divided into two heads 'reserved' and 'transferred'. The Reserved subjects were kept reserved by the Viceroy and his executive council and this included the defence, foreign relation, religious and tribal affairs, economic and finance, communication and transportations etc. The 'transferred subjects' were transferred to the Viceroy and the council of ministers and they would be responsible to the Central Legislature for their actions. The Viceroy was given the power to override the decisions of his ministers if he thought it necessary.

'Diarchy' was established in centre

A two chambered Legislature was established in the centre and of 260 members in the Upper House, 156 were to come from British India and 104 from the Indian States. As many of 250 members were to take their seats in the Lower House.

The formation of the Central Legislature

The British Indian members were to be elected and the members of the States were to be nominated by their rulers. Separate electorate system for different communities were to be maintained.

In the provinces, the provincial Governor became the highest influential factor. He was to form his ministry from amongst the elected members of his Legislature. He

Proposed provincial administration

was to govern in consultation with the ministry. Governor was given the power to override the decision of his ministry.

But the leader of the ministry retained some amount of power. The ministers were responsible for their action to the Legislature. Of the eleven provinces of British India, double chambered legislature was established in six and single chamber House in five. A Federal Court was set up to settle disputes between the Central and State Governments and between the State Governments themselves.

The Government of India Act 1935 could not satisfy anybody and it was criticised by all the political parties.

Criticism of the Act of 1935

Diarchy had been established in the centre though the Simon Commission had stated against it in clear terms. By bringing in the nominated members in the Central Legislature, an effort was made to keep the elected members in check.

The Civil Disobedience Movement was gradually losing

its force. About this time, the Government of India Act 1935 was put to practice. Of the eleven provinces, the Congress secured majority in seven. The League secured majority in two provinces and in the rest two, coalition between the Congress and the Muslim League was formed. Mr. Jinnah had thought that there would be coalition in all the eleven provinces. When he saw the popularity of the Congress, he was startled. Meanwhile, a severe difference of opinion had broken out in the Congress Party. In the Tripuri Session of the Congress in 1939, this difference between the right and left wing of the Congress came to a head and Subhas Chandra Bose left the Congress and formed a new political party—the Forward Bloc.

The Congress Ministries had become highly popular in the provinces. When in 1939, the Second World War broke out, the British Government without consulting the opinion of Indian people involved India in the war. The National Congress was highly dissatisfied with this. Request was made to the British Government to declare clearly the policy that it was inclined to adopt as regards the future of India. The Congress demanded that India should be declared independent immediately and her independent status be recognised as much as possible during the war. The British Government made no reply to this demand of the Congress and consequently, all the Congress Ministries resigned. Towards the first stage of the war, the condition of the British became highly precarious and the Congress proposed that India would help in the war effort of England if a national

The popularity of the Congress and the seism within it

The Second World War and the attitude of the Congress

Congress proposals were not accepted

Government would be established during the interim period. The Viceroy Lord Linlithgow could only assure that something would be done when the war ended. The Congress did not accept this.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah had been patronised by the British Government in all his demands. He now demanded that the Muslim League was to be recognised as the sole representative organisation of the Indian Muslims. In 1938, he declared that the Indian Muslims were not a community only—they were a distinct nation and he demanded separate homeland for them. He declared that the Hindus and the

Musalmans were two distinct nations and there was no similarity between the two.

Thus, the demand for Pakistan was voiced and the dream of Hindu Muslim unity was dashed to the ground.

When Japan declared war, a new phase was opened in the Second World War which had been raging hot and fierce. An immediate conciliation with India became

necessary. Sir Stafford Cripps was deputed for this purpose. The proposal which Sir Stafford brought was rejected by the Indian leaders. The Cripps' Mission became abortive.

There was a wide-spread frustration and disappointment when the Cripps' Mission failed to achieve anything. The

Congress declared that to fight Japan, the active help of Indian people was necessary and for this the transfer of power was essential. With this opinion, the Congress

adopted the "Quit India" resolutions and asked the British to quit India. The British Government replied by impris-

The Two Nations
Theory of Jinnah

Cripps' Mission

Demand of 'Quit
India' and the
movement of
August '42

oning all the leading members and the leaderless mass took recourse to violence. The situation became extremely critical. This movement is known as the August Movement, 1942.

