



Study Guide

All British Indian Political Parties Meet, 1946.

**Agenda: Formulation of a roadmap towards Indian Independence
and deliberating upon the feasibility of a possible partition.**

Freeze Date: 16th August, 1946.

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Chairperson's Address

In the most fiercely prudent way, India looks forward to a future- broken off from the shackles of hard- line colonialism- stretching its ways from the Turkic Invasions- to the people who staunched their position, strong and bold- from a 16 by 18 room in London, deemed as the East India Company.

As the land of glory, rebel and victory- at the end of a long fight, sees the 'sahabs' leaving off the shores, the problems now seem to arise from within the land of syncretism. The collective consciousness of the land- has fallen. The people- broken.

What stands in front of us- is a question bruised with distortion, disgust and dilemma-
Will the Land of Bharat, approve the act of severance?

The Conference of The All- British Indian Political Parties Meet- is a scintillating juncture to make sure, that all divisions fraught in the Indian identity- through the means of caste, race, creed and religion- are woven back to perfection- in the name of an alluring 'Bhartiya'.

With this, the soldiers exulted in deep agony- "*At the cost of a battle- we lost the war*"

These lines portray- the deep regret of losing out on a war, in issuance to a battle fought.

The war, delegates- is of Independence.

And- the battle, that of the partition.

A little bit about us:

In the journey of- what was made, created and followed up with: School, Friends, Hobbies, Interests, Curiosity and the Stage- I saw a boy who knew- he'll do something for himself, while making memories- those, which stay.

Greetings Delegates,

My name is Vidhan Sharma. I am a Filmmaker-Director/Writer, Poet, Actor, Debater, MUNer, Elocutionist, and part-time Anchor. In short, I live, breathe and reside on the stage. Expression- and the beauty of it is such, that no matter what your surroundings speak of, there is an element which allows you to be- one with yourself. I have a keen interest towards

History- and everything remotely related to the Indian Subcontinent, and its Pre-Colonial Heritage. I have an unhinged fondness towards the language of *Hindavi*- which is an amalgamation of Hindi, and Urdu.

Well, as is said- I am a poet. It's not that it's rigorous to write, but sometimes you might be out of ideas. In these situations, what helps- is Observation. Not just while writing poetry, for life itself- it is very important to keep observing and noticing the stride of others. Predicting their story. Their nature. Their 'type'- through an act, which they at the moment might be committing, or are in the pace of developing through. Though, this shouldn't be a final thought of demarcation. It's just- that you weave a story. Again, its poetry- and, as it is said,

“How bland would life be, comrade- for if it carried no Irony to it?”

Hence, observe. And the best way to begin this- is through the conference. Observe- your opponent, and do so with your confederate- your confidant. Look, if he's cracking deals behind your back. Observe if his ideas match yours or not. Or, is it simply a facade? Observe, and look out for opportunities- grab them, and indulge in ideas that create a concrete base for you as a delegate. You don't lose opportunities, awards and recognition- it's just that, others want it too.

See you, raising placards!

Greetings Delegates,

I am Shaurya Dalan, and I will be serving as the Co-Chairperson alongside Vidhan, for this committee, 'The All-British Indian Political Parties Meet, 1946'. I am presently a Commerce student of class 12, in St. James' School, Kolkata. I plan to pursue Chartered Accountancy, alongside BCom in India. I hold genuine interest in public speaking- be it MUNs, or debates, and I started debating and MUNing from class 7 itself, as a delegate in the Indian committee- at JacoMUN' 2018. Now chairing the Indian committee, at JacoMUN'2023- the journey has been one with a lot of ups and downs, but it has taught me a lot in terms of character development and the idea of expressing oneself.

Apart from public speaking, I have been playing the guitar for four years now and I am currently playing as the Lead Guitarist of the School Band. Music has played a great role in my life- one that cannot be expressed in sentences or paragraphs. I also hold keen interest in the financial system of India- especially the Indian stock markets. Without hesitation, if anybody wants to talk about the markets or the recession- I can go on and on.

We wish all of you delegates- the best of luck. At the same time, we expect you all to be strategic in terms of policy and research. Listen to your conscience, your gut, and tread fast- yet carefully. And while you are doing so, remember:

“There comes a time when one must take a position that is neither safe, nor politic, nor popular, but he must take it because conscience tells him it is right.”

- *Martin Luther King Jr.*

Until July,

Vidhan Sharma and Shaurya Dalan,

Co- Chairpersons,

The All- British Indian Political Parties Meet, 1946.

Deputy- Secretary General and Under- Secretary General for Policy and Research,

JacoMUN'2023.

Introduction

In Politics- being deceived, is no excuse.

- Leszek Kolakowski

Greetings Delegates,

If you ask us how a successful and well framed Indian colloquium, staged with perfection- in a Model United Nations Conference works- we would rather note,

“It doesn't, and hence, oblige to make it work”.

The only prerogative this committee would run through in its course of three days, would be towards finding a solution- unanimous and collective in nature. The only undertaking this committee would run through in its course of sessions, would be to constitute a *perfect in omnibus* socio-politico framework for the nation that *failed to learn, but never learned to fail*. And hence, would run through a time- that would see conflict, collision and confrontation but unite in allegiance and patronage to *Maā Bhaārāti*.

The demand for an *Azad Hindustan*, except for the rich *Brown Sahibs*, and metropolitan Anglophiles- is being made by every poor, lost, confined, needy and brave. A civilization, characterised by its harmony, diversity and vibrant colours of pluralism has taken a tonal shift to the darkest shade of black.

Albeit, the *gulam* has finally achieved sense. He has woken up from the long sleep of coloniality- and for the final time, is ready to prove the dogmas of his nature wrong.

Delegates,

Either through hardline force, or through the preachings of Non-Violence, what is clear- is the involvement of a rigid *laathi* (stick). Will its usage lie still as a symbol of peace, or now- as a weapon of resistance- has its closing verdict- resting in your hands.

Your presence, your involvement, your speech, your communiqués, your ideas, and your execution- is all which matters, not uniquely for you to turn out as *the finest delegate*, but while counting the fate of 33 Crore British Indians, who would soon drop 'God Save the King' from their habits.

Invitees to the All British Indian Political Parties Meet, 1946.

The parties having representation in this conference of All British Indian political parties are:

- 1) The Indian National Congress (INC)
- 2) The All-India Muslim League (AIML)
- 3) The Hindu Mahasabha
- 4) The Akali Dal
- 5) The Communist Party of India (CPI)
- 6) The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)
- 7) The Congress Socialist Party (CSP)
- 8) The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference

NOTE: Delegates are to keep in mind that the dynamics of independence or a possible partition, may also affect the political positioning of a few Princely states. Hence, it would only be fair and feasible if some of these Princely states are given representation in this political parties' conference. The representatives of Princely States invited to this conference are:

- 1) The Nizam of Hyderabad
- 2) The Maharaja of Mysore
- 3) The King of Travancore
- 4) The Chogyal of Sikkim
- 5) The Maharaja of Indore
- 6) The Nawab of Junagadh
- 7) The Raja of Kashmir

The Lucknow Pact of 1916

The Lucknow Pact was an agreement made by the Indian National Congress headed by Maratha leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the All-India Muslim League led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah; it was adopted by the Congress at its Lucknow session on December 29 and by the league on December 31, 1916. The meeting at Lucknow marked the reunion of the moderate and radical wings of the Congress. The pact dealt both with the structure of the government of India and with the relation of the Hindu and Muslim communities.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, then a member of the Indian National Congress as well as the Muslim League, made both the parties reach an agreement to pressure the British government to adopt a more liberal approach to India and give Indians more authority to run their country, besides safeguarding basic Muslim demands. After the unpopular partition of Bengal, Jinnah approached the League to make it more popular among the Muslims. Due to the reconciliation brought about by Jinnah between the Congress and the League, Sarojini Naidu gave him the title of “*Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity*”.

CLAUSES OF THE LUCKNOW PACT, 1916:

1. ***Abolition of the Indian Council:*** - The India Council of the Secretary of State, which operated from England, The Secretary of State for India was to be assisted by two Under-Secretaries, of whom one should be an Indian.
2. ***Provincial Legislatures:*** -Four-fifths of the members of the Provincial Legislatures were to be directly elected and one-fifth were to be nominated. The number of Muslim members was laid down for each Province. They were to be elected through separate electorates.
3. ***Minorities in elected bodies:*** -Minorities would be given adequate representation in elected bodies.
4. ***Limitation of the imperial legislature:*** - Defence, foreign affairs and political relations of India, i.e., making of war, or peace treaty, were excluded from the control of the Imperial Legislature.
5. ***Imperial legislative council:*** -The Imperial Legislative Council was to have 150 members. Of these four-fifths were to be elected and one-fifth would be nominated. One-third of the elected members were reserved for the Muslims.
6. ***Powers of the imperial council:*** -All Bills passed by the Legislature were to be operative unless vetoed by the Governor-General in the Council. If the same Bill was passed again by the Legislative Council within a year, the government was obliged to pass it. Extensive power was to be given to the legislature for control over financial matters.
7. ***Autonomy in the provinces:*** -Provinces were to be autonomous in their respective spheres.

8. ***Viceroy's executive council:*** - Half of the members of the Viceroy's executive would be Indians.

9. ***Religious interest:*** - The Lucknow Pact was seen as a beacon of hope for Hindu-Muslim unity in India.

10. ***Separation of the judiciary from the executive:*** - Executive members would not be given any judicial powers.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PACT:

- The Pact was viewed as a ray of optimism for Hindu–Muslim cooperation. The Hindus and Muslims submitted a combined appeal to the British for political reform for the very first time. As a result, there was an increasing belief throughout British India that self-government or Home Rule was a viable option. The accord also signified the pinnacle of Hindu-Muslim cooperation.
- The Muslim League and the Indian National Congress built good relations as a consequence. Prior to the agreement, the parties were seen as adversaries who resisted one another and pursued their own goals. The accord, on the other side, created a change in that viewpoint.
- The Pact also aided in the formation of a more friendly relationship among both the major factions inside the Indian National Congress: the extremists and the moderates.

The Khilafat Movement (1919-1924)

The Khilafat Movement was launched by Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. The movement was aimed to unite the Muslim community under the umbrella of a unified national movement. The Khilafat Movement (1919-1924), was a pan-Islamic, political protest campaign launched by Muslims in British India to influence the British Government and to protect the Ottoman empire during the aftermath of First World War.

Fears of Muslim disunity were aroused by the decline of the Ottoman Empire—the preeminent Islamic power whose sultan, as caliph, was seen by pan-Islamists as the leader of the worldwide Muslim community. The caliphate was endangered first by Italian attacks (1911) and the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and later by the empire’s defeat in World War I (1914–18). Fears of the loss of the caliphate were intensified by the Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920), which dismembered the empire, not only detaching all non-Turkish regions from the empire but also giving parts of the Turkish homeland to Greece and other non-Muslim powers.

The Khilafat Movement also introduced the religious idiom in the politics of Indian Muslims. It was not the Muslim League who introduced religious ideology in the politics of India but it was this movement who did this. Muslim Nationalism was a movement of Muslims and not a movement of Islam. It was an ethnic movement of disaffected Muslim professionals and the government-job-seeking educated Indian Muslim middle class, mainly those of UP and Bihar and urban Punjab.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES ON OTTOMAN EMPIRE:

The status of the Ottoman Empire, along with its extraterritorial treaties, was left in violent limbo at Versailles. True, outright hostilities ended with Versailles. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire’s ally, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was broken up; therefore, within the old Austro-Hungarian borders, successor states were quickly established and granted sovereign status over their territory. But at Versailles, the Ottoman territories had to wait.

TREATY OF SÈVRES ON OTTOMAN EMPIRE:

The treaty abolished the Ottoman Empire and obliged Turkey to renounce all rights over Arab Asia and North Africa. The pact also provided for an independent Armenia, for an autonomous Kurdistan, and for a Greek presence in eastern Thrace and on the Anatolian west coast, as well as Greek control over the Aegean islands commanding the Dardanelles. Rejected by the new Turkish nationalist regime, the Treaty of Sèvres was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

PROGRAM OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT:

The Khilafat Movement had a three-point program, which was:

- 1) Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Palestine must remain under Muslim rule, known collectively as the Arab Lands.
- 2) The Ottoman Caliph should retain his empire.
- 3) The Ottoman Caliphate should be provided with sufficient territory to enable him to defeat the Islamic faith.

IMPACT OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT:

The Khilafat Movement had a far- fetching impact. The impact of the movement was:

- 1) Leaders of the Khilafat movement accepted the Non-cooperation Movement of Mr Gandhi and led a joint protest against the British.
- 2) People started resigning from government services.
- 3) This led to the surrender of titles and honorary positions
- 4) The Khilafat movement created political consciousness among Indian Muslims.
- 5) Essential things like buying and selling goods and schools were put on hold.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT:

A campaign was launched in India to protect the Caliphate. The Khilafat committee organization was based in Lucknow, India at the compounds of landlord Shaukat Ali Siddhiqui. Their main aim was to bring unity among the Muslims in both politics and to ban boycotting all British goods. Mahatma Gandhi also agreed to support the Khilafat movement. Mahatma Gandhi was interested in bringing Hindus and Muslims together to get India's Independence. Thus in 1920 an alliance was formed between Khilafat leaders and Indian National Congress and of the national movement.

The Khilafat leaders also joined hands with Mahatma Gandhi's no- cooperation movement in return for Gandhi's support to Khilafat movement. A nationwide campaign of mass and peaceful protest was started by Mahatma Gandhi. The Khilafat leaders founded the Jamia Millia Islamia in 1920 to promote education.

END OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT:

The Khilafat Movement died a natural death when in November 1922 Mustafa Kemal Pasha deposed the Sultan of Turkey and showed no concern for the holy places of Islam. He finally abolished the Caliphate and separated the State from religion. Mustafa modernized education, agriculture and industry. He developed Turkey on secular and progressive lines.

The Non- Cooperation Movement, 1920.

The Non-cooperation movement was an unsuccessful attempt during 1920–22 organized by Mahatma Gandhi, to induce the British government of India to grant self-government, or swaraj, to India. It was one of Gandhi's first organized acts of large-scale civil disobedience (satyagraha).

The movement arose amid a political earthquake that shook the subcontinent. The heavy-handedness of the British Raj, as illustrated in its passage of the Rowlatt Acts (1919) despite fierce Indian opposition, provoked a strong backlash. British-led violence in Punjab—most notably the massacre at Amritsar in April 1919, in which several hundred Indians were killed—increased the belief that Indian self-government was necessary. That anger was later compounded by indignation at the government's alleged failure to take adequate action against those responsible, notably Gen. Reginald Dyer, who had commanded the troops involved in the massacre.

Meanwhile, the Khilafat movement was mobilizing Muslim protest against the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after World War I. Gandhi's support for the Khilafat movement aided his efforts to revitalize the Indian National Congress, and both the Khilafat movement and the Indian National Congress embarked on contemporaneous programs of non-cooperation.

The noncooperation movement was to be nonviolent and to consist of Indians resigning their titles; boycotting government educational institutions, the courts, government service, foreign goods, and elections; and, eventually, refusing to pay taxes. Noncooperation was agreed to by the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in September 1920 and launched that December. In the 1921 government, confronted by a united Indian front for the first time the government was visibly shaken but a revolt by the Muslim Moplahs of Kerala in August 1921 and several violent outbreaks alarmed moderate opinion. After an angry mob murdered police officers in the village of Chauri Chaura in February 1922, Gandhi himself called off the movement; the next month he was arrested without incident.

REASONS FOR THE MOVEMENT:

There were a number of reasons for which the non cooperation movement started in India. Some of them were:

- 1) The Rowlatt Act of 1919: The Rowlatt Act, which was also termed the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act was implemented on 18th March 1919. Laws of the Rowlatt Act were approved by the Imperial Legislative Council of British India's senate. The legislation authorized the trial of some political matters but without juries and the imprisonment of suspected individuals without a proper court trial. Their goal was to eventually replace the restrictive provisions of the Defence of India Act of 1915 during the progressive events of the First World War. The Rowlatt Act was adopted in response to a perception of potential danger from revolutionary nationalists to entities re-engaging in similar plots as during the war, which the Government feared would be enabled by the expiry of the Defence of India Act.

Concisely, The Rowlatt Act paved a way for British India's legislative council to put any civilian behind the bars without proper judicial involvement. This Act enabled the government of British India to gain an upper hand over the country's overall working aspects.

- 2) The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, 1919: The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, also known as the Amritsar Massacre, occurred on April 13, 1919, when British troops opened fire on a large crowd of unarmed Indians in an open space known as the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, Punjab region of India, killing several hundred people and injuring many more. On April 13, at least 10,000 men, women, and children congregated in the Jallianwala Bagh, which was nearly fully surrounded by walls and had only one exit. It's unclear how many demonstrators defied the restriction on public gatherings and how many people had traveled to the city from the surrounding region to celebrate Baisakhi, a spring festival. Dyer and his soldiers arrived and shut the door behind them. The forces opened fire on the gathering without warning, reportedly firing hundreds of bullets until they ran out of ammunition. It's unclear how many people died in the carnage, but according to one official source, 379 people were killed and 1,200 more were injured. The troops fled from the area as soon as they stopped firing, leaving behind the dead and the wounded. The incident was investigated by the Indian government (the Hunter Commission), which censured Dyer for his actions and forced him to resign from the military in 1920. The incident elicited diverse reactions in the United Kingdom. In a speech to the House of Commons in 1920, Sir Winston Churchill, then-Secretary of State for War, denounced Dyer's actions, but the House of Lords commended him and presented him with a sword embossed with the inscription "Saviour of Punjab." Dyer's sympathizers also raised and presented him with a considerable sum of money. Amritsar's Jallianwala Bagh site has been designated as a national monument.

- 3) The Khilafat Movement: This movement was launched in 1919 to oppose the abolition of the post of Caliph in Turkey by the British Government after World War 1. Gandhi supported Khilafat Movement, which brought the unity of Hindus and Muslims against British rule.

FEATURES OF THE NON- COOPERATION MOVEMENT:

The Non-Cooperation Movement's most important aspect was the struggle against British rule in a non-violent and civilized manner. The Tilak Swaraj fund supported the finances of the Non-Cooperation Movement. The movement pushed for more use and production of goods and products manufactured in India while refusing to use British products.

1. Indians were asked to refuse to cast votes in the legislative elections. They were asked to give up their titles and prominent positions.

2. Indians were asked to boycott legislative council elections and prohibit and withdraw from British educational establishments.
3. Boycotts could be broadened to include widespread civil disobedience, such as tax evasion.
4. It fought for more than the manufacturing of commodities and products made in India while discouraging the use of British products.
5. To resolve disputes panchayats were established.

IMPACT OF NON- COOPERATION MOVEMENT:

The Non-Cooperation Movement was one of the major events in the history of India's struggle for independence. The impact of the movement can be concluded from the following points:

- 1) It was a non-violent movement that required self-control, sacrifice, and denial. It represented the commencement of independence. People from various spheres of life participated in the movement.
- 2) Students avoided enrolling in schools and colleges, attorneys abstained from appearing in courts, and in addition to going on strike, the working class also stopped paying taxes.
- 3) The common people's fear of British domination was vanquished when they turned out to take part in the national movement. They could physically witness the British's despair in the face of Gandhi. Every Indian felt more secure.
- 4) Because of the vast number of Indian women who responded positively to Gandhi's call to join the anti-British struggle, the Non-Cooperation Movement was crucial in women's liberation. Their increased engagement in the national uprising set the stage for a shift in the societal perspective.

END OF THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT:

A Congress and Khilafat procession took place at Chauri Chaura, Gorakhpur on February 5, 1922. Out of irritation, police officers were attacked in the procession. In retaliation, the police opened fire on the unarmed protesters. The entire procession attacked the police, and the mob set fire to the police station building where the police hid. The policemen who were attempting to escape were thrown into the fire. Twenty-two police officers were killed.

Gandhi was deeply disturbed by the Chauri Chaura incident. He decided to call off the movement because it violated the basis of non-violence. The Non – Cooperation Movement came to an end on February 12, 1922.

The Simon Commission

The **Indian Statutory Commission**, also known as the **Simon Commission**, was a group of seven members of the British Parliament under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. The commission arrived in the Indian subcontinent in 1928 to study constitutional reform in Britain's largest and most important possession.

The Government of India Act 1919 had introduced the system of diarchy to govern the provinces of British India. Indian opinion clamored for revision of this form of government, and the Government of India Act 1919 stated that a commission would be appointed after ten years to investigate the progress of the government scheme and suggest new steps for reform.

Some people in India were outraged and insulted that the Simon Commission, which was to determine the future of India, did not include a single Indian member. The Indian National Congress, at its December 1927 meeting in Madras (now Chennai), resolved to boycott the Commission and challenged Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, to draft a constitution that would be acceptable to the Indian populace. A faction of the Muslim League, led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, also decided to boycott the commission. The Simon Commission left England in January 1928. Almost immediately with its arrival in Bombay on 3 February 1928, its members were confronted by throngs of protesters, although there were also some supporters among the crowds who saw it as the next step on the road to self-governance.

On 30 October 1928, the Commission arrived in Lahore where it was met by protesters waving black flags. The protest was led by the Indian nationalist Lala Lajpat Rai, who had moved a resolution against the Commission in the Legislative Assembly of Punjab in February 1928. The protesters blocked the road in order to prevent the commission members from leaving the railway station. In order to make way for the commission, the local police led by Superintendent James Scott began beating protesters. Lala Lajpat Rai was critically injured and died on 17 November 1928 due to the head injuries he had sustained.

RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE SIMON COMMISSION:

The Simon Commission published a two-volume report, making the following recommendations:

- 1) Dyarchy in the provinces should be abolished and ministers should be made responsible to the provincial legislatures in all departments, including the department of law and order.
- 2) The Governor was to retain the special powers for the safety and tranquility of the province and for the protection of the minorities.
- 3) He would also have full powers of intervention in the event of breakdown of the constitution.
- 4) The Franchise was to be extended and legislatures were to be enlarged.
- 5) At the center, a Federal assembly would be constituted on the basis of representation of the provinces and other areas as per the population.

- 6) The council of state would continue as the Upper House but its members would be chosen not on the basis of direct election but on the basis of indirect election by the Provincial councils.
- 7) No change in the central executive.
- 8) The all India federation was not considered a practical idea for immediate execution.
- 9) Burma should be separated from British India and should be provided a constitution of its own.

The outcome of the Simon Commission was the Government of India Act 1935, which called for a "responsible" government at the provincial level in India but not at the national level, that is a government responsible to the Indian community rather than London. It is the basis of many parts of the Indian Constitution. In 1937 the first elections were held in the provinces, resulting in Congress Governments being returned in almost all Provinces.

The Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930

The observance of Independence Day in 1930 was followed by the launching of the Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Gandhi. It began with the famous Dandi March of Gandhi. On 12 March 1930, Gandhi left the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad on foot with 78 other members of the Ashram for Dandi, a village on the western sea-coast of India, at a distance of about 385 km from Ahmedabad. They reached Dandi on 6 April 1930. There, Gandhi broke the salt law. It was illegal for anyone to make salt as it was a government monopoly. Gandhi defied the government by picking up a handful of salt which had been formed by the evaporation of sea. The defiance of the salt law was followed by the spread of the Civil Disobedience Movement all over the country. Making salt spread throughout the country in the first phase of the civil disobedience movement, it became a symbol of the people's defiance of the government.

In Tamil Nadu, C. Rajgopalchari led a march-similar to the Dandi march-from Trichinopoly to Vedaranyam. In Dharsana, in Gujarat, Sarojini Naidu, the famous poetess who was a prominent leader of the congress and had been president of the congress, led non-violent satyagrahis in a march to the salt depots owned by the government. Over 300 satyagrahis were severely injured and two killed in the brutal lathi charge by the police. There were demonstrations, hartals, boycotts of foreign goods, and later refusal to pay taxes. Lakhs of people participated in the movement, including a large number of women.

In November 1930, the British government convened the first round table conference in London to consider the reforms proposed by the Simon commission. The congress, which was fighting for the independence of the country, boycotted it. But it was attended by the representatives of Indian princes, Muslim league, Hindu Mahasabha and some others. But nothing came out of it. The British government knew that without the participation of the congress, no decision on constitutional changes In India would be acceptable to the Indian people.

Early in 1931, efforts were made by Viceroy Irwin to persuade the congress to join the second round table conference. An agreement was reached between Gandhi and Irwin, according to which the government agreed to release all political prisoners against whom there were no charges of violence. The congress was to suspend the civil disobedience movement. Many nationalist leaders were unhappy with this agreement. However, at its Karachi session which was held in March 1931 and was presided over by Vallabhbhai Patel, the congress decided to approve the agreement and participate in the second round table conference. Gandhi was chosen to represent the congress at the conference which met in September 1931.

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT:

- 1) ***The Establishment of the Simon Commission:*** The British government in the United Kingdom established the Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission after its Chairman name, in November 1927 to recommend further constitutional reforms in India. However, no Indian was nominated as a member of the commission, which sparked outrage in India

because the British government's decision to exclude Indians from the Simon Commission implied that Indians were unfit to decide the next course of constitutional reforms. As a result, wherever the commission went in India, there were massive demonstrations and strikes.

- 2) ***Demand for Dominion Status:*** In the December 1928 Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress (INC) a demand for the dominion status (Swaraj) was raised, and the British Indian government was given a year to accept the Congress demands. If it failed then nothing short of complete independence from foreign rule would become the primary goal of the Congress, and a civil disobedience movement led by Mahatma Gandhi would be launched to achieve this goal.
- 3) ***Protest Against the Arrest of Social Revolutionaries:*** Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA) were arrested on April 8, 1929, for throwing harmless bombs in the Central Legislative Assembly. Members of the HSRA went on a long hunger strike in jail, demanding better treatment for political prisoners, and the death of one of them, Jatin Das, on the 64th day of the strike sparked some of the country's largest demonstrations. However, it soon became clear to nationalist leaders that the British government was not sincere in meeting the demand for Dominion Status. The INC convened an emergency session in Lahore in December 1929, presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru, and declared Complete Independence or 'Purna Swaraj' as the Congress goal. It also authorized Mahatma Gandhi to launch a comprehensive programme of civil disobedience at a time and place of his choosing.

EFFECTS OF THE MOVEMENT:

After Gandhi's symbolic breaking of the salt laws at Dandi, defiance of the laws spread throughout the country. Salt laws were also defied in various provinces under the leadership of various leaders. The *effects of the Civil Disobedience Movement* were as follows.

- C Rajagopalachari led the Salt Satyagraha in Tamil Nadu. He organized a march from Tiruchirapalli to Vedaranniyam on the Tanjore (or Thanjavur) coast to break the salt law.
- K Kelappan, famed for the Vaikom Satyagraha, organized salt marches in Malabar.
- Midnapur, Arambagh, and several rural pockets witnessed powerful movements developed around salt satyagraha and chowkidar tax.
- Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib, and Manilal (Gandhi's son) raided the Dharasana Salt Works.
- District salt marches were organized in East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur. Several Sibirams (military-style camps) were set up to serve as the headquarters of the Salt Satyagraha.

- In Peshawar, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, also called Badshah Khan and Frontier Gandhi, had started the first Pashto political monthly Pukhtoon and had organized a volunteer brigade 'Khudai Khidmatgars', popularly known as the 'Red-Shirts', who were pledged to the freedom struggle and non-violence.

END OF THE SIMON COMMISSION

The civil disobedience movement came to an end because of the Gandhi-Irwin pact. It was signed by Mahatma Gandhi and the then Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin on 5 March 1931.

Following were the provisions of the Gandhi-Irwin pact:

- 1) Stopping of the civil disobedience movement by the Indian National Congress.
- 2) Participation of Indian National Congress in the Round Table Conference.
- 3) Withdrawal of all laws and ordinances issued by the British Government forcing checks on the exercises of the Indian National Congress, and all the prisoners, except those who had committed criminal offenses who were arrested during the Civil Disobedience movement were released.
- 4) There was a mutual agreement which stated that the salt march shall be stopped and the salt tax would be abolished.

The Round Table Conferences, 1930- 32

THE FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The First Round Table Conference was the first among the three such conferences organized between 1930 and 1932 by the British government towards constitutional reforms in India. These conferences were conducted as per the 1930 report of the Simon Commission. The First Round Table Conference was held between November 1930 and January 1931. It was officially inaugurated on November 12, 1930 at the House of Lords at London by the British King (George V) and was chaired by the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald.

PROCEEDINGS AND OUTCOMES OF THE FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE: -

This conference included eight plenary meetings and one final concluding session. The issues including India's proposed federal structure, defense, issues related to Sindh and NWFP, issues related to Burma, defense related issues, issues related to minorities were discussed. However, since INC did not participate in it, its outcomes were almost insignificant. Some of the notable topics of discussion were:

- 1) *The All- India Federation:* The idea of the All-India Federation was moved by Tej Bahadur Sapru in the First Round Table Conference. It was supported by most participants including princely states provided their internal sovereignty was guaranteed. Muslim League also supported this idea. The British government agreed to introduce a representative government at provincial level in India. The British agreed that representative government should be introduced at the provincial level.
- 2) *The Demand for Separate Electorates:* A demand for separate electorates for the Untouchables was put forward by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. In fact, there was a firm agreement and recommendation of the first Round Table Conference to the representation of Muslims, Indian Christians, Sikhs, Depressed Classes (dalits), Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

IMPACT OF THE FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE:-

After the failure of the First Round Conference, many leaders, mainly the pro-British members of the Indian Liberal Party such as Tej Bahadur Sapru, C. Y. Chintamani and Srinivasa Sastri appealed to Gandhi to talk with the Viceroy. The talks between Gandhi and Irwin were arranged. Many congress leaders were released to make a favorable environment.

THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Congress abstained from the first Round table conference, which was not successful at all. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which was reached between Viceroy Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi in response to some requests, led the Congress to the second round table conference. The meeting of the 2nd round table commenced on 7th September 1931. During this period, McDonald was heading a coalition political alliance with a majority and appointed Samuel Hoare as the Secretary Head of India.

On November 7, 1931, Mahatma Gandhi and McDonald had a meeting in which the Government of India Act 1935 was enacted as a result. There were many differences between the first and second round table conference on the grounds of representation of the Indian National Congress, the Government of Britain, the finances, etc.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE:-

1) *The Representation of the Indian National Congress:*

- The Gandhi–Irwin Pact opened the way for Congress participation in this conference.
- Gandhi was invited from India and attended as the sole official Congress representative accompanied by Sarojini Naidu and also Madan Mohan Malaviya, Ghanshyam Das Birla, Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Mirza Ismail (Diwan of Mysore), S.K. Dutta and Sir Syed Ali Imam.
- Gandhi claimed that the Congress alone represented political India; that the Untouchables were Hindus and should not be treated as a “minority”; and that there should be no separate electorates or special safeguards for Muslims or other minorities. These claims were rejected by the other Indian participants.
- According to this pact, Gandhi was asked to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement and if he did so the prisoners of the British government would be freed except the criminal prisoners, i.e. those who had killed British officials.

2) *The Financial Crisis:*

- During the conference, Britain went off the Gold Standard, further distracting the National Government
- At the end of the conference Ramsay MacDonald undertook to produce a Communal Award for minority representation
- Other important discussions were the responsibility of the executive to the legislature and a separate electorate for the Untouchables as demanded by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

- Gandhi announced that henceforth he would work only on behalf of the Harijans: he reached a compromise with the leader of depressed classes, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, over this issue and the two eventually resolved the situation with the signing of the Poona Pact of 1932.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE:

The second round table conference could not produce any meaningful conclusions about the constitution of India because there was no consensus between the diverse delegate groups. The administration also refused to give into the fundamental demand for freedom made by Indians.

- The second- round table conference got underway on 7 September 1931. The Indian National Congress was present at the conference, which significantly differed from the first.
- Another distinction was that, Unlike the last conference, the British Prime Minister McDonald was in charge of our national administration rather than a labor one. In Britain, the labor party had been overthrown to weights earlier than the conference was held.
- By creating distinct electorates for the minority population, the British decided to provide a communal prize for representing minorities in India which was highly opposed by Mahatma Gandhi.
- On the contrary, Bhimrao Ambedkar was quite in favor of this decision therefore, Bhimrao Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi had two different opinions on the need for separate electorates for the underprivileged section of the concept of separating untouchables from the Hindu society.

THE THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Third Round Table Conference was held on November 17, 1932, and lasted until December 24, 1932. The leaders of Congress did not attend this conference either. It was impossible to reach a conclusion without the presence and participation of Congress leaders. It only resulted in the creation of the Government of India Act, 1935, which was modeled after the Government of India Act, 1919. One of the primary reasons for Congress's absence was that too many of its leaders were once again imprisoned, this time for continuing the Civil Disobedience Movement, undertaking the salt Satyagraha.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE:

1. The reports of the Sub-Committees appointed during the Second Round Table Conference were heard and formed the basis of discussions at the Conference.
2. More details about the new constitution were worked out.
3. The Indian delegates attempted to push through some progressive provisions, which were quickly withdrawn.
4. Similarly, the inclusion of a Bill of Rights for citizens was postponed for flimsy reasons.

OUTCOME OF THE THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE:

- 1) This round table conference was also a setback because no important issues were discussed due to the absence of political leaders and Maharajas.
- 2) The proposals of this round table conference were written down and published in a White paper in 1933, which was later debated in the British parliament.
- 3) The British parliament then examined the round table conference's proposals and recommendations.
- 4) Based on this, the Government of India Act of 1935 was enacted.

The Poona Pact, 1932

The **Poona Pact** was an agreement between Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on behalf of Dalits, depressed classes, and upper caste Hindu leaders on the reservation of electoral seats for the depressed classes in the legislature of British India in 1932. It was made on 24 September 1932 at Yerwada Central Jail in Poona, India. It was signed by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on behalf of the depressed classes and by Madan Mohan Malviya on behalf of upper caste Hindus, Faraz Shah, Sana Ejaz and Gandhi. The following were the terms of the Poona Pact of 1932:

- 1) There would be reserved electoral seats for the Depressed Classes out of the General Electorate.
- 2) Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates subject, however, to the following procedure – All members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the single vote and four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary elections shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate.
- 3) The representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of the primary election in the manner provided for in clause above for their representation in the provincial legislatures.
- 4) In the Central Legislature, 18% of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes.
- 5) The system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislatures as hereinbefore mentioned shall come to an end after the first ten years unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement.
- 6) The system of representation of Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures shall continue until determined otherwise by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in this settlement.
- 7) The Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures of the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated, in the Lothian Committee Report.
- 8) There shall be no disabilities attached to anyone on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any election to local bodies or appointment to the public services. Every endeavor shall be made to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the Public Services.

- 9) In every province out of the educational grant, an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the members of Depressed Classes.

The Government of India Act, 1935

The Government of India Act was approved by the British parliament on 24 July 1935 and came into effect on 1 April 1937. It was based on Lord Linlithgow's Joint Select Committee's report. The data came from the Joint Committee's analysis of the British government's 'White Paper,' a constitutional reform programme produced immediately after the Round Table conferences held between 1930 -1932.

Key features of the Act:-

The establishment of a 'Federation of India' with two levels of government: a central executive and parliament, along with provinces and princely states were undertaken under this Act. Some of the key features include –

- It removed the “dyarchy” system at the provincial level, allowing democratically elected provincial legislatures to be formed, and implemented it at the federal level
- The Federal List was separated into two categories: Reserved and Transferred
- The Governor-General was in charge of the reserved topics, which he handled with the support of three advisers he chose. They didn't have to answer to the lawmakers. Defense, religious affairs (church-related), external affairs, press, police, taxation, justice, power resources, and tribal affairs were among the topics covered
- The Governor-General and his Council of Ministers were in charge of the transferred subjects (not more than 10). The Council has to act in the legislature's best interests. Local governance, forests, education, and health were among the topics included in this list
- The Governor-General, on the other hand, had “special powers” to intervene in the transferred subjects as well

Creation of Federal Court;

- In Delhi, a federal court was established to settle conflicts between provinces as well as between the center and the provinces
- It was to have one Chief Justice and a maximum of six judges.

Franchise;

- The franchise was increased from 3% to 14% of the total population
- For the first time in India, this Act established direct elections

Reorganization;

- From the Bombay Presidency, Sindh emerged
- The states of Bihar and Orissa were separated
- Burma was cut off from the rest of India
- Aden was set up as a Crown colony after being separated from India
- The Reserve Bank of India was founded to manage India's currency and credit
- The Federal Public Service Commission, Provincial Public Service Commission, and Joint Public Service Commission were established for two or more provinces

Besides the National Liberal Federation, Indian political parties also opposed the Government of India Act of 1935. It was dubbed a "slave constitution" by the Indian National Congress intended to "strengthen and perpetuate India's economic bondage." On the other hand, Congress encouraged its members to run in the Act's elections, win seats in provincial legislatures, and then seek to undermine the Act.

Drawbacks of the Government of India Act 1935:-

1. Government of India Act: Formation of All India Federation

- By granting the Princely States 1/3rd representation in the envisaged Federal Assembly based on the nomination, the British shrewdly wanted to have their say in the Assembly through "committed princes." This charade was exposed by Congress and never implemented

2. Government of India Act: Failure at the Federal Level;

- The system of religion-based and class-based electorates was bolstered, fuelling separatist sentiments
- The Governor-General was advised by an executive councilor who was not accountable to the Central Legislature on foreign affairs, defense, tribal lands, and ecclesiastical affairs
- The Governor-General retained residuary rights to override decisions made by the Central Legislature, such as restoring grant cuts, certifying bills rejected by the Assembly.

3. Government of India Act: Failure at the Provincial Level;

The Government of India 1935 Act allegedly attempted to offer provinces autonomy by deriving the Governor's legal authority from the British Crown. However, the following were the defects of the Government of India Act 1935:

- The Governor had many special powers over minorities, civil workers' rights, and the ability to take over and run the administration in "exceptional circumstances"
- It was evident that under the Government of India Act 1935, it was entirely possible that 40% of the budget would not be voted on

4. Government of India Act 1935: Failure at the Constitutional Level;

It established an extremely rigid constitution with amending powers reserved for the British Parliament, depriving Indians of any appearance of self-determination. The Government of India 1935 Act, in the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, "supplied a car with all brakes and no engines." The first attempt to offer the autonomy of the provinces was the Government of India Act 1935. Women's growth in the decision-making process benefited from separate electorates. This Act also proposed the formation of a federal government, which would allow princes to participate in India's political affairs. The new Act gave the Governors and Governor-General far-reaching powers of discretion. The act lacked a suitable federal structure, leaving the governor-general in charge of the majority of the power.

The Provincial Elections of 1937

Provincial elections were held in British India in the winter of 1936-37 as mandated by the Government of India Act 1935. Elections were held in eleven provinces - Madras, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, the United Provinces, the Bombay Presidency, Assam, the North-West Frontier Province, Bengal, Punjab and Sind.

The final results of the elections were declared in February 1937. The Indian National Congress emerged in power in seven of the provinces, Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, Bihar, and Orissa, with 707 seats. The exceptions were Bengal, where the Congress was nevertheless the largest party, Punjab, Sindh, and Assam. The All-India Muslim League failed to form the government in any province. However, this was the election where the All India Muslim League (AIML) led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah became a significant political power in India, winning 109 seats. The Unionist party led by Sikandar Hayat Khan won 101 seats.

The 1937 elections demonstrated that neither the Muslim League nor the Congress represented Muslims. It also demonstrated the provincial moorings of Muslim politics. The Muslim League captured around 25 percent of the seats reserved for Muslims. The Congress Muslims achieved 6 percent of them. Most of the Muslim seats were won by regional Muslim parties. No Congress Muslim won in Sindh, Punjab, Bengal, Orissa, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bombay and Assam. Most of the 26 seats the Congress captured were in NWFP, Madras and Bihar. As the provincial elections officially declared the Indian National Congress to be the largest party in India, with AIML being second, it also displayed the unity and strength of the regional parties that shook the foundations of the INC, and the AIML- at large.

The Forward Bloc

The Forward Bloc was founded by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1939. Subhas Chandra Bose resigned from the Indian National Congress after he conflicted with Mahatma Gandhi. The formation of the Forward Bloc was publicly declared in a rally in Kolkata. It was a nationalist party with left-wing ideologies. Netaji declared that those who were joining the party would have to sign the party form with blood from their fingers. The Presidency was assumed by Bose and SS Cavasheer became the Vice President. The main objective of the Forward Bloc was to establish a classless society and follow the ideals of Socialism. The Indian National Army also known as the Azad Hind Fauj was founded by Netaji to fight for the freedom of India.

The Constitution and Programme of the Forward Bloc were ratified in the Bombay session. Besides the main aim of the party of establishing equality and an impartial society, the other aims of the party were improving the conditions of the peasants, the welfare of the working class and national unity. The main aim of the Forward Bloc was to fight for the freedom of India. Mahatma Gandhi had not wanted Subhash Chandra Bose to become the Congress President which made their relationship sour. Gandhi had his support for Pattabhi Sitaramayya whom Bose had defeated.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE FORWARD BLOC:

The following were the cornerstones on which the forward bloc was formed:

- Bose formed the Forward Bloc and announced that the party would work within Congress. However, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution by which he was disqualified to be a member of any Congress Committee for three years.
- The immediate objective of the Forward Bloc was to liberate India with the help and support of the workers, peasants, youth, and all the other radical organizations.
- It was laid down that after attaining independence, the party would work to establish a socialist society in the country by adopting some measures.

The Arrest of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose: Bose was arrested by the government because of his radical ideas and for propagating anti- government feelings among the masses. While being in prison, he went on a hunger strike. On the seventh day of his fast, the government released him and put him under house arrest in Kolkata. In January 1941, he managed to escape house arrest by dressing in disguise. He crossed the Indian border and reached Russia via Afghanistan. He then flew from Moscow to Berlin in March 1941. There he met Adolf Hitler and expressed his desire to free India from British rule. From Berlin, he ran propaganda against British rule in India. A Free India Centre was set up in Berlin in November 1941. He also became the Editor-in-Chief of the English monthly Azad Hind. Bose also founded a Free India Centre in Rome. In southeast Asia, during the Second World War, the Japanese troops had occupied the British colonies of Singapore, Malaya and

Myanmar. As a result, a large number of Indians fell into their hands as prisoners of war. These soldiers wanted to free India from British rule. Thus, the Indian Independence League was formed under the guidance of Rash Behari Bose. The main aim of the League was to mobilize the Indian soldiers and community for securing independence.

The Lahore Resolution, 1940

The Lahore resolution was the first ever point in the history of India that laid the landmark for a two- nation theory. The Lahore resolution was prepared as a mandate by twenty-five members of the working committee of the Muslim League, from the 22nd to 24th March, 1940. This was the first resolution to ask for a greater Muslim autonomy within British India; however the Lahore resolution was widely interpreted as a call for an autonomic Muslim state of Pakistan. The venue of the session was Minto Park near Badshahi Masjid and Lahore Fort. According to a rough estimate around 100,000 attended the public meeting. In the beginning of the session, the welcome address was presented by the Nawab of Mamdot. This was followed by a speech from Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Jinnah in his two hours presidential address in English narrated the events that took place in the past few months and concluded:

“Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together, and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations that are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.”

He further claimed, *“Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nationhood. We wish our people to develop to the fullest spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people”*.

During his speech, he quoted the letter written by Lala Lajpat Rai in 1924 to C.R. Das in which he clearly mentioned that the Hindus and the Muslims were two separate and distinct nations which could never be merged into a single nation. When Malik Barkat Ali claimed that Lala Lajpat Rai was a “Nationalist Hindu leader”, Jinnah responded, “No Hindu can be a nationalist. Every Hindu is a Hindu first and last.” On March 23, A.K. Fazul Haq, the Chief Minister of Bengal, moved the Lahore Resolution. The Resolution consisted of five paragraphs and each paragraph was only one sentence long. Although clumsily worded, it delivered a clear message. The resolution declared:

“While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.”

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de novo and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguard shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defense, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

Besides many others, the Resolution was seconded by Chaudhary Khaliquzzam from UP, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan from Punjab, Sardar Aurangzeb from the N.W.F.P, Sir Abdullah Haroon from Sindh, and Qazi Muhammad Esa from Balochistan. Those who seconded the resolution, in their speeches declared the occasion as a historic one. The Resolution was eventually passed on the last day of the moot, i.e. March 24.

The name Pakistan was not used in the resolution and the official name of the resolution was Lahore Resolution. It was the Hindu newspapers including Partap, Bande Matram, Milap, Tribune etc., who ironically coined the name Pakistan Resolution. However, the idea was appreciated by the Muslim masses and the Resolution is more known as the Pakistan Resolution.

A Resolution passed at the 1941 Madras session of the League stated, **"Everyone should clearly understand that we are striving for one independent and sovereign Muslim State."** In all the speeches that Jinnah delivered, he also used the word **"an independent homeland"** or **"an independent Muslim state"**.

The Hindu reaction was quick and bitter. They called the “Pakistan” demand “**anti-national.**” They characterized it as “**vivisection**”; above all, they denounced it as imperialist – **inspired to obstruct India’s march to freedom.**” In denouncing the demand outright, they, however, missed the central fact of the Indian political situation; the astonishingly tremendous response of the Pakistan demand had elicited from the Muslim masses. They also failed to take cognizance of the fact that a hundred million Muslims were now supremely conscious of their distinct nationhood and were prepared to stake everything to actualize their self-perceived destiny – the creation of an independent Muslim state in the sub-continent. The British were equally hostile to the Muslim demand for at least two important reasons. First, they had long considered themselves as the architects of the unity of India and of an Indian nation. Second, they had long regarded the superimposed unity under tax as their greatest achievement and lasting contribution in history. And the Pakistan demand threatened to undo these presumed achievements on which the British had long prided. However, despite the Hindu denunciation and the British alarm, the course of Muslim, indeed Indian, politics was from now on firmly set towards Pakistan.

The All India Muslim League Resolution of March 1940, commonly known as the Pakistan Resolution, is undoubtedly the most important event that changed the course of Indian history and left deep marks on world history. With the passage of this Resolution, the Muslims of the sub-continent changed their demand from “Separate Electorates” to a “Separate State.” This Resolution rejected the idea of a United India and the creation of an independent Muslim state was set as their ultimate goal.

The August Offer, 1940.

In order to win over the sympathies of the Indian masses and political parties during the war, His Majesty's Government issued a White Paper on August 8, 1940. The document, which later on is known as the August Offer in history books, promised for the establishment of an independent Indian Constituent Assembly with completely indigenous representation and a power to frame the future constitution of the country. The offer also provided the option for the extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Simultaneously, the August Offer talked about the rights of minorities, especially Muslims as it declared that the majority community will not be given the veto power and full weight would be given to the views of minorities in making of the Constitution. However, the document made it clear that all the promises will be fulfilled after the conclusion of the war and that too if all the communities and political parties would help the British in their war efforts.

In order to discuss the August Offer, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and a few members of the All India Muslim League held meetings with the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, on August 12 and 14.

The INC rejected this offer at its meeting at Wardha in August 1940. It demanded complete freedom from colonial rule. Jawaharlal Nehru remarked that the dominion status concept was as dead as a doornail.

This was followed by the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee on September 1 and 2. The Committee appreciated the clauses of the offer in which the British agreed to accept that no future constitution will be recognized by the Government without the approval and consent of the minority communities. However, the committee showed its reservations on issues like the composition of the Executive Council and the vagueness of the War Advisory Council. The Working Committee also made it clear that no formula was accepted by the party which was against the spirit of the Lahore Resolution which clearly declared that the Muslims of India were a nation by themselves and they alone were the final judges and arbiters of their own future destiny. This made one thing clear- that the motto of the Muslim League was to achieve the clauses of the Lahore Resolution.

The Indian National Army

Following the outbreak of World War II, Japan invaded SouthEast Asia. At the time 70,000 troops were stationed in the region, most of them along the Malayan coast. Japan conducted a lightning campaign which culminated in the fall of the Malayan peninsula and Singapore in 1942. In the Singapore campaign alone, 45,000 Indian prisoners of war were captured. It was from these prisoners of war that the Japanese decided to create an auxiliary army which would fight against the British. The first Indian National Army (hereinafter referred to as the INA), was formed under Mohan Singh, a former officer of the British Indian Army captured during the Malay campaign. Conditions in the prisoner of war camps, as well as resentment against the British in general, saw many prisoners of war volunteering to join the INA. The initiative received considerable support from the Imperial Japanese Army and from the ethnic Indian population of South-East Asia. However, disagreements between Mohan Singh and Japanese Army Command regarding the autonomy of the Indian National Army led to the disbandment of the first INA in December 1942.

SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE AND THE SECOND INA:

Although Mohan Singh had angered the Japanese Army Command through his actions, they relented to form a second Indian National Army. Mohan Singh himself recommended Subash Chandra Bose for the leadership role. His reputation as a committed nationalist was known to both the Indian diaspora of South East Asia and the Imperial Japanese Army. As such, they were more open to the idea of a nationalist army led by Subash Chandra Bose. The activities of Subash Chandra Bose in India had forced the British authorities to imprison him, but he escaped and reached Berlin in 1941.

Although the German leadership was sympathetic to his cause, logistical problems prevented them from granting any support to his quest for raising an army to fight the British. However, the Japanese were ready to support him and upon their personal invitation, Subash Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore in July 1943 to take command of what would be known as the second Indian National Army, now known by its alternative name as the Azad Hind Fauj.

OPERATIONS OF THE AZAD HIND FAUJ:

After Subash Chandra Bose took command of the Azad Hind Fauj, there was a swell of volunteers looking to join the INA. Although Subash Chandra Bose agreed for the INA to remain subordinate to the Japanese Army, he saw it as a necessary sacrifice towards the fulfillment of the ultimate goal of freeing India from the British Empire. The Azad Hind Fauj participated in Operation U-Go, the 1944 Japanese campaign towards British India. Although the INA saw initial success during the early phases of the operation, they were forced to withdraw during the battle of Imphal and battle of Kohima (Fought on April 4th, 1944) which saw the disastrous defeat for the Japanese Army at the hands of the British.

The INA lost a substantial number of men and materiel in this retreat. A number of units were disbanded or used to feed into new divisions of the now declining Japanese Army

Following the Japanese defeat in World War 2, most of the members of the INA were captured by the British. Subash Chandra Bose himself eluded capture and was reported to

have died in a plane crash near Taiwan in September 1945. The main objectives of the INA were as follows:

- 1) To organize an armed revolution and to fight the British army with modern arms.
- 2) Since it was not possible for the Indians to organize an armed revolution from their homeland, this task must be assigned to the Indians living abroad, particularly on Indians living in East Asia.
- 3) To organize a provisional government of Free India in order to mobilize all the forces effectively.
- 4) Total mobilization of Indian man-power and money for a total war.
- 5) The motto of the INA was 'unity, faith, sacrifice'.

The main achievements of the INA were as follows:

1. The INA made preparations to launch its fight for the liberation of India and went into action in February 1944.
2. INA captured Mowdok, an outpost situated south-east of Chittagong and advanced up to the frontier of India.
3. They captured the strong military post of Klang Klang.
4. The INA gave a tough fight to the British forces in the Assam hills and succeeded in capturing Ukhral and Kohima.
5. They raised the Tricolour Flag for the first time on the liberated Indian soil on March 19, 1944.

However, logistics were in a very bad shape. There was no ammunition and food left with the army. Eventually, the Britishers conducted a series of Air raids on all the occupied areas. Japan withdrew its forces in Imphal and INA lost the battle. The combined forces of INA and Japan had to retreat and they had to escape from the Indian National Front. In August 1945 it was aired that Subhash Chandra Bose died in a plane crash. On September 2nd, 1945, the Second World War ended. Thus, INA failed to achieve its ultimate objective which was Independence.

The Quit India Movement

The Quit India Movement started on August 8, 1942, also known as the August Kranti Movement, calling for the end of British rule in India at the All India Congress Committee's session in Bombay. At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Mumbai, Mahatma Gandhi demanded the end of British rule and launched the Quit India Movement. In his address at the Gowalia Tank Maidan, Mahatma Gandhi urged listeners to "Do or Die". The Indian flag was raised at the Gowalia Tank Maidan in Mumbai during the Quit India Movement by Aruna Asaf Ali, also referred to as the "Grand Old Lady" of the Independence Movement. Yusuf Meherally, a socialist and trade unionist who served as Mayor of Mumbai, is the author of the phrase "Quit India."

CAUSES OF THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT:

There were many suppressed causes of the Quit India Movement. Japan, one of the Axis Powers that fought alongside the British against them in the Second World War, was advancing on the northern and eastern borders of India by 1939. The South-East Asian populations that the British had abandoned were left in a precarious situation. The Indian populace had misgivings about the British government's ability to protect India against Axis attack, hence this action did not inspire much faith in them. Gandhi also held the opinion that if the British departed India, Japan would lack sufficient justification for an invasion. Apart from learning about British military losses, the war's hardships, such as skyrocketing costs for necessities, fueled animosity toward the British administration. The Cripps Mission's failure to guarantee any sort of constitutional solution for India's issues also prompted the INC to call for a large-scale Civil Disobedience Movement. The fall of the Cripps Mission was the movement's prime reason. The mission was established to settle the Indian dispute over a new constitution and self-government under Stafford Cripps. It failed because, in addition to the split, it granted India, not complete freedom but rather Dominion Status.

PHASES OF THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT:

The Quit India Movement had three phases, in India- each characterized by its own distinct features. They are:

- 1) *First Phase of Quit India Movement:* In the first phase, there were strikes and demonstrations across the country. Mahatma Gandhi was imprisoned in the Aga Khan Palace in Pune. Several other leaders were also detained by the Britishers.
- 2) *Second Phase of Quit India Movement:* The second phase of the Quit India Movement saw many peasant rebellions marked by the destruction of communication systems, such as railway tracks and stations, telegraph wires and poles, attacks on government buildings or any other visible symbol of colonial authority.
- 3) *Third Phase of Quit India Movement:* The third and final phase of the Quit India Movement witnessed the formation of national governments or parallel governments in isolated pockets such as Ballia, Tamluk, Satara etc.

IMPACT OF THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

In response to Gandhi's appeal, the British administration immediately detained all significant Congress leaders the following day. Everyone from Gandhi to Nehru to Patel was detained. As a result, the Quit India movement was left in the hands of younger leaders like Ram Manohar Lohia and Jayaprakash Narayan. Out of the leadership vacuum, other leaders developed, such as Aruna Asaf Ali. Over 100,000 people have been arrested in connection with the Quit India movement. To put an end to the violence the authorities used force. They were mass floggings and lathi charges. Even women and children were not spared. In total, about 10,000 persons were killed by police shootings.

There was no communal conflict. An INC ban was imposed. Nearly the whole duration of the war, its commanders were imprisoned. In 1944, Gandhi was released due to health concerns. Gandhi's plea was heeded by the populace in a big way. However, there were isolated incidents of violence and damage to government property because of a lack of leadership. Electricity lines were cut, communication and transportation networks were disrupted, and numerous buildings were set on fire. Some parties refused to back the movement. Muslim League, Communist Party of India (the government later lifted the party's ban), and Hindu Mahasabha all voiced disapproval.

The League opposed the British leaving India without first dividing the nation. In reality, Jinnah urged more Muslims to join the military and fight in the conflict. Due to their alliance with the Soviet Union, the Communist party supported the war that the British were waging. By this time, Subhas Chandra Bose was working from abroad to set up the Azad Hind government and the Indian National Army. C. Rajagopalachari left the INC because he didn't support total independence. The Quit India Movement was not generally supported by the Indian bureaucracy. All around the nation, there were strikes and protests. Workers supported the movement by refusing to work in the factories, despite the communist group's lack of support. Parallel governments were also established in several locations. For instance, Ballia, Tamluk, and Satara. The movement's focal points were Karnataka, Maharashtra, Midnapore, and Uttar Pradesh. The protests continued until 1944.

OUTCOME OF THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

The Violence that wasn't planned happened in certain places during the Quit India movement. The British forcefully put an end to the movement; people were shot, lathi-charged, villages were set on fire, and huge fines were imposed. To suppress the unrest, the authorities used brutality and detained more than 100,000 individuals. This movement was opposed by many parties and collaborations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Communist Party of India, and the Muslim League. The movement was also not supported by the Indian bureaucracy. The League opposed the British leaving India without first dividing the nation. Since the British were associated with the Soviet Union, the Communist party supported them. The Hindu Mahasabha publicly rejected the Quit India Movement's appeal and boycotted it out of concern that it would lead to internal unrest and threaten internal security during the war. Subhas Chandra Bose organized the Azad Hind administration and the Indian National Army while operating from outside. Because they opposed Mahatma Gandhi's

concept, many Congress members, including C Rajagopalachari, resigned from the provincial legislature.

END OF THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT: The draft resolution, which was sent to a closed-door meeting of the congress working committee at Allahabad a fortnight after the return of Stafford Cripps, fell into the hands of British Intelligence. The Indian Communist Party had switched loyalty to the British after the attack on the Soviet Union. Thus, the plan failed before it could be officially adopted; or preparations made for its implementation. All leaders were subsequently arrested immediately. The immediate impact was a massive set of disturbance across the length and breadth of India: Bombay, Ahmedabad, Puna, Kanpur, Delhi, Banaras, Allahabad, Patna, Jamshedpur etc. The spill-over effects lasted for quite a bit of time, as city after city and people after people set about letting their views known in no uncertain terms. There were rampant attacks on a huge number of government offices and all signs of government authority. There were also physical attacks on Europeans. In the first week, 250 railway stations were destroyed or damaged, 500 post offices and 150 police stations were attacked. In Karnataka alone, there were 1600 incidents of cutting of telegraph wires. Unarmed crowds faced police and military firing on 538 occasions. They were also machine-gunned by low flying aircraft. Several political groups active during the Indian independence movement were opposed to the Quit India Movement. These included the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the Communist Party of India and the princely states. The Muslim League opposed the Quit India Movement as it was of the view that if the British left India in its current state, Muslims as a minority would be oppressed by the Hindu majority. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's opposition to Gandhi's call led to large numbers of Muslims cooperating with the British, and enlisting in the army. Hindu nationalist parties like the Hindu Mahasabha openly opposed the call for the Quit India Movement and boycotted it officially. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, the president of the Hindu Mahasabha at that time, even went to the extent of writing a letter titled "Stick to your Posts", in which he instructed Hindu Sabhaites who happened to be "members of municipalities, local bodies, legislatures or those serving in the army....to stick to their posts" across the country, and not to join the Quit India Movement at any cost. Lack of direct leadership, large protests and demonstrations were held all over the country. Workers remained absent en masse and strikes were called. Not all demonstrations were peaceful, at some places bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity was cut and transport and communication lines were severed. The British swiftly responded with mass detentions. Over 100,000 arrests were made, mass fines were levied and demonstrators were subjected to public flogging. Hundreds of civilians were killed in violence many shot by the police army.

The Cripps Mission

The British were alarmed at the successive victories of Japan during the 1940s. When Burma was turned into a battlefield and the war reached the Indian borders, the British started feeling more concerned about the future of India. Moreover the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League were widening fast and visibly there was no chance to bring both the parties on a common agenda. In these circumstances, the British Government sent a mission to India in 1942 under Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, in order to achieve Hindu-Muslim consensus on some constitutional arrangement and to convince the Indians to postpone their struggle till the end of the Second World War. Sir Stafford Cripps was from the left wing of the British Labour Party, a form traditionally soft to Indian self rule respecting the prospects for an independent India. He was also a member of the war cabinet of Winston Churchill and had long been responsible for the Indian independence bloc. Cripps arrived in Delhi on March 22, 1942 and had a series of meetings with Indian politicians including Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, A. K. Fazlul Haq, Dr. Ambedkar, V.D. Savarkar and Tej Bahadur Sapru etc. In the meetings Cripps tried to plead his case before these political leaders and tried to convince them to accept his following proposals:

- 1) During the course of the war, the British would retain their hold on India. Once the war finished, India would be granted dominion status with complete external and internal autonomy. It would however, be associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown.
- 2) At the end of the war, a Constituent Assembly would be set up with the power to frame the future constitution of India. The members of the assembly were to be elected on the basis of proportional representation by the provincial assemblies. Princely States would also be given representation in the Constituent Assembly.
- 3) The provinces not agreeing to the new constitution would have the right to keep itself out of the proposed Union. Such provinces would also be entitled to create their own separate Union. The British government would also invite them to join the commonwealth.
- 4) During the war an interim government of different parties of India would be constituted. However, defense and external affairs would be the sole responsibility of the viceroy.

Jinnah considered these proposals as “unsatisfactory” and was of the view that the acceptance of the Cripps proposals would “take the Muslims to the gallows.” He said that the proposals have “aroused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions, especially with reference to the Pakistan Scheme which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India. We will, therefore, endeavor that the principle of Pakistan which finds only veiled recognition in the Document should be conceded in unequivocal terms.” Jinnah, however, was happy to know that in the Cripps proposals, at least the British Government had agreed in principle to the Muslim League’s demand of the partition of India. Yet, he wanted the British Government and Cripps to thoroughly amend the proposals to make them acceptable for the Muslim League.

Actually Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders were convinced that Cripps was a traditional supporter of Congress and thus could not present an objective solution to the problem. On the arrival of Cripps, he made it clear that he was a friend of Congress and

would only support the Congress' interests. Congress leaders themselves accepted that Cripps was their man. On his first visit to India, Cripps in fact attended the meetings of the Congress Working Committee. He also visited Gandhi and was so impressed by him that he wore white khadi suit. He openly ridiculed the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan when he said, "we cannot deny 25 crore Hindus the desire for United India only because 9 crore Muslims oppose it." In fact the proposals Cripps presented consisted mainly of the ideas which were discussed in a meeting between Nehru and Cripps in 1938. The mission was a constructive negotiating pathway between the nationalistic congress leaders speaking on behalf of the Hindu population of India and Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League speaking on behalf of the Muslim population in India. The Cripps mission was predominantly framed from a British perspective, with the sole goal of making the Indians loyal to the British war efforts in return of Election Provisions and Dominion Status that is established as a new nation. Sir Cripps discussed the policies which he had framed with the Indian Leaders and also published them. Successively the Indian national congress had moved on into the quit India movement, thus refusing to cooperate with the war efforts of the British and therefore during the period of the war almost the entire congress leadership was behind the bars. The mission failed, primarily because of the three following reasons:

- 1) Gandhi's refusal to the proposal almost withdrew congress support entirely from the Cripps mission and the Muslim league was against it from the very beginning.
- 2) The original terms of the treaty were changed by sir Stafford Cripps and in reality no provisions were made for a change in political power.
- 3) The secretary of the state for India and the viceroy secretly tried to cancel and sabotage the mission.

The Gandhi- Jinnah Talks of 1944

The passing of the Resolution on 23rd March by the All- India Muslim League at its Lahore session created a serious situation for the Congress leadership. Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi wrote in Harijan on 6th April 1940, **“I admit that the step taken by the Muslim League at Lahore creates a baffling situation...the Two Nations theory is an untruth. The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or are the descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation, as soon as they converted”**. C.

Rajagopalachari, a liberal congress leader, who had to resign from the Congress because of his views, however, realized the necessity for Hindu-Muslim reconciliation as a prerequisite for the attainment of independence. On 23rd April 1942, Rajagopalachari addressed a small gathering of his old Congress supporters in the Madras legislature and had a resolution passed for submission to the All India Congress committee, recommending the acceptance of partition in principle.

On 2nd May 1942, he mooted his proposal on Pakistan in the AICC at Allahabad, which stated, **“...it has become necessary to choose the lesser evil and acknowledge the Muslim League’s claim for separation.”** The proposal was rejected by 120 to 15 votes. Rajaji did not give up hope, but kept on negotiating with Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad All Jinnah during April 1944, when Gandhi and other Congress leaders were in jail. The correspondence was released to the press on 9th July 1944, and contained what came to be known as the “Rajaji Formula”. It was intended to form the basis of the talks between Jinnah and Gandhi for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. Rajaji declared that he had already obtained Gandhi’s approval for the formula.

Jinnah placed the formula before the Working Committee of the Muslim League on 30th July 1944, but personally considered it unsatisfactory. He told the committee that Mr. Gandhi is offering a **“shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan.”** Though, in his private capacity Jinnah expressed his pleasure at Gandhi’s acceptance of at least “the principle of Pakistan.”

Meanwhile Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, leader of the Khaksar Movement also addressed letters to Jinnah and Gandhi urging them to meet to discuss the Hindu-Muslim problem. Gandhi took the initiative and wrote to Jinnah, **“Let us meet whenever you wish, do not disappoint me.”** The Muslim League Council meeting at Lahore invested Jinnah with full powers to negotiate with Gandhi on its behalf. Jinnah accepted the offer and suggested a meeting between the two and offering his residence at Bombay as venue for discussion.

It must be noted that while Jinnah had full powers to negotiate on behalf of the Muslim League, Gandhi was undertaking this enterprise on his own behalf without the official sanction of the Congress. Many members of the Congress expressed disapproval at Gandhi’s move. The Mahasabha young men shouted anti-Pakistan slogans at Gandhi’s prayer meeting at Panchgani. The meeting took place between the two leaders at Bombay from 9th September to 27th September. They met almost daily, and sometimes even twice in a day. On 27th September, Jinnah announced the termination of talks after the failure of the two leaders to reach an agreement saying, **“We trust that this is not the final end of our effort.”** While Gandhi commented, **“the breakdown is only so- called. It is an adjournment sine die.”**

The discussion as well as the correspondence can be divided into three distinct stages. The first stage when Jinnah asked Gandhi for clarification of various points in the Rajaji formula. The second stage started when Gandhi, on account of obvious difficulties, shunted the Rajaji formula, and attempted to apply his mind to the Lahore Resolution. Eventually Gandhi made some new proposals and after this the final breakdown took place.

An analysis of the correspondence clearly shows that the talk failed because Gandhi simply refused to accept the Lahore Resolution as interpreted by Jinnah. He did not believe in the two nation theory which was the fundamental basis of the Muslims' demand, and totally rejected the Muslims right of self-determination. On 4th October Jinnah in a press conference at Bombay said, **"In one breath Gandhi agrees to the principle of division and in the next he makes proposals which go to destroy the very foundation on which the division is claimed by Muslim India."**

On one hand Gandhi wanted a League-Congress agreement, and on the other denied the League's representative character and authority to speak on behalf of the Muslims of India. In his letter of 25th September 1944, Jinnah summed up Gandhi's attitude to the Lahore Resolution, thus "You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of Lahore Resolution:

- 1) You did not accept that the Muslims of India are a nation.
- 2) You do not accept that the Muslims have an inherent right of self-determination.
- 3) You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right.
- 4) You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces, namely, Sindh, Balochistan, the North-West Frontier provinces, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam subject to territorial adjustments."

Gandhi wanted that first the people of India should oust the British with their joint action. When India was free then by mutual settlement and agreement two separate states could be created. Jinnah was not prepared to trust the words of Gandhi or the Congress. He said separation must come first and then matters of common interest between the two states would be settled by a treaty.

The majority of the Hindus, especially the Mahasabhaites received the news of the breakdown of these talks with utmost relief and joy, for they were anxious lest their leader should commit him to the 'vivisection of Mother India'. It was the Muslims who were most bitterly disappointed when the talks failed.

While these talks failed- it clearly signified that Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was indeed the Leader of the Muslim League and the voice of the Muslims, however- the Indian National Congress, was divided amongst itself- as it could not decide its own leader.

The Wavell Plan of 1945

In October 1943 the British Government decided to replace Lord Linlithgow with Lord Wavell as the Viceroy of India. Before assuming the charge, Wavell worked as the Chief of the Indian army and thus had quite an understanding of the Indian situation. Right after assuming charge as Viceroy, Wavell's most important task was to present a formula for the solution of the Indian problem which was acceptable for both the Congress and the Muslim League. After doing his basic homework, in May 1945 he visited London and discussed his suggestions with the British Government. The London talks resulted in the formulation of a definite plan of action that was officially made public simultaneously on June 14, 1945 by L.S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons and by Wavell in a broadcast speech delivered from Delhi. The plan, commonly known as Wavell Plan presented the following proposals:

- 1) If all the Indian political parties would help the British in the war then the British Government would introduce Constitutional Reforms in India after the war.
- 2) Viceroy's Executive Council would be immediately reconstituted and the number of its members would be increased.
- 3) In that Council there would be equal representation of high class Hindus and the Muslims.
- 4) Other minorities including low-caste Hindus, Shudders and Sikhs would be given representation in the Council.
- 5) All the members of the Council, except the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would be Indians.
- 6) An Indian would be appointed as the member of Foreign Affairs in the Council. However, a British Commissioner would be appointed to look after the matters relating to the trade.
- 7) Defense of India was to be in the hands of a British authority till Power was transferred to the Indian hands.
- 8) Viceroy would convene a meeting of the Indian politicians including the leaders of Congress and the Muslim League so that they could nominate the names of the members of the new Council.
- 9) If this plan were approved by the Central Government, then the same type of popular ministries consisting of the political leaders would be formed in all the provinces.
- 10) None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent Constitution of India.
- 11) In order to discuss the proposal with the Indian leaders, Wavell summoned a conference in Simla on June 25, 1945.

The Simla Conference of 1945

Being a military commander Lord Wavell possessed great administrative experience. When he took over as Viceroy, the tide of the Second World War was turning in favor of the allies. Lord Wavell declared that the British Government wanted to see India as an independent and prosperous country. When the war ended in August 1945, Viceroy Lord Wavell decided to hold a political conference to which he invited Muslim League and Congress representatives. The conference began in Simla on June 24, 1945 and lasted till July 14, 1945.

The Viceroy proposed an Interim Central Government in which all the portfolios except that of war would be given to Indians. There was to be parity of representation between Muslims and caste Hindus. There was a deadlock over the Muslim League's demand that all five Muslim members of the Executive Council should be the nominees of the Muslim League. The Viceroy was of the opinion that four members should be taken from the Muslim League while the fifth member should be a Punjabi Muslim who did not belong to the Muslim League. The Viceroy's insistence on having a non-leaguer in the Executive Council was in accordance with the advice given by British and Hindu officials to support Khizar Hayat Tiwana in his stand against Muslim League.

Khizar Hayat Tiwana, Chief Minister of Punjab, had demanded that one seat of the Executive Council, out of Muslim quota, should be given to his Unionist Party which was happily accepted by the Viceroy. The Congress also supported Khizar Hayat in his stand against the Muslim League. The Congress denied Muslim League's claim of being the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. Jinnah took a strong stand on these two issues and the conference failed to achieve anything and finally ended on 14th July 1945.

While the plan proposed immediate changes to the composition of the Executive Council it did not contain any guarantee of independence, nor did it contain any mention of a future constituent assembly or any proposals for the division of power between the various parties of India.

What does the Executive Board expect?

The content mentioned above in the study guide is merely a summarization of what exactly happened, in an unbiased manner. We expect you to treat this document just as the starting point of your research, and expand further on the points mentioned in the study guide. In addition to research, we expect you to be strategic in terms of your policy. Considering the fact that this is a Continuous Crisis Committee, your stance is bound to change- as different crises are put forward. Do not be afraid to take your decision, and take it with full confidence- after listening to your gut feeling. We also expect good committee presence, and detailed yet relevant communique- be it private or public.

While doing the above, we expect the committee as a whole to answer the following questions at this conference set in 1946:

- 1) What does India want? Does it want Independence, or does it want a regime that is controlled by a foreign power?
- 2) What is the feasibility of a partition? What will be the impacts and ramifications of the same?
- 3) What will be the dynamics of the partition, if any?
- 4) Will an Independent India be self- sufficient, economically, socially, politically, or culturally?
- 5) What will be the system of governance in an Independent India? Who will rule and run it?
- 6) What fundamental rights will the citizens of *Azad Bharat* be given?

And lastly, will you- as a delegate work towards making the nation? Or breaking it?

With that- Best of Luck,

See you through time- on the 16th August, 1946.

Position Papers

A position paper, is a pre committee document- that is sent to the Executive Board. It shows your stance on the given agenda, while also giving an overview of the problem and the solutions for it. The format to be preferably followed is:

- 1) Statement of the Problem
- 2) Policy/Stance on the Agenda at Hand
- 3) Solutions
- 4) Conclusion

The last date for the submission of position papers is 10th July, 2023, 11: 59 P.M.

All position papers and other documents and paperwork must be mailed to abippm.jacomun23@gmail.com. This shall be the official e-mail ID of this committee for communication at JacoMUN'23. Any and all committee doubts are also to be mailed to this e-mail ID, without hesitation.

Please note that in addition to position papers, private/public communiques, directives and action orders will be accepted by the Executive Board. As for formal paperwork on Day 3, that will later be clarified depending upon how committee proceeds.

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