CHAPTER SECOND

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

It is an admitted fact that political movements play an important role in the shaping of the literature of a country. Literature gives momentum to political activities. The influence of the writings of Rousseau and Gorki on the Great French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917 are instances in point. But literature in its turn is influenced by political movements. The works of the English romantic poets of the early 19th century reveal the influence of the great French Revolution. Political developments created similar action and reaction in Hindi Literature. The influence on Hindi poetry and fiction of the political movements of the period from 1906 to 1947 is the subject-matter of the present inquiry. In order to have a proper perspective, a short history of the political movements has to be traced from the year 1885. From the historical point of view, it has been considered appropriate to divide the period into three parts -

(i) Jagriti Kāl - From 1906 to 1919
(ii) Utthān Kāl - From 1919 to 1935
(iii) Sangharsh Kāl - From 1935 to 1947

BACKGROUND: 1885 to 1906

As the history of Western political thought practically begins with Aristotle, the history of political awakening in modern India commences with Raja Rammohan Roy. Raja Rammohan Roy along with his other political disciples

1 Majumdar S.B. - History of political thought - Vol. I - P. 1
laid the foundation for the rise of the nationalist movement in Bengal. Bankimchandra Chatterjee further developed the feelings of nationalism as a religion in his famous novel 'Anandmath' (1862) which came to be considered the Bible of Bengali patriotism. The song 'Bande Mataram' contained in the novel 'Anandmath' was Bankimchandra's stirring manifestation of the growing feelings of nationalism. He was a pioneer who preached the ideals of nationalism and patriotism. He can, therefore, be safely given a position parallel to that of Machiavelli who is considered as the prophet of nationalism in the history of Western political thought. Like the great Florentine statesman, Bankimchandra too held patriotism as the first principle of his political philosophy. Whereas Bankimchandra's nationalism was confined to Bengal only, Swami Dayanand - the founder of the Arya Samaj - had a larger vision. He considered the whole of India as his Motherland and in this way fostered the conception of Indian Nationalism. By giving the name 'Arya-Dharsa' to the Hindi language, Swami Dayanand contributed to the solidarity of the Arya Nation. So during the nineteenth century, the Indians realised, for the first time, that they were a people with a common Motherland and having a common language. Brahmo-Samaj in the East, Theosophical movement in the South and Arya Samaj in the North served as fore-runners of the National Movement. These reform movements though motivated by religion, were at the same time national.

1 Majumdar B.B. - History of political thought - Vol. I - P. 422
2 Majumdar B.B. - History of Political thought Vol. I - P. 402
They made the Indians aware of their great heritage and instilled in them the spirit of patriotism.

The Wahabi Movement, though primarily religious, was also at the same time proletarian and revolutionary. The Wahabis', as Sir William Hunter puts it, "were ana-
baptists, so to speak, touching matters of faith, communists and red republicans in politics."1 They organised the impover-
ished peasants in Bengal and led agrarian revolts in Faridpur, Naddea and the Twenty-four Parganas. Sayyed Ahmad Brelvi and Ismail Haji Maulvi Mohammed were leaders of this movement.

The main object of this movement was to eliminate the outworn customs and rites of Islam but at the same time its aim was to thwart the foreign Christian missionaries; thus giving this movement a political tinge. The leaders of the Wahabi Movement had declared English rule as 'Dar-ul-harb'; thus the seeds of the Independence movement were also sown by this religious movement.

The English had occupied India and established their Empire. So the Muslims and the Hindus, though still harbour-
ing their old religious antipathies, found a common platform against the foreign rulers. There was a nationwide hatred and religious fanaticism against the English occupation of India which burst out in the shape of the 1857 revolt, the so-called Mutiny. Though the Mutiny was crushed, yet this

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1 Gurumukh Kimal Singh - Landmarks in the Indian constitutional and national developments - Vol. I - Page 197
Quoted: Hunter - The Indian Mussalmans - PP. 106-107
can easily be considered as the turning point in the political history of India. The first and the most prominent effect of this uprising was that it paved the way for the unity of Indian masses, irrespective of their loyalties to religion and culture, against the British. It served as a motivating force to the movements of nationalism and liberalism. Armed with the knowledge of the modern world, the Indian leaders began to devise ways and means to regain the lost freedom. The object was not to organise another revolution but to strive for self-Government by constitutional means. This led to the rise of political movements, of which the National Movement started by the All India National Congress was the most vigorous.

**All India National Congress.**

In 1885 Alan Octavian Hume, a retired British Civilian, initiated the idea of bringing together the leading Indian public men to discuss social matters of the country and accordingly he wanted to form an organisation of this sort, but Lord Dufferin suggested to him that the proposed organisation should perform the functions which Her Majesty's opposition did in England. Lord Dufferin wanted the Indian politicians to meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved. Hume changed the scheme according to the wishes of Lord Dufferin and founded the All India National Congress. As Hume was not

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1 C.S. Srinivasan & Ramaswami Aiyer - *A History of India* III, p. 319
a henchman of British Imperialism, so he had a passion for liberty and wanted the Congress to serve the people of India. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay on 27th December, 1885. As many as 72 delegates from all parts of the country participated. It must be mentioned here that several British Officials also attended the meeting and took part in the deliberations thus showing their sympathy with the movement, ergo, the British fostered the Indian nationalism. The great Indian National Congress which has played the most important part in the political regeneration of India was founded in this way. Bengal in those days played a prominent role and there was in existence even in 1843 the British India Society whose aims and objects were to secure the welfare of the people of India, to extend the just rights and advance the interests of all classes of the fellow subjects. This society was amalgamated into the British India Association in the year 1851. In the year 1875, Surendranath Benerjee started the Bengal National League which was principally founded by Sisir Kumar Ghosh. About this very time was founded, in Poona, an association named 'Sarvjanik Sabha' with Mahadev Govind Ranade as its moving spirit and in Madras was functioning the 'Mahajan Sabha.' These sabhas and associations with a good number of newspapers at their back

1 C.S.Srinivasan & Rameswami Aiyer - A history of India III, P.320
2 Hirenndranath Mukherjee - India Struggles for Freedom - P. 66
were the fore-runners of the All India Congress. So the birth of the Indian National Congress at this stage was a natural and inevitable culmination of these developments. After some time two ideological currents could be seen running side by side under the surface of the All India National Congress. One current followed the constitutional method for the attainment of their goal, and the other wanted to resort to violent means for the same end in view. The former section was manned by the group in power in the All India National Congress, while the upholders of the second section, though within the Congress fold, had also supporters outside. So the former group will be subsequently mentioned as Congress group and the latter will be named as the Revolutionary group.