Before this movement of August '42, Subhas Chandra Bose escaped from India and went first to Germany and then to Japan. Then, he formed the Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fouz) at Singapore with the Indian inhabitants in this part of Asia and the Indian prisoners of the War. The I. N. A. men proceeded through Burmah to enter into India and touched Indian Soil in Kohima. But with the defeat of Japan, the I. N. A. was defeated. The members of I. N. A. were tried in the Red Fort of Delhi. But they were set free when a countrywide demonstration was made over their trial.

In 1945, Lord Wavell, the viceroy of India tried to bring about a settlement of the Indian problem. But Jinnah insisted on dividing India. Because of his insistence, the Wavell Plan became unsuccessful. By this time, the Second World War had come to a close and a profound change had taken place in the attitude of Great Britain because the Conservative Government had been defeated in the election and the Labour Party had come to power. In 1945, a naval rebellion took place in India. Until now, the army had been the main support of the British Government in India. With this rebellion, the British Government realised that it was impossible to stay in India any more and they made up their minds to transfer the power. A Constituent Assembly was convened and an interim Government was established under the leadership of Pandit Jahawarlal Nehru.

The Indian
National Army

Wavell and his
attempts

Naval rebellion
and the intention
of the British to
leave India

Mr. Jinnah became afraid of the popularity of the Congress and his followers began direct action. Communal riots broke out in 1946. In 1947, Lord Mountbatten came to India as Viceroy. He tried various means to bring about a compromise but failed and he proposed the partition of India. Accordingly India was partitioned and the two sister units secured independence on 15th August, 1947. In 1950, the Indian Union adopted the Republican Constitution formulated by the Constituent Assembly and became a Republic.

Partition of India
and the
Independence

Questions

1. Discuss the background for the Reform of 1919.
2. Discuss the provisions of the Reform Act of 1919 and criticise it.

(Central and Provincial Govt.—its formation—the Diarchy ; the multiple electorate—criticism)

3. Discuss the background of the Non-Co-operation Movement. What were its policy and programme ? Why was it withdrawn.
4. Trace the courses of the political events during the twenties and thirties of the present century. Why did not the Congress participate in the First Round Table Conference ?

(The failure of the Non-Co-operation—the Simon Commission—the aim of Independence emphasised in Congress declaration—Nehru Report—Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose demanded full independence—call for self govt.—declaration of Lord Irwin—Congress launched the Civil Disobedience Movement

and as the British govt. turned a deaf ear to all the Congress demands it boycotted the First Round Table Conference.

5. Discuss the main provision of the Govt. of India Act of 1935.

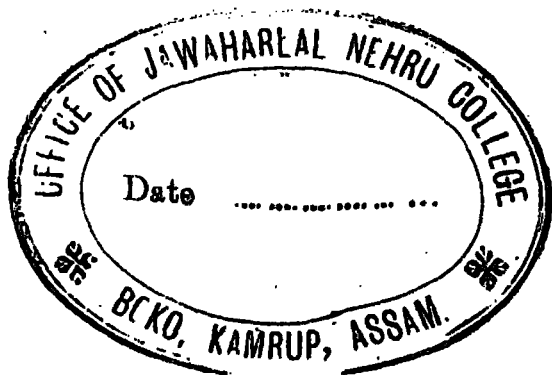
(The main features of the Act ;—Diarchy was established at the centre—the Viceroy and the Reserved Subjects—the Transferred Subjects—the formation of the Central Legislature ; the proposed provincial legislature ; the Federal Court—the Chamber of Princes—criticism).