Congress Movements.

During the years 1885-1905 the Congress was controlled by the moderates who believed in the political theories of the nineteenth century British liberalism and their programme was chiefly concerned with the presentation of their case to the British Government in the expectations that the British Indian Administration would be reformed so as to be in accord with the theories of British liberalism. They wanted to obtain political advancement for India through reason and persuasion and not by coercion and threat. No reforms were, however, forthcoming. The pleas and petitions of the moderates were not heeded to. The history of the Congress from 1885 to 1905 may suitably be named as the period of moderate nationalism. The leaders of the Congress professed loyalty to the
British Crown. To them the main enemy was not the British rule, but India's backwardness. They admired the British, applauded British principles of Government and wanted India to emulate British virtues. These moderates with all their professions of loyalty, studied moderation and appealing, may, begging tone, did in those days a great amount of spade work in national awakening, political education and in unifying the Indians and in creating in them the conscious—ness of a common Indian Nationality].

Revolutionary Movements.

The sepoy Mutiny of 1795, the Mutiny of Vellore in 1806, the uprising of 1857 and the influence of Mazzini and Garibaldi made a group of patriots and nationalists disagree with the meagre policy of the moderates. They did not see eye to eye with the non-violent creed of the Congress. They formed secret societies for the resumption of revolutionary activities, in Maharsahtra, Bengal and some other provinces, in India and abroad. Ravindranath Thakur has also referred to a revolutionary society whose president was Bajnareyan Vasu. Vipinshahnder Pal — a great nationalist leader was the member of this secret Society. The Congress during the period (1885-1905) would not raise its voice against British Imperialism, therefore patriots like Chepkoar Brothers, Savarkar Brothers and Berindra Kumar Ghosh, who were sponsors of such societies, did not join

1 Sethi R.R. & Mahajan V.D. — British Rule in India and after, P. 322
2 Manasmatnath Gupta — Bhartiya Krantikari Andolan ka Itihas, P. 10
the Congress. The aim of these societies was to emancipate the
country from the foreign yoke. Shree Damodar Chapekar and his
brother Balkrishna formed a society named as Hindu Samrakshini
 Sabha in 1894. The revolutionary spirit which was working in the
hearts of Chapekar Brothers can well be seen from the verses read
by them on the occasion of Shivaji Utsava and Ganpati Utsava. At
Shivaji festival, while addressing the members of the sabha,
Damodar said that they should gird up their loins and take up
swords and shields in their hands for the sake of the freedom of
their country. They should be prepared to sacrifice their lives
and massacre the enemies for attaining Independence. At the
Ganpati Utsava he told those present that they must feel ashamed
of the fact that they were slaves. He went on to say that they
should prefer suicide to slavery. The name of their country was
Hindusthan and so the English had no right to rule over here.1
Saint Ramdas's preachings to the Marathas 250 years ago were
often repeated on these festivals. The dictum, 'Die for your
Dharma; kill the enemies of your Dharma. While you are dying;
in this way fight and kill and take back your kingdom,2formed
the basis for the development of revolutionary activities.
The Revolutionary Movement which originated in Maharashtra was
responsible for the dual murder of Rand and Iyerst on 22nd
June, 1897 and the murder of the two brothers on whose informa-
tion Damodar Chapekar was arrested and convicted. Outwardly

(1) कासवाच कुष्ठ - भारतीय कान्तिकारी वादोला का इतिहास - पृ. ६५-६६
(2) चाँ बांढों मरावे। नारीन्त व्यक्तियां मरावे।
भारिता वारिता भागवे। राज्ज्व बापुरे।
वारसर्व - भीं ३० - स्वाधीनता का पत्ता संग्राम - पृ. ६६
there was absolute quiet in the Deccan after 1899 but secretly preparations were going on both in Maharashtra and in London for the resumption of revolutionary activities. The leaders of the movement were Shyam-ji-Krishna Varma and the Savarkar Brothers - Ganesh and Vinayak Savarkar.(1) Shyamji Krishna Varma started in January 1905 a paper named 'Indian Sociologist'. It was an organ of freedom and of political and social reform. Through its columns he published essays on the independence of India. Mr. Savarkar in England declared the uprising of 1857 as the First War of Independence and to prove it he wrote a book on this in Marathi which was later on translated into English. This book named 'History of the First War of Independence' was considered a revolutionary work and was proscribed by the Government.

The Congress Movements - 1906-1919.

Indian Councils Act of 1892 did not satisfy the aspirations of even the moderates. Movement of Maratha revival; appearance of bubonic plague; death sentence of Chapekar brothers and deportation of Savarkar brothers; repercussions of the defeat of the Italians by the Abyssinians at the battle of Adowa in 1896 and that of Russia by Japan in 1904-1905; and above all the partition of Bengal made the Congress quit the policy of appeals and prayers. There brewed up a great discontentment among the younger men in the Congress. They were against the methods of 'Political mendicancy'. So there came into being a group which was called the 'New Party'.

It was headed by B. G. Tilak in Maharashtra; Arubindo Ghosh and Vipanchandra Pal in Bengal and L. Lajpat Rai in the Punjab. This group of the Congress moved towards extremism. They had lost faith in the integrity and sense of justice of the British. They were of the opinion that it was impossible to gain any concessions by petitions and prayers. So they chalked out their own programme of direct action.

The Anti-partition Movement.

In 1905 the extremists presented the nation with a three-fold programme for effective practical political action. This programme was, Boycott, Swadeshi and National Education. Swaraj was the watchword of the extremists. Originally this three-fold programme was designed for use in the province of Bengal as the most effective way to bring the English bureaucracy to their senses over the issue of partition but later it was spread in the whole of the sub-continent of India.

The Boycott Movement.

The Boycott Movement started on the 7th August, 1905 was in the first instance, designed to constrain people from buying British manufactured goods. It was started with a view to bring economic pressure on the British businessmen both in India and abroad. But soon it developed into a political movement. The extremists realised that the whole machinery of the British Indian administration was based upon the co-operation extended by the Indian people. B. G. Tilak was one of the first to realise this, and he felt that the Boycott Movement could be used to jeopardise the foundation of the British administrative machinery in India. In a speech
at Poona, as early as 1902, he urged, "It is you who manage the railroad and the telegraph, it is you who make settlements and collect revenues, it is in fact you who do everything for the administration though in a subordinate capacity. You must consider whether you cannot turn your hand to better use for your nation than drudging on in this fashion." (1) Thus the Boycott Movement which was meant for bringing economic pressure to the British business community in the beginning became a political weapon. It moved from the economic into the political sphere. Therefore, in addition to the boycott of British manufactured goods, boycott of Government service was also preached. It was also preached that the machinery of an autonomous popular administration be set up and that it should be parallel to the Government. It moved from the province of Bengal to the whole of the country. Boycott as an all India political weapon was the first principle of the programme of the Nationalist leaders. It foreshadowed non-co-operation and gave birth to the idea of Swaraj or self-rule.

The Swadeshi Movement.

The Nation was fettered in the chains of foreign made goods, foreign language, foreign dress, foreign methods of administration and even foreign ideas. As a protest against it, the Swadeshi Movement was started in 1906, which was the positive aspect of the Boycott Movement, and a natural corollary of the same. If the people were not to buy foreign goods, they had to buy indigenous ones. That meant self-help - the use of Indian-made goods rather than the purchase of Birmingham and Manchester manufactured things. The emphasis

(1) Theodore L. Shab - Legacy of Lokmanya - P. 87
in the Swadeshi Movement was against the foreign cloth and this encouraged the use of home spun cloth. Beginning in Bengal, bonfires of European clothing lit the night sky, and the people turned to local production of swadeshi goods. This was the first encouragement to the industrial development in India. Local Indian production was thus given a great impetus. Like the Boycott Movement, the Swadeshi Movement also took far more significant aspect than merely economic self-sufficiency. Swadeshi was a tangible way in which new spirit, which the nationalists wanted to inculcate in their countrymen, could be exhibited. As Tilak explained, "The object of this movement is to bring about the spread of swadeshi (i.e. country made) things visible and foreign things invisible and to bring about the gradual disappearance of foreign ideas also. Like the bodies our minds also should become swadeshi .... ..... Swadeshi thoughts should always reign in our hearts". (1) By Swadeshi Movement, the nationalists taught their countrymen to be self-sufficient, and self-dependent or independent in all things. It was really the spirit of Independence for which the Indians fought at a later stage. Swadeshi Movement was a practical application of love of the country. As Tilak said "To recognize the land of the Aryas as mother-earth is the Swadeshi Movement". (2)

National Education.

National Education was also a part and parcel of the Swadeshi Movement. The Congress resolved to start national

(1) Theodore L. Shay - Legacy of Lokmanya - P.96
(2) Theodore L. Shay - Legacy of Lokmanya - P.96
Quoted from Gleanings from Tilak’s Writings and speeches. - P.322
educational institutions throughout the country. The most important of these national institutions was a College started at Calcutta, with Aurobindo Ghosh as its Principal. The main aim of these institutions was to impart national education to boys and girls and organise a system of education, literary, scientific and technical suited to the requirements of the country on national lines and under national control.

The impetus behind these movements was initially a reaction to the British partitioning of Bengal, but they soon developed an all India momentum. The primary aim of these movements was to cause the Government to reunify Bengal, but it soon became a programme for national reawakening and national liberation - Swaraj. Thus, an economic programme became a political programme. A programme beginning in one province became a country-wide issue.

**Home Rule Movement.**

The Theosophical Society founded at Adyar near Madras in 1886 by Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott, played an important role in social and public life in Southern India. Mrs. Annie Besant, an Irish Lady joined the society in India in 1893 and became its President in 1907, which office she continued to hold till her death in 1933. Through her religious and educational work she managed to gather round herself a large following, which was of great value and strength to her when in 1914, she took an active part in politics and joined the Congress. Within the Congress she started an organisation which later demanded immediate Home Rule. The Home Rule Movement in India came into existence as a repercussion of the Irish Home Rule League. But before starting the Home Rule
League, Mrs. Besant offered to give the Congress a chance to start the same work by a certain date. The Congress having failed to take the initiative during the stipulated period, the Home Rule League in Madras was founded by Mrs. Besant in September 1916. It carried its propaganda through "New India", a daily, and the "Commonwealth", a weekly. The League became so popular that very shortly its branches were established all over the country. A little earlier, at Poona, Baptista and Lokmanya Tilak had established their separate Home Rule League in April 1916. It carried its propaganda through "Kesari" and "Maharatta". These leagues desired to capture the Congress and they were successful. In December 1916 at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, a compromise was effected between the two wings of the Congress. A further compromise was effected between the Congress and the All India Muslim League. The upshot of the rapprochement was that the Congress and the Muslim League put forward the same demand for self-government and agreed about the representation to be given to Muslims in the legislatures under the reformed constitution, on the basis of separate electorates.

After the Lucknow Congress, an intensive campaign was started by Lokmanya Tilak, Mrs. Annie Besant and M.A. Jinnah for demanding Home Rule for India. The publication of the unsatisfactory report of the Public Service Commission in 1917, accentuated the feelings of discontent and thus strengthened the demand for Home Rule. The internment of Mrs. Besant, G. S. Arundale and Mr. B. P. Wadia made the Home Rule League more popular and the nation planned a campaign of Passive Resistance in order to secure the release of the Home Rule
internees. In the All India National Congress of 1917, Mrs. Besant became President with the support of both parties. That was, however, the last Congress attended by the moderates, for, the next year they broke away and formed a separate organisation of their own, called the All India Liberal Federation.

SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENTS.

The Champaran Satyagraha.

In the year 1917, when Mrs. Besant's movement was at its height, Gandhi hit upon the idea of introducing in India the Satyagraha Movement which he had already tried with success in South Africa. He chose Champaran for this experiment. Champaran is a district in the North-Western corner of Bihar. European indigo planters had taken large tracts of land from zamindars particularly the Maharaja of Bettiah and they were planting indigo through Indian tenants on very lucrative terms. The tenants were given a very unjust deal. These tenants approached Mahatma Gandhi who was successful in getting their grievances redressed by his Satyagraha in 1917.

The Kaira Satyagraha.

Equal in importance was the Kaira (Gujrat) Satyagraha in 1918. Owing to the excess of rains in 1917 in Gujrat, crops in the district of Kaira (Kheda) had fallen much below normal and the peasants wanted the suspension of the assessment. When all petitions and prayers failed, Mahatmaji advised the pettiders to resort to satyagraha. The satyagraha was started on the 28th March, 1918 and was successful. This campaign laid the foundation of an awakening among the peasants.

A country-wide campaign of satyagraha was threatened by Mahatma Gandhi in case the Rowlett Bills were passed into
Acts. This Satyagraha Movement was to be inaugurated with a
fast, and 30th March, 1919 was fixed as the day of fasts, hartals
and prayers. Later on the date was changed to 6th April but as
the change was not notified in Delhi in time, processions and
hartals were held in Delhi and as a result there was firing on
peaceful processions. In the procession of the second day,
Swami Shraddhanand bared his chest for the bullet of the English
soldiers and thus paralysed their threat. The demonstrations
on the 6th April were held on a country-wide scale. Hindus and
Muslims joined hands at this time. The Congress session was to
be held in Amritsar (Punjab) that year while Sir Michael
O'Dwyer did not like the Congress to meet in the Punjab. The
local organisers of the Congress session, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu
and Dr. Satya Pal, were sent for by the District Magistrate of
Amritsar and whisked away to some unknown place. The news
spread rapidly and a large crowd wanted to go to the District
Magistrate to ask him about the whereabouts of their leaders.
The crowd was not allowed to go and was fired upon. There was
brick-beating from the crowd too. The mob then turned towards
the city in a procession carrying their wounded with them.
This mob violence was responsible for the deaths of five
Englishmen and destruction by fire of the National Bank
Building and the railway goods-shed. On this the civil
authorities made over the city to the military. There were
similar outbreaks of violence in other parts of the province
i.e. Kasur and Gujranwala. On the invitation of the Punjab
leaders, Mahatma Gandhi started for Punjab on the 8th April
but he was not allowed to enter the province and was turned
back from a way-side railway station, Palwal, by a special train
to Bombay. There were again disturbances in Ahmedabad, Virangam, Nadiad and Calcutta. On account of these disturbances, Mahatma Gandhi suspended the Satyagraha. In the meantime on the 13th April there occurred in Amritsar the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh holocaust which sent a wave of horror and indignation throughout the country.

Revolutionary Movement - 1906-1919.

Bengal had been the centre of the revolutionary activities in India. Barinder Kumar Ghosh and Bhupendra Nath Dutta started the revolutionary propaganda through "Yugantar" and "Sandhya". In an article headed 'Age of Gita again in India' Barinder Kumar Ghosh expounded his revolutionary gospel, Lord Krishna had said in Gita that whenever there is a decline of righteousness and unrighteousness is in the ascendant, there shall be a reincarnation of God to rescue the good, to destroy the wrong-doer and to establish righteousness. At the present time righteousness is declining and unrighteousness is springing up in India. "A handful of alien robbers is ruining the crores of the people of India by robbing the wealth of their country. Through the hard grinding of their servitude, the ribs of countless people are being broken to pieces .......... Fear not, O Indians, God will not remain inactive .......... He

(1) यत्र यदा हि कृष्ण गुरुगौरस्ति मारत ।
शमुबन्धनवधीति तथा स्वरूपा हर्षायम ।
परिश्रमाय गाढूल विनाशाय च दुःखान
वर्धि दुःखास्तादानि सम्प्रभामि युगे युगे ।
कामकाृति - अम्बाण बूढ़ा -
Other provinces were also greatly affected by the Revolutionary Movement. Banaras in the United Province (Now Uttar Pradesh) was a big centre. Rash Behari himself went to Banaras in 1914 and took up the work. Shashindra and Nagendra Nath Datt alias Girja Babu were the main figures of the Banaras group. Here too the secret was leaked out to the Government, and Vibhuti became an approver in the so-called Banaras conspiracy case. Shashindra Babu was arrested and sentenced to transportation for life. Like Vibhuti, Naren Gosain became an approver in the Alipur conspiracy case. Two revolutionaries Kanailal and Satindra Chaki killed Naren in the jail for this treachery. Both of them were sentenced to be hanged on November 10, 1908 for this murder. On February 10, 1909 the Government advocate who was pleading from the Government side in the Alipur conspiracy case was murdered and on February 24, 1910 - a deputy superintendent of police who was looking after the case was shot dead when he was coming out of the court.

Gaindalal was the leader of the Mainpuri conspiracy case. He ran away from the jail. After passing through Kotah and Agra he reached Delhi in the most dejected and untoward circumstances. He developed T.B. and so died there in the most pitiable condition.

COMMUNALISM IN INDIAN POLITICS.

The term 'Communalism' in Indian politics is generally used to refer to any party, the aims and objects of which are to safeguard the interests of a particular community. This term is frequently used to describe organisations representing the cause of Muslims or the Hindus. The Muslim League had always been looking after the vested interests of Muslims, and the Hindu
Mahasabha had been safeguarding the vested interests of the entire Hindu community. So the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha had been the two main communal organisations.

In India religion and politics are apt to be mixed up. Every political question was weighed in the scales of communal balance. The Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, though communal bodies, had been taking active part in the Indian politics, even if they did not in reality represent the political mind of India. Politeo-religious organisations were the result of the deliberate application by the British Government of the 'divide and rule policy'. Somehow these parties played a considerable part in the politics of the country and have on this account been considered here as political parties though of course not in the real sense of the word.

**Muslim Communalism**

The Congress, established in 1885, was the biggest national organisation. Men from all communities had joined it. The English at that time apprehended that the Congress was bound to become very soon an effective anti-government organisation and, therefore, tried to win over the Muslims to their side. Principal Beck of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh and Sir Bampfylde Fuller, played a very important role in this respect. Principal Beck convinced Sir Sayyad Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) that while an Anglo-Muslim alliance would ameliorate the condition of the Muslim community, an alignment with the nationalists would lead them to sweat, toil and tears. He was further led to
Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, once a colleague of Sir Sayyad, became his successor after his death in 1898. He with the help of His Highness the Aga Khan, founded in December 1906, the All India Muslim League at Lucknow. Its constitution was framed in December 1907 at Karachi and was ratified in March 1908. The aims and objects of the League as then laid down were the promotion of loyalty to British Government, the protection of political and other rights of Indian Muslims and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government in temperate language and to promote inter-communal unity without prejudice to the other objects of the League. 1

**Congress-League Cordiality**

The All India Muslim League for the first two or three years remained very loyal to British Government but as time passed on, it assumed a more independent attitude and began to issue threats of disloyalty, if its demands were not granted. In this way, it drifted close to the Congress.

During the Congress session in 1910, an attempt was made to make the relations of Muslim League and Congress cordial, in which Hindu and Muslim leaders like Surnandranath Bannerji, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Hasan Imam and Mohammad Ali participated.

Mohammad Ali started his 'Comrade' in Delhi and, through it, he began to attack the League.

The Muslim League leaders were not at all consulted at the time of cancellation of the partition of Bengal. They
began to feel that they were being betrayed by the British.

The last but not the least cause of Muslims anti-British feeling was the treatment of Turkey by the European powers. The Balkan wars (1912-1913) weakened the power of Turkey in Europe. It appeared as if there was a kind of crusade against the Muslims in Europe. Turkey was considered to be the symbol of Islamic greatness and the Sultan of Turkey who was also the Caliph as the head of Islam. So naturally the Indian Muslims became bitter as the British Government did nothing to save Turkey.

Certain Muslim leaders also played an important role in the 1913 session of the Muslim League at Lucknow. They were successful in bringing a radical change in the constitution of the Muslim League. They decided to include in its creed, "The attainment of self-government for India along with other communities." H.H. Sir Agha Khan was forced to resign from the presidency of the Muslim League. The Congress of the year 1913, sent a message to the Muslim League in warm appreciation of this change. The League, during the next three years, came nearer and nearer the Congress, so much so that in 1916, both organisations held their sessions at Lucknow and came to mutual agreement by means of what is known as the Lucknow Pact and adumbrated a joint scheme of reforms known as the Congress-League scheme, for submission to the British Government for acceptance.
Khilafat Movement

Agitated over the Khilafat problem, the Muslims of India held a Khilafat conference in Delhi in November 1919, in order to devise ways and means to save Khilafat. Mahatma Gandhi espoused this cause with his usual sincerity and vehemence. He thought that by his espousing of the Khilafat cause, the Hindu-Muslim unity would advance a step further. The Ali brothers were the redoubtable leaders of this movement. On June 22, 1920 the Muslims sent a message to the Viceroy that they would start non-cooperation if Turkish grievances were not redressed before 1st August. On 1st July Mahatma Gandhi sent to the Viceroy another ultimatum on behalf of Muslims and Hindus and when on August 31, 1920 the programme of non-cooperation was launched symbolically by the Khilafatists, Gandhiji was the first to return his Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal. The coming into prominence of the Khilafat Movement was a setback to the Muslim League. Muslim League lost all its vitality. But this new movement though very popular could not last for a long time, because the Treaty of Lausanne gave Turkey terms of peace and the abolition of the Khilafat by Ghazi Kemal Pasha, later on known as the Ata Turk (Father of New Turkey), gave the movement its quietus.

Non-Cooperation Movement - 1920-22

By 1920 the Congress had changed over from a constitutional body with a mendicant's policy into a self-respecting, self-reliant revolutionary body - pledged to
attain Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. Whatever the inter-communal or inter-party differences, all Indians were united on one point — that India should get Swaraj as soon as possible. It was in such an atmosphere that Mahatma Gandhi preached the gospel of non-cooperation. The movement in its initial stages was the product of a sort of religious mentality. In dealing with the Khilafat question and the question of making amends for the excesses committed in Jallianwala Bagh and in other places in the Punjab during the Martial Law regime, the Government was charged with having conducted itself in an unjust and immoral manner. The handling of Akali question and Morcha of Guru-ka-Bagh and Bhai Phere was also not less unfortunate. So Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were unsatisfied with the foreign Government and did not like to extend co-operation. Non-cooperation originating in a religious atmosphere was necessarily to be non-violent. Violence and religion could not go together. Non-violence in thought, word and deed was an important part of the Non-cooperation Movement.

In August 1920, Mahatma Gandhi started the movement. Its programme was progressive and was worked up gradually. It started with the giving up of Government titles and boycott of Government aided schools, boycott of Government courts and the establishment of panchayats, boycott of Legislatures, boycott of Government services, boycott of foreign cloth and was to lead to mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes.
The first part of the programme comprising of six sided boycott was to bring moral pressure on the Government, while the second phase of the programme namely social uplift of the masses and organising them into a force, was meant to deliver a knock-out blow at the head of the system of the Government. This social uplift and political power, programme comprised of Hindu-Muslim unity, uplift of the depressed classes, the boycott of drink, and organisation of the country under the Congress flag.

At the end of December 1921, the Indian National Congress held its annual session at Ahmedabad. Mahatmaji was appointed the dictator and formally put in charge of the No-Tax Campaign which was to be launched in the Bardoli Taluka. Hardly was the campaign of civil disobedience started when Mahatma Gandhi had to suspend the Non-cooperation Movement in 1922 as the tragedy of Chauri-Chaura took place on 12th February 1922 in a small town in the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh. A mob killed 21 policemen and one inspector in the police-station. This was too much for the non-violent creed of Mahatma Gandhi. He was convinced that his non-violent movement had not been properly understood by the people. He, therefore, suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement. Lord Reading took advantage of Gandhi's new move. He arrested Mahatma Gandhi. With the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, the Non-cooperation Movement came to a standstill. Whatever little enthusiasm was left in the mind of the non-cooperators, was further
damped by the Hindu Muslim riots that occurred in various parts of the country. Multan, Malabar, Kohat, Amritsar, Lahore, Nagpur, all witnessed serious communal rioting accompanied by loot, arson and murder.

**Non-Cooperation Movement - 1930-32**

The second phase of the Non-cooperation Movement was started in 1930. Mahatma Gandhi was to give lead to it. He started this movement with the Salt Satyagraha and confined it to those few people who were thoroughly trained and who unhesitatingly believed in non-violence not merely as a policy but as a creed. Mahatma Gandhi reached Dandi (Surat) on the 5th of April, 1930 and committed breach of law by gathering salt from the sea. On April 6th, he issued instructions for the breaking of the salt laws all over the country. As a consequence, about five million people took part in this Salt Satyagraha in about five thousand meetings.

The programme of the second phase of this movement was:

1. the boycott of British goods, especially British cloth;
2. the boycott of liquor; and
3. the non-payment of land revenue.

Of these the land revenue was affected substantially only in Gujrat. The boycott of liquor produced good results. The item that was most successful was the boycott of British goods especially British cloth. From more than sixty crores of rupees, the import of British cloth dwindled down to about twenty crores in 1930 and much of it had been ordered before
the Non-cooperation Movement was started. No-tax Campaign was also a great success. Many families participated in Karnataka. Non-payment of chowkidara tax was organised in Champaran, Saran, Muzafferpur, Monghyr, Patna and Shahabad districts. Mahatma Gandhi suspended this movement in 1933 after settlement with the Government.

**Revolutionary Movement - 1920-25**

By 1920 Revolutionary Movement had spread nearly in the whole of the country. The Babbar Akali Movement of Punjab, though a peasant movement, was revolutionary in spirit. Kishan Singh Gargajj of Jullundur having been influenced by the incident at Nankana Sahib on 20th February, 1921, founded a secret society. Karam Singh and Udai Singh were also his helpers. The name of this secret society was Chakravarty Dal. Akali Dal and Chakravarty Dal joined hands and the new party was named as Babbar Akali Dal, which was a revolutionary party and they killed Dewan of Hayatpur on 14th February, 1923 and Hazara Singh of Baibalpur on 27th March, 1923 as they had become approvers. In addition to members of this party there were others who were arrested in August, 1930 in connection with the second Lahore conspiracy case. Jahangir Lal, Rup Chand, Kundan Lal and Indrapal were among those who were arrested and Chandrasekhar, Yashpal, Bhab, Deedi and Hans Raj fled away. Bhagat Singh, threw bomb in the Assembly and offered himself for arrest. He, along with Sukhdev and Rajguru, was hanged on 23rd March, 1932.
The Revolutionary party in Uttar Pradesh was also doing great work. Due to lack of funds which they required for purchase of arms, they were compelled to commit dacoities. In the first instance they committed robbery in the villages but the results were not satisfactory. So they planned to rob the Government treasury. A group of ten volunteers i.e. Ramprasad Bismal, Rajinder Lahiri, Chandrashekhra Azad, Roshan Singh, Ashfaqullah, Shachindranath Bakshi, Mukandilal, Keshav, Nanmathnath Gupta and Banwari Lal, travelled by the train carrying money bags and stopped it by pulling the chain at a flag station Kakori near Lucknow. They broke open the steel safe and ran away with the money which was used for making payment for arms received from abroad. Banwari Lal was arrested and became approver. Rajindra Lahiri, Ramprasad Bismal, Roshan Singh and Ashfaqullah were also arrested in this case and hanged. Shachindranath Bakshi, Mukandilal, Keshav and Gupta were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Chandrashekhar Azad was shot in an encounter at Allahabad. D.S.P. Bannerjee was considered responsible for getting the Kakori revolutionaries hanged. Mahindranath Bannerjee on 13th January, 1928, shot D.S.P. Bannerjee during daylight at Gadaulia Bazar, Banaras with the words, 'Here is the prize for hanging Rajindra Lahiri'. The D.S.P. escaped. Mahendra was arrested and got ten years' imprisonment but he became a martyr on 20th June, 1934 following a hunger strike.

Laxmi Kant Shukla was arrested on 8th August, 1930 near the bungalow of Flowers, Commissioner of Jhansi. He had
come there with a bomb for an attempt to kill Fulators as
the latter had been maltreating the satyagrahi ladies.

On 25th August, 1930 Anuj Singh Gupta and Dinesh
Majumdar threw two bombs on the carriage of Sir Charles
Taigart when he was going to office. Gopi Mohan Saha had
earlier tried to kill tyrant Taigart but shot 'Dey' dead as
Saha had mistaken 'Dey' for Charles Taigart. Gopi Mohan
was afterwards hanged. In 1930, the members of these
revolutionary groups formed Marxist left groups inside the
Congress.

Muslim Communism and revival of Muslim League

Thinking that Khilafat Movement had outlived its
usefulness, Jinnah, in 1924, revived the Muslim League.

The establishment of Hindu Maha Sabha gave a stimulus
for the revival of Muslim League. Movements were set on foot
by both Hindu Maha Sabha and Muslim League for the reconver-
sion of classes who were said to have lapsed to the other
faith. Suspicion and bitterness between the two communities
were the inevitable result and in the excitement of religious
festivals, communal riots in all parts of the country became
a frequent occurrence. But there came again a split among
the leaders of the Muslim League on the question whether the
League should or should not co-operate with the all-white
Simon Commission. This split became wider and wider and as
a result there came into existence another organisation called
the All Parties Muslim Conference.
This Conference was organised on the publication of the Nehru Report and was meant to give expression to the Muslim feelings against the provision of joint electorates in that report. Although the Jinnah party of the Muslim League did not co-operate with this new organisation, all the other prominent leaders of the community supported it. The Conference rejected the Nehru Report. There was difference of opinion with regard to the goal of Indian aspiration and co-operation with the Simon Commission. The Ali brothers were for 'Independence' as against 'Dominion Status' and for 'Boycott' as against 'Co-operation' with the Simon Commission. Sir Mohammad Shafi's party was of the other view. But H.H. Sir Aga Khan who presided, saved the situation just as Dadabhai Naoroji had done in the Calcutta Congress in 1906. On the advice of the Conference, the Muslims participated in the Round Table Conference. It formulated what are generally known as the 14 points of Jinnah and succeeded in getting most of them included in the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, in the Communal Award, in the White Paper, in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report and in the Government of India Act. Its members also took part in the Conference designed to effect unity among Hindus and Muslims but without any result. In the meanwhile the Muslims Nationalist Party came into being but it was so poor in number and so weak in influence that its voice remained unheard. During the year 1934, 1935 and 1936 many parties cropped up among the Musalmans but soon all were brought on
one platform - the Muslim League. The Muslim League had no constructive programme of its own and the only way it could become strong was by denouncing the Congress. It was a reactionary body and was controlled by the Muslim princes, landlords, industrialists and others who were the stooges of the British Government. They had demanded and got separate electorates and statutory safeguards. The next logical step was the demand for a separate state, which afterwards they demanded.¹

Hindu Communalism and Rashtriya Swayamsevaka Sangha

The Rashtriya Swayamsevaka Sangha was started in Nagpur by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, an Andhra Brahman who had settled in Maharashtra. When the R.S.S. was founded in 1925, it was closely associated with the Hindu Maha Sabha. Hedgewar himself had been an active member of the Maha Sabha before then and continued to retain his membership until 1929. Though the R.S.S. did not enter formal politics, it was, in a sense, a political organisation. The leaders of the R.S.S., Hedgewar and Golwalkar, were ardent nationalists. They differed from others only in the belief that the Hindu community had to be strengthened before victory over the British could be achieved. This did not prevent the R.S.S. from actively working against the British. In its actions it went so far as unofficially to support the Quit India

¹ Sethi R.R., V.D. Mahajan - British Rule in India and after - P.344
Movement. It was non-political only in the sense, that it did not take part in elections nor was it organised for electoral purposes. Unlike Congress, the Muslim League or the Maha Sabha, it was not concerned with building a mass organisation, but an organisation of devoted followers, well disciplined, well versed in the Hindu ideology, and a kind of 'vanguard' for the Hindu community.¹

**Hindu Maha Sabha**

The first Hindu Sabha was founded in the Punjab in 1907 and its aims were to safeguard the interests of the entire Hindu community; to consolidate and strengthen the Hindu community by 'sanghathan', 'shudhi' and 'social reforms', and to encourage the use of Hindi, and to protect the cow. This Sabha took upon itself the task of organising an All India Hindu Maha Sabha. The first session of the new All India Hindu Maha Sabha, met in 1915. The Hindu Maha Sabha was open to all Hindus irrespective of their political opinions. Congressmen, liberals and even loyalists could become its members. It defined the term 'Hindu' as a person belonging to any religion which originated in India thus including Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists. In 1923, the activities of the Maha Sabha spread. While on one side, its aim was to attain the 'Swaraj' for the country, on the other side its activities against the Muslim League and the Muslim community increased a lot. The Maha Sabha had characterised certain

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¹ Myron Weiner - Party Politics in India - P.183
demands of Muslims as illogical and unpatriotic. The Maha Sabha always opposed the Muslim League regarding their demand of separate communal electorates for legislatures and local bodies. They were in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats for minority community if necessary. The Maha Sabha was trying for the uplift of depressed classes and they started this work long before Mahatma Gandhi took it in his hand. The Maha Sabha condemned the Communal Award as being a great injustice to the Hindus and Sikhs.

Throughout the early history of the Maha Sabha most of its leaders and members held dual membership in the Maha Sabha and the Congress. Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, the top most leaders of Hindu Maha Sabha had also been presidents of the Congress Party. During the period, these personalities were at the helm of affairs, the Maha Sabha was at the height of its popularity. But after the death of Lala Lajpat Rai and cessation of Pandit Malviya as member of the Maha Sabha in 1930, the destinies of Maha Sabha fell into the hands of Dr. B.S. Moonje and Bhai Parmanand, who had little following in the country.

After 1932, the Maha Sabha grew increasingly estranged from the Congress Party, whom they accused of 'Muslim appeasement'. The Congress also forbade any of its members from being in communal organisations, including the Maha Sabha. So most of the staunch nationalists had to come out of the Hindu Maha Sabha leaving it very weak. The history of Hindu Maha Sabha can roughly be divided into three periods. During
the period before World War I, the emphasis of the Hindu Maha Sabha was on Hindi revivalism and hostility towards the Western impact. After the war Maha Sabha activities were increasingly directed against the Muslim League. And after 1932, especially when Veer Savarkar became its president, its target was increasingly the Congress Party. It abused the Congress for yielding to the League demand. The Hindu Maha Sabha fought elections in 1937 and failed badly.

**Satyagraha Movement - 1940-41**

Mahatma Gandhi had resigned from the primary membership of the Congress in 1934 and had engrossed himself in the reconstruction work. The Congress was busy in the uplift of peasants, labourers, the poor, the oppressed and the Harijans. To try the India Act of 1935, they fought the 1937 elections and were returned in a large number. They formed ministries in many provinces but could not continue to hold office due to too much interference of the centre. The second World War had begun in 1939 and the Indian Government also declared war against the Nazi Germany. The Congress was against it. They wanted that Indian Government should declare war without the approval of Indians. So again a cold war started between the Indians and the Government. The Congress started satyagraha in 1940. Though most of the members of the Congress High Command were of the opinion that Mass Civil Disobedience be started but Mahatma Gandhi apprehended that there would be violence in case Mass Civil Disobedience was started. At the
point of fast Gandhi made his colleagues agree to the Individual Satyagraha. Mahatma Gandhi was to be its Director. It was started on 17th October, 1940. It was limited in character and was conducted methodically. Qualifications were fixed and all the responsible Congressmen were to court arrest. Each satyagrahi, after he had been approved, intimated the collector before hand of his intention. This movement was strictly an individual civil disobedience movement. From the very day of its start it progressed steadily and according to the plan. Unlike other movements Mahatma Gandhi was allowed to remain free to control, direct and superintend the movement.

Quit India Movement - 1942

After the failure of Cripps mission, the Congress started an agitation asking the British to 'Quit India'. Mahatma Gandhi was again appointed the leader of this mass struggle to be launched. In July, 1942 Gandhiji declared that if the appeal for voluntary withdrawal did not materialise, the Congress would launch campaign of non-cooperation with the Government on the lines of non-violence, on the widest possible scale. The working committee of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay on August 7-8-9 passed the historical 'Quit India' resolution. The resolution was passed on the 8th August, 1942. It declared that the immediate ending of the British rule in India was an urgent necessity, both for India and for the success of the cause
of the United Nations. The Government considered this movement as an invitation to the Japanese and declared the Congress an unlawful organisation, froze its monetary resources, sealed its buildings and arrested and imprisoned a large number of Congress workers. Government did all that it could to crush the Congress organisation. They wanted to nip the movement in the bud but sudden removal of their national leaders and tyranny and oppression of the Government, made the people desperate and mad with fury. As a result, serious disturbances broke out in several parts of the country. In some places railway lines were removed, telegraph wires were cut, grain shops were looted and police-stations were burnt by the furious mob, though the Congress never sanctioned or approved of such acts. This reaction of the people was spontaneous and absolutely unplanned and unpremeditated.

In addition to these violent methods there were hartals throughout the country. Educational institutions and universities were closed. The disorders were, however, sternly suppressed. The police and the military fired at the mobs. Air raids were resorted to which resulted in the casualties of thousands of people. Policemen and soldiers committed great atrocities. In certain places like Chimbir in C.P. wholesale arrests of male population were made and an orgy of rape and looting was indulged in.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party

The Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.) was among
the largest of the leftist parties in India. It was the largest political group inside the United Trade Union Congress. The R.S.P. had arisen out of the Anushilan revolutionary group. As a result of the nationalist agitation in 1930 (which included the famous Chittagong Armoury raid when revolutionaries led an armed insurrection in the town of Chittagong) a large number of revolutionaries were placed in jail, where they remained until 1932. These revolutionaries while in jail were allowed to keep in touch with one another. During this period a large number of revolutionaries were completely won over to socialism and were imbued with Marxist ideas. After the Anushilan revolutionaries' release from the jail, the R.S.P. became a distinct political group. This party became an organised group within the Congress Socialist Party, just as the C.S.P. was an organised group within the Congress; that is to say, the R.S.P. like the C.S.P. had its own thesis, its own organisation, its own propaganda, its own leadership, and above all its own allegiances and loyalties. The R.S.P. had to move faster and to intensify its activities. It urged complete independence while the Congress leadership was prepared to accept Dominion Status; and it urged Civil Disobedience Movements when the Congress leadership still hoped that further negotiations would bring concessions from the British rulers.

The Bolshevik Movement

The Bolshevik Party is the off-spring of the Bengal Labour party, which was created in 1933 by N. Dutt Mazumdar,
a young Bengali who had been deeply impressed by Marxist ideas during his stay as a student at the London School of Economics. Dutt Mazumdar and his group became deeply involved in trade union organisation in Bengal and won some influence among the dock workers. In 1936 the Labour party and the Communist party, for nearly all purposes, combined. But with the approach of War the Labour party established a group called the Bolshevik party which was to be its underground wing when the War, which the Labour party opposed, broke out. But soon there grew differences between the Communists and the Labour party. The Labour party, led by Mazumdar broke with the Communists and declared the war as imperialist and supported theQuit India Movement. The Bolshevik party calls itself 'the Party of the Indian Working class' and claims to be based upon 'the correct formulation and implementation of the principles of Marxism - Leninism'. The party condemns the 'Anglo – American Imperialists' and supports the glorious success achieved by the Soviet Union in the field of post-war reconstruction. Like the other leftist parties, the Bolshevik party calls for abolition of landlordism without compensation, land to the tillers, nationalization of industry, opposes retrenchment and supports linguistic redistribution of the states and confiscation of foreign capital.

Trade Union Movement

The Trade Union Movement in its ancient and crude form began in the year 1881. Soon after the passing of the Factories Act in that year Mr. Lokhandy organised a conference
of the workers in Bombay and submitted a memorandum signed by 5300 workers to the Factory Commission which was appointed in Bombay in 1876 to find out the evils of factory system in respect of employment of women and children, long and excessive hours of work, etc. In the memorandum Mr. Lokhandy mentioned, amongst other things, weekly holidays, half an hour's recess during the working hours, compensation for disablement etc. This representation did not improve the position and thereafter he sent another petition to Government in 1890. This time the memorandum was signed by 17,000 men. In the same year Bombay Mill-men Association was founded under the presidency of Lokhandy. This association was the first in India but the effectiveness of the movement was hardly any.

After 1890 a number of labour associations were started. These were amalgamated with the Society of Railway servants of India and Burma in 1897, the Printers Union in Calcutta in 1905, the Bombay Postal Union in 1907. These associations were generally formed by the educated classes. They naturally took up the movement as social welfare work and co-operated with the Government in various schemes. They had no fighting spirit nor any clear cut idea about Trade Unionism, therefore strikes were seldom and rare. This can also be attributed to the unsympathetic attitude of the Government and the employers.

The state of things began to change with the prevalence of the economic distress and this promoted the labour to organise and try collective action. Political leaders,
for their own cause began to exploit the poor labourers. Secondly the war of 1914 helped much the growth of the labour movement in India. Due to war, the prices of articles went up very high but the wages of labour lagged behind, so there came into existence in 1920 a large number of unions with a central organisation — the All India Trade Union Congress. Sixty four trade unions were affiliated to this body and the number of membership was 140654.

During the years 1924–1934 the influence of the Communist philosophy was felt. From 1925 the country witnessed a large number of serious strikes e.g. the strike in Bombay Cotton Mills where 33249 men were involved and B.N. Railway strike where the workers attacked Kharagpur station. At this stage, the growth of the movement was retarded because the Government wanted to check the growing Communist influence and the workers also found it difficult to keep pace with the Communist leaders.

In the year 1935 Red T.U.C. and A.I.T.U.C. were merged. This merger brought about unity amongst the trade union leaders and the workers and they were in a position to conduct big strikes like the Jute Mills strike in Calcutta in 1938 where 2 lakhs of men were involved. The strike in Digboi oil fields in 1939 lasted for nearly 8 months. These strikes were successful and as a result there was increase in the number of trade unions. The other important factor was the provision of labour seats in the Legislature.

The Bombay Industrial Disputes Act 1936, the National Service Ordinance 1940 and the National Service Labour Tribunal
encouraged the growth of trade unionism and invited the representatives of the employees and employers to sit together for affective co-ordination and mutual discussions between them. A tripartite conference in 1942 was arranged for the first time. At this conference the permanent Labour Tripartite Committee was set up and it gave the trade unions, status and recognition. During the war period the Government assumed the powers under Defence of India Rule and could refer any dispute to adjudication and enforce the award. This was later supplemented by the passing of the Industrial Disputes Act 1947.

**Pakistan Movement**

The first hint for a separate Muslim State was thrown by Dr. Mohammad Iqbal in his presidential address at the annual Muslim League session held at Allahabad in 1930. He advocated the establishment of a separate Muslim State or Federation in India on the basis of the Muslims' separate political identity in these words: "The Muslim demand for the creation of Muslim India within India, is, therefore, perfectly justified....... I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self Government within the British empire, or without the British empire, the formation of a consolidated North West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North West India.\(^1\) In January, 1933, a

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\(^1\) Gurbachan Singh Talib - Muslim League attacks on Sikhs and Hindus - P.3
pamphlet named 'Now or Never' appeared on behalf of certain Indian Muslim students at Cambridge, headed by Chowdhri Rehamat Ali. This pamphlet advocated a complete break away of the Muslims of North-Western zones of India from the rest of the Indian nation. 'We do not inter-dine, we do not inter-marry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different. Hence the Muslims demand the recognition of a separate national status.' \(^1\) The word, 'Pakistan' which so powerfully caught the imagination of the Muslims of India is a coinage of Chowdhri Rehamat Ali. He has been hailed among the Muslims as the founder of the Pakistan National Movement. \(^2\) The Muslim League in its annual session at Lahore in April 1940 passed the Pakistan Resolution.

The next annual session of the Muslim League in 1941 held at Madras showed still greater vehemence in the expression of the Pakistan demand by the Muslim League. Jinnah from the presidential chair declared, "The goal of the All India Muslim League is that we want to establish a completely independent state in the North West and Eastern Zones of India with full control on defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency exchange, etc. We do not want under any circumstances a constitution of All India character with one Government at the centre. We will never agree to that ....... The ideology of the

\(^1\) Gurbachan Singh Talib - Muslim League attacks on Sikhs and Hindus - P.4
\(^2\) Gurbachan Singh Talib - Muslim League attacks on Sikhs and Hindus - P.5
League is based on the fundamental principle that the Muslims of India are an independent nationality and that any attempt to get them to merge their national and political identity and ideology will be resisted.”¹ When the Congress started its Quit India Movement in 1942, Jinnah made vituperative speeches against the Congress and called upon Muslims to oppose this movement. The Muslim League press, all through this struggle, used words like 'Goondas' in describing the Congress fighters against British rule.

The Pakistan Movement became stronger and stronger in the years to come. The Unionist Ministry in the Punjab also could not withstand it and in the end, Muslim League succeeded in its aim of getting Pakistan and wiping out all the Hindus from their so-called Pakistan.

¹ Gurbachan Singh Talib - Muslim League attacks on Sikhs and Hindus - P.18