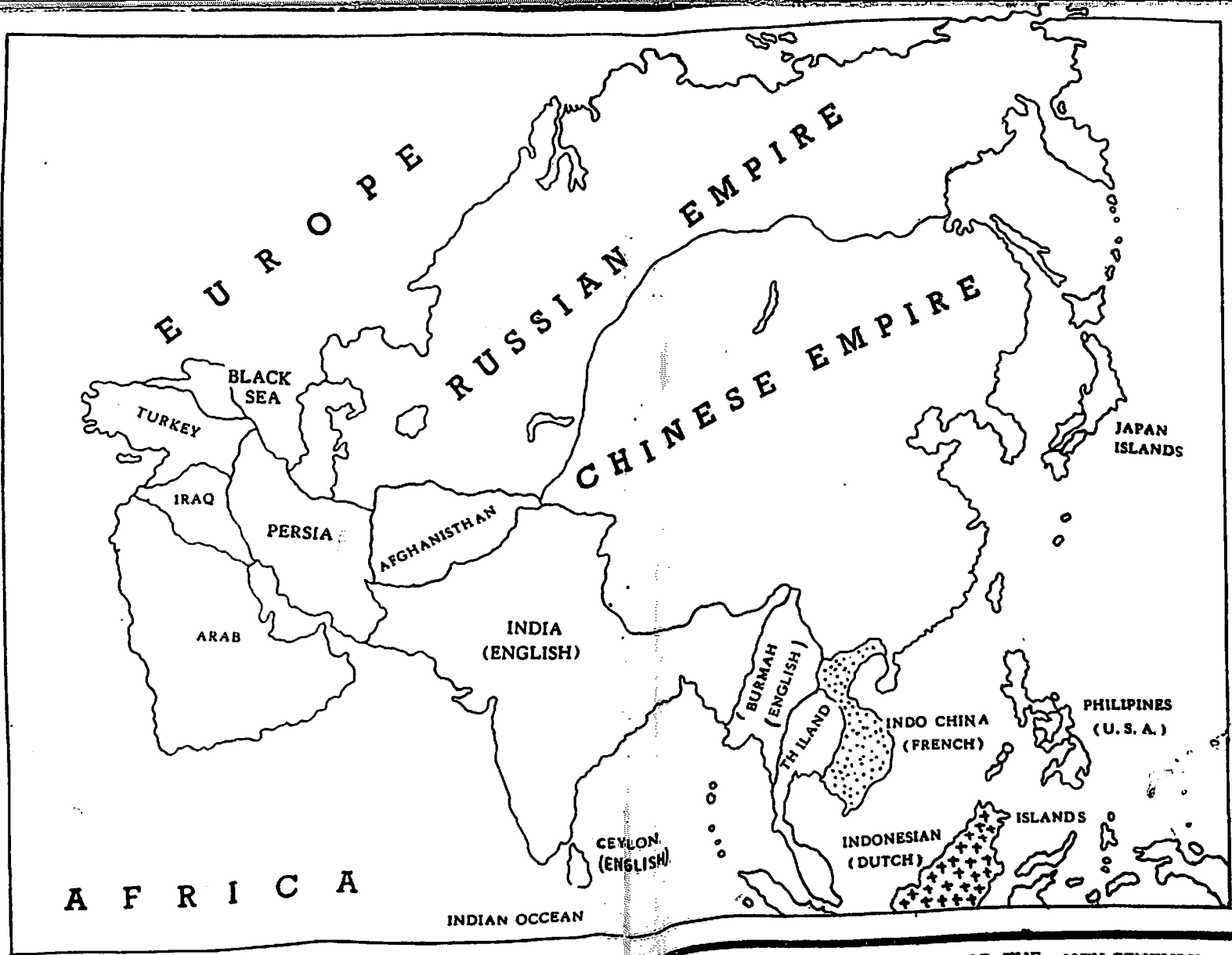
6. Discuss the courses of Indian politics from 1939 to 1947.

(The Second World War and the Congress demand—the British refusal to listen to it—the Cripps' Mission—August Movement of '42—the I.N.A.—the rebellion of the Navy—the declaration of Jinnah,—the Wavell Plan—the efforts of Mountbatten—the Partition of India—Independence).

7. Write short notes on the following :

(a) Passive Resistance ; The Chaurichera incident ; (c) the Dandi Campaign ; (d) the Simon commission ; (e) The Communal Award ; (e) The cripps' Mission ; (g) the I.N.A.





MAP OF ASIA SHOWING THE HOLD OF DIFFERENT EUROPEAN POWERS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY