

# Edexcel IGCSE History

## Option B5: Colonial rule and the nationalist challenge in India, 1919-47

Student Notes  
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# Chapter 1

## Background to 1919: British rule in India in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century

India had first been governed as a trading colony by the East India Company but was only ruled by the British government in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, there were large areas of India that were ruled by princes - these were known as the princely states - who made treaties with the British to guarantee their security. The biggest princely state was Hyderabad with a population of about 15m in 1900. British rule in India became known as 'the Raj'. In 1900, there was virtually no opposition to British rule in India, but within forty years there was almost universal hatred of the British and the demand for independence came from all sections of society.

India had become known as 'the brightest jewel in the British crown'.

- The cost of running India was paid for by the taxes collected from the Indian people.
- In 1900 India had a population of about 300,000,000 people. About 210,000,000 were Hindus, 75,000,000 were Muslims and the remainder were Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists, Jains and other religions.
- In 1900, the entire white population of India was c120,000.
- In 1900, there were c6,000 Europeans in public service and c1,000 in the elite Indian Civil Service. Thus a tiny number of British people held the most important posts in such a vastly populated area.
- Though a colony, the British had contributed to the development of India and ensured there was investment. 25,000 miles of railways, 70,000 miles of canals had been constructed and several million hectares of land had been irrigated by the beginning of the twentieth century.
- British India was ruled by the Viceroy, who was appointed by the British government at Westminster. The Viceroy was the representative of the king/queen, who was known as the Emperor/Empress of India. There was also a Secretary of State for India - this Minister sat in the Cabinet.
- After 1861, the Viceroy governed with the aid of the Imperial Legislative Council, which passed laws for India and which was appointed by the British government.

- There was a standing Indian army of about 2 million soldiers and in the early twentieth century 50 battalions were trained especially for putting down rebellions. The army was often used for this purpose.
- There was a police force of some 200,000 officers.
- The Indian National Congress was set up in 1885 and initially its membership comprised middle class, university educated Indians. It was moderate in its outlook and harboured no thoughts of independence - it sought dialogue with the British.
- In 1906, the Muslim League was set up. Its strongest support came from Muslims who were frightened of Hindu domination, and wanted to protect their rights and interests as a community. There was no demand for a separate nation at this time.

Changes were made to the way the British governed India in 1909 when the Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced. (Named after the Secretary of State for India, John Morley, and the Viceroy Lord Minto). They were brought in because there had been an outbreak of violence after the province of Bengal had been divided into two by the former Viceroy Lord Curzon. They were intended to give greater representation to Indians.

#### The terms of the Morley-Minto reforms, 1909

- The number of members of the Imperial Legislative Council was increased to 60 and 27 of these were to be elected.
- Indians were allowed to sit on the Imperial Legislative Council for the first time.
- The number of the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils was also increased. It was fixed as 50 in the provinces of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and for the rest of the provinces it was 30. This gave Indians a much greater voice in provincial governments.
- Muslim organisations campaigned for special representation of Muslim interests, which led to separate representation for Muslims and other minority groups.
- It was decided that there would be some Muslims on the Imperial Legislative Council (six), and some provincial councils would also permit Muslim membership.

The Morley-Minto reforms were criticised because they allowed only 2% of the population to vote and these were the rich and privileged. Furthermore, the beginnings of political divisions between the Hindus and Muslims began to emerge. These divisions worsened over the next thirty years.

## The impact of the First World War

There was immediate support and expressions of loyalty for Britain at the outbreak of war. About one million Indians fought in the British army on several fronts and almost 65,000 were killed in the fighting. The contribution that Indians made during the war, increased their confidence and there grew the idea that Indians should be given a greater say in the running of governmental affairs.

Yet, despite the huge support, the British passed the Defence of India Act in 1915. The act suspended civil liberties for the duration of the war and was similar to the Defence of the Realm Act in Britain.

Ideas of self-determination were spoken about as justifying the war and thus many Indians began to see that they could be given greater freedom and autonomy at the end of the conflict. Indians could look to the dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa and claim to be their equal. For many Indians, the war had opened a box which could not be closed. Home Rule Leagues were being established and there were efforts to put over the independence message by holding rallies, publishing papers, pamphlets and using preachers in order to get the message over to as wide an audience as possible. By 1917, the Home Rule Leagues had more than 60,000 members.

Then in 1916, the Muslim League and Congress made the Lucknow Pact by which it was agreed that Muslims would have a fixed proportion of seats in an Indian parliament and additional ones where they were in a minority. Both the Muslims and Congress aimed to create a new India which would have Dominion status within the British Empire.

The following year, Edwin Montagu issued what became known as the Montagu Declaration which stated:

*'... The policy of His Majesty's Government is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as part of the British Empire.'*

Following the Declaration, reforms were announced in August 1918 and were eventually put into practice by the Government of India Act in December 1919. It seemed that the war was bringing some important changes to India.

## Chapter 2

### The Rowlatt Acts, Amritsar and the Government of India Act, 1919

#### The Rowlatt Acts

Though the contribution to the war by Indians was huge, ordinary people experienced similar privations and demands as did British citizens. There was increased taxation, food shortages and as usual in war, rising prices. India then began to experience wartime unrest. With the vast bulk of the army fighting abroad, the Viceroy was concerned that if there were serious civil disorder then it would be difficult to maintain peace. This was the background to Montagu suggesting reforms to the Indian government.

The Montagu Declaration received a lukewarm reception and when the reforms were announced in the summer of 1918, there was great disappointment. Some Indians were unhappy to see that there was no immediate move to Home Rule and unrest increased in the Punjab. The Indian government was concerned that it would not be able to cope with continued unrest and set up the Rowlatt Commission to look into the situation.

The Rowlatt Acts were passed in March 1919:

- They extended the emergency measure of the 1915 Defence of India Act.
- They gave the government the right to imprison for a maximum period of two years, without trial, any person suspected of terrorism.
- Suspects could even be tried by only a judge, placed under house arrest.
- There government also had powers of censorship.

The Rowlatt Acts were opposed by all the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council. Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, protested along with other leaders of Indian politics by storming out of the Legislative Assembly.

## Why were the Rowlatt Acts important?

There had been much optimism that the British would change and offer greater autonomy - the Montagu Declaration and the announcement of the reforms in 1918 were evidence of this. However, the Rowlatt Acts simply proved to many Indians that Britain had no intention of relinquishing control. If anything, the Acts showed that Britain was prepared to be as autocratic as the nations it had fought against in the First World War.

The Acts provoked unrest on an unparalleled scale. Congress leaders were highly critical of the Rowlatt Acts. On 6 April 1919 Mohandas Gandhi organised a *hartal* (a form of strike action) when all Indians would suspend all business and fast as a sign of their hatred for the legislation. This event is known as the Rowlatt Satyagraha. Though this demonstration was meant to be peaceful, there was some rioting, especially in the Punjab and particularly in the town of Amritsar.

### *Research task*

*The Amritsar Massacre is depicted in the 1982 film Gandhi made by Richard Attenborough.*

## The Amritsar Massacre, April 1919

In Amritsar, Gandhi's pacifist ideals were ignored during the *hartal* and soon the authorities were unable to control the demonstrators. Buildings were destroyed and three Europeans were killed. An English doctor, Marcia Sherwood, was beaten by some Indian youths and this prompted the local English women and their children to seek refuge in the army's fort.

The Governor of the Punjab, Michael O'Dwyer interpreted the trouble in Amritsar as the first stage in an attempt to overthrow British rule. He despatched Brigadier-General Dyer and a force of men to go to Amritsar and resolve the trouble. Dyer announced that there must be no assembly of people in Amritsar on 13 April (a religious festival in the Punjab and a day when it had been decided to hold a meeting against the Rowlatt Acts).

Nevertheless, a meeting went ahead in the Jallianwala Bagh where large numbers of Indians convened. Numbers vary from 5,000 to 15,000. The crowd was unarmed and there were many women and children at the meeting. The Bagh was an enclosed area with high walls and quite narrow entrances. As the meeting progressed and speakers criticised the Rowlatt Acts, troops entered the Bagh and Dyer ordered them to fire on the crowd. British figures say that 379 people were killed and c1200 were wounded. In the days after the massacre, 500 students and teachers were arrested; some were imprisoned in a cage in the market place.

Brigadier Dyer then declared **martial law** in Amritsar. He ordered the following:

- all forms of transport to be commandeered from the Indians for the use of the army
- censorship was enforced to prevent knowledge of the massacre spreading
- all third-class train tickets to be withdrawn making travel impossible outside Amritsar almost impossible for Indians
- the 'Crawling Order'. This meant that if any Indian wished to use the street where Marcia Sherwood had been beaten, then they had to crawl along it on all fours.
- those who were caught in breach of martial law were flogged.

It was reported that soldiers slaughtered sacred cows, pigeons and other birds as acts of sacrilege against the Hindu religion. There were also air raids on some Indian villages.

The details of the massacre did not become known in Britain until December 1919.

#### What were the effects of the Amritsar Massacre?

- Montagu called for an enquiry and the **Hunter Committee** was set up. Dyer was summoned to Britain to give evidence to it. The Committee censured Dyer -

*'General Dyer acted beyond the necessity of the case, beyond what any reasonable man would have thought to be necessary.'*

The Committee then reprimanded Governor Michael O'Dwyer.

- Dyer resigned. The *Morning Post* raised £26,000 for Dyer and said he was 'the man who saved the Punjab'.
- The House of Lords debated the issue and deplored the treatment given out to Dyer. Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian Nobel prize winner for literature in 1913 said about the debate -

*'It shows that no outrage, however monstrous, committed against us by the agents of their (the British) government, can arouse feelings in the hearts of those from whom our governors are chosen... The late events have conclusively proved that our true salvation lies in our own hands.'*

- Many previously moderate and loyal Indians lost faith in the British. They were now set against the British and a new radicalism entered Indian politics. It was not hundreds who turned against British rule, it was millions.
- Gandhi said -

*'...nothing less than the removal of the British and complete self-government can satisfy injured India.'*

### *Did you know?*

*On 13 March 1940, former Governor of the Punjab, Michael O'Dwyer, was assassinated by Udham Singh, an Indian revolutionary who had witnessed the events in Amritsar and was himself wounded there.*

## The Government of India Act, 1919 - the Dyarchy

The Government of India Act (also known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms) emerged from the Montagu Declaration. The act came into effect in December 1919 and it had been hoped that it would usher in a new age of co-operation. However, following the Rowlatt Acts and the Amritsar Massacre, these hopes were dashed.

The act set up what became known as the 'dyarchy' meaning that the running of the country was shared between two - British and Indian representatives.

- An **Executive Council** was set up to advise the Viceroy. It included the Viceroy himself and the commander-in-chief of the British army in India and six other members, including three Indians.
- The **Imperial Legislative Council** was enlarged and reformed. The lower house was the Legislative Assembly of 146 members, of which 106 were elected and 40 were nominated. These held office for three years.
- The upper house was the **Council of State** and consisted of 34 elected and 26 nominated members who held office for five years. The Council reviewed the legislation passed by the Assembly.
- The British members of the Council retained control of areas such as defence, foreign relations and taxation. These were the reserved ministries.



- The **Provincial Councils** dealt with education, health, agriculture public works and local self-government. These were the transferred ministries.
- The franchise was extended after 1919 but only about 3 per cent of the population could vote.
- The Act ensured that there were seats for different religious minorities in the provincial councils.

#### Criticisms of the Government of India Act

- Only about 3 per cent of the population could vote.
- Its timing was unfortunate after the Amritsar Massacre.
- The Provincial Councils did not have enough funds to carry out their responsibilities and duties properly.
- Those who sought Home Rule were extremely disappointed and this led to further unrest, once more in the Punjab.

The Government of India Act was a major change in the way that Britain governed India. It took earlier reforms further and sought to increase Indians in the decision-making processes. However, Congress did not fully accept the Act and boycotted the first elections in 1919.

## Question guidance for Section B

### Part (a) Inference question

Question (a) asks you to give **three** statements that can be inferred from a source. This is an inference question, worth three marks, so spend about 5 minutes on it.

#### What is an inference?

- An inference means to work something out from a source that the source doesn't actually tell you. For example we often make inferences (get messages) from body language. If a student yawns during a lesson the teacher may well get the message, or make the inference, that the student is bored.
- Be careful not just to write down what you can see from the source. In other words, the contents. For example, 'the student is yawning' is a description not an inference.
- You need to make inferences from the sources based on the information in it. You must not include any own knowledge. Begin each answer with the phrase 'This source suggests...'

Source A: A painting of the Amritsar Massacre of 1919



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(a) Give **three** statements that could be inferred from Source A about the Amritsar Massacre. (3)

One possible statement is that this source suggests that the crowd was unarmed.

Now add two inferences of your own.

## Chapter 3

### Gandhi and Congress, 1917-29

#### Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi 1869 -1948

1869	Born in Porbandar
1883	Arranged marriage to Kasturbai Makhanji (5 children between 1885 and 1900)
1888-91	Studied Law in London
1893	Went to work in Natal, South Africa
1915	Returned to India
1920	Emerges a key figure in Congress
1922	Imprisoned
1924	Released from prison
1948	Assassinated

After completing his Law studies in Britain, Gandhi returned to India where he followed an unspectacular career. He went to work in South Africa in 1893 and it was there that he experienced the harsh treatment that Whites gave out to native black South Africans and Asians. He became spokesman for Indians in South Africa. He learnt how to demonstrate, organise and he developed his own views about non-violence. In South Africa, he had developed his own philosophy which he called *satyagraha*, or soul-force which was a belief in non-violent civil disobedience.

He returned to India in 1915 and was invited to help in the Congress Party. He supported the war against Germany and believed that it would lead to Home Rule. Touring around India in 1915-16, he came to see that many people wanted to break free from British rule. He began to live his life like an Indian peasant and many ordinary people began to identify with him. When Bal Tilak, the leader of Congress, visited Britain in 1918-19, Gandhi emerged as a leading spokesman for the party.

Gandhi had not been vehemently opposed to British rule when he returned to India, but events made him more radical and he became determined to secure independence from British rule. The introduction of the Rowlatt Acts, the Amritsar Massacre and the way Turkey, a non-Christian country, was punished at the Paris Peace Conference.

### How did Gandhi change Congress?

- In 1919, Gandhi began to campaign throughout India and gained increased support for Congress.
- In 1920 he persuaded Congress to demand 'swaraj' (Home Rule). Swaraj meant two things to Gandhi, self-rule and also self-control. He believed that the former would be achieved through the latter and so opposed the use of force.
- Gandhi was also able to involve lower caste and poorly educated Indians in the Congress Movement for the first time. This was about 45 million and made Congress a force to be reckoned with for the first time.
- In order to highlight the changes in Congress, Gandhi began to wear Indian clothes and encouraged other Congress leaders to do the same. He began to wear a cap because this gave no clue about the wearer's caste.
- He encouraged people to reject all things which were British and which had been imposed on them. This was his *swadeshi* campaign.
- He also encouraged Indians to return to wearing traditional Indian clothes and eating Indian food.

### The *satyagraha* campaign 1920-22

At the annual meeting of Congress in 1920, Gandhi persuaded delegates to support his policy of non-cooperation with the British. He wanted to create a situation whereby the British would not be able to govern properly in India and would therefore leave.

He suggested that:

- All elections should be boycotted
- Taxes not paid
- Indian lawyers should boycott the courts
- Indians surrender all titles and honours given by the British
- Not allow children to attend school
- Refuse to buy foreign goods
- Refuse to attend any official state meetings

Gandhi was hopeful that his actions would cause the collapse of the *Raj*, but he was somewhat over-optimistic. The boycott of the elections was quite effective as was the refusal to buy foreign goods. There were other successes - students boycotted their examinations, many people refused to pay their taxes, and some lawyers refused to work. The British ignored the protests and the hopes of governmental breakdown proved illusory. But it was the Indians themselves who caused satyagraha to fail. Many did not fully appreciate Gandhi's ideas and for some the unrest was a means of settling old scores.

However, by the middle of 1921, some of the demonstrations and activities led to violence in many areas. During the *hartal* (a day of fasting with no work) in Bombay the demonstration turned into an orgy of looting and rioting in which 53 people were killed. As soon as the violence increased, the British called off their non-interference and began arresting Congress supporters. Soon, 30,000 had been arrested.

In 1922, twenty-one Indian policemen were killed by Congress supporters at Chauri Chauri. Gandhi immediately called off his campaign but was arrested on 19 March 1922 and charged with 'bringing into hatred or contempt the government established by law in the British Empire'. He was sentenced to six years in prison but served only two years.

When he came out of prison, Gandhi set up an ashram (settlement) in Gujarat. Here he concentrated on working among villagers and following traditional Indian tasks such as spinning and weaving. Even the spinning of cotton was part of his satyagraha - all raw cotton was supposed to be sent to Britain. Importantly, Gandhi worked among the lowest group of people in India - the **Untouchables**. He called them *harijans* or little brothers and adopted a *harijan* child. (Hindus believed that sharing food and water with an Untouchable was enough to destroy the Hindu's soul.)

### The Hindu caste system

**Brahmins:** the highest caste comprising priests and the most educated in society

**Kshatriyas:** this caste comprised warriors, nobles

**Vaisias:** these were landlords, businessmen, farmers, merchants and minor officials

**Sudras:** this was the most numerous caste comprising of peasants and workers

Outside the caste system were the **Pariahs**, the **Untouchables**. These normally did the jobs other castes considered to menial such as sweeping the streets and cleaning toilets.

Gandhi took little part in national politics during the mid-1920s, but his contribution to the growth of Congress had been immeasurable in such a short space of time. Membership of Congress was about 2 million by the end of 1921. Congress had become a national movement and the awareness of millions of ordinary Indians had been raised by Gandhi's actions. Unfortunately, some did not fully understand satyagraha but nevertheless agreed with Gandhi that Britain should relinquish control of India.

In some respects Gandhi was politically naive. He wanted a united India which was based on old traditions and which would not be divided by religion or caste. Some of these ideas were not accepted by the wealthier and better educated Indians and some in Congress moved away from him. Yet, new leaders in Congress now accepted that they would have to link local peasant issues with national ones if they were to achieve *swaraj*.

### How did Congress develop in the 1920s?

With Gandhi's imprisonment, Congress had lost its most inspirational figure. However, two figures emerged who became the leaders of the movement each leading different sections. Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru who were father and son. Motilal led the *Swaraj* Party (Home Rule) and Jawaharlal led the Non-cooperation Movement. Motilal felt that his party could work with and then undermine the British. Jawaharlal wanted nothing to do with British.

#### Jawaharlal Nehru 1889-1964, first Prime Minister of India

1889	Born in Allahabad
1905-12	Attended Harrow School, Trinity College, Cambridge and the Inner Temple.
1912	Returned to India
1913	Joined Congress
1916	Married
1929	President of Congress
1947-64	Prime Minister of India

Gandhi did not like the politics of Jawaharlal Nehru who had already met socialists such as the wife of Sun Yat Sen (leader of the Chinese Revolution) and Ho Chi Minh (the leading Vietnamese nationalist). Nehru was attracted to socialism and Gandhi found this too radical and called Nehru a 'young hooligan' because of his views. Nehru was supported by two other 'young hooligans' - Subhas Chandras Bose and Jayaprakash Narayan, both socialists and republicans. All three rejected any notion 'Dominion status' and demanded immediate and complete independence.

## Question technique Section B

### Part (b) Cross referencing question

To answer this question you need to be clear which areas of the sources say the same things, which, if any contradict, and which just don't overlap. A good way to plan the answer to the question is to:

- Highlight any areas of support in what the sources say. Explain these similarities.
- In a different colour, highlight any areas of challenge in what the source say. Explain these differences.
- Are there any differences in what they are suggesting? For example the overall tone or attitude of each of the sources.

## Study Sources B and C

(b) Does Source C support the evidence of Source B about the role of Gandhi?

Explain your answer. (7)

**Source B:** From a speech by a Conservative MP, 1922

Over the last two years the work of Gandhi has been inspirational and he has influenced many Indians. He is dangerous and a bad influence and if he continues, his work may lead to major problems for the Empire. This idea of *swaraj* - self-rule needs nipping in the bud. If the government is not careful, it will see bigger challenges and Gandhi will be the leader.

**Source C:** From a speech by a member of Congress, 1922. He is describing Gandhi's decision to leave politics return to his ashram.

Gandhi had been our great motivator and more people have become members of Congress. He has brought issues into the open and the British are worried by him. All India is aware of *swaraj* now and if he decides to re-enter politics then he will lead us to freedom. He is our great leader.

### Possible answer

*Source C points out the idea of Gandhi motivating and encouraging people and this clearly supports the evidence of Source B which discusses his influence and inspiration. In addition, Source C can see that Gandhi may be a challenge to the British in the future and this is openly highlighted in Source B when it talks of 'nipping the idea of swaraj' in the bud and also the notion of being a possible challenge.*

*However, the tone of the two sources differ - Source C sees him a 'great' whereas Source B uses the words 'dangerous' and 'bad'. Thus there are some points of agreement about the leadership qualities of Gandhi but each source has a different view of the man.*



Have a go at the following question

Study Sources B and C

(b) Does Source C support the evidence of Source B about Congress and the desire for *swaraj*? Explain your answer (7)

**Source B:** From a speech by Jawaharlal Nehru to Congress, 1928

You will find in all India groups of organisations that are springing up full of energy and militant spirit and they promise to attain an early freedom for India. The question is, are you going to help the development of the militant spirit in the country? Are you going to help the development of this revolutionary spirit in the country or are you going to damp it and kill it in trying to bring about a compromise?

**Source C:** From a speech by a supporter of Gandhi, 1928

Gandhi was correct. There are many who want *swaraj* and are willing to challenge the British. They are young and want instant change, they are hooligans just like Gandhi said. We have made progress in the last eight years but violence and revolution will not win. Satyagraha must be followed. *Swaraj* will come but not by their means.

## Chapter 4

### Developments from the Simon Commission (1927) to the outbreak of World War Two (1939)

The Government of India Act of 1919 was scheduled for review in 1929. However, the Conservative government brought the review forward to 1927, fearing a Labour victory in the forthcoming 1929 election. It was thought that if Labour won the election, it would make concessions to Congress. The Conservatives did not wish to give anything to Congress.

#### The Simon Commission, 1927

In 1927 the British government appointed the Simon Commission to consider how the 1919 Act had worked and if any changes needed to be made. The seven man commission was led by Sir John Simon. (One other member was Clement Attlee, Labour MP, who as Prime Minister in 1947 saw India finally become independent.) In India, there was immediate disapproval of the Commission because there were no Indian members. For many Indians this was a gross insult and still showed the unwillingness of the British government to allow some say in the move towards independence.

On arrival in Bombay, the Commission was met by huge jeering crowds demanding that the members return to Britain. Wherever the Commission went, it had to face demonstrators. There were even strikes in some towns and cities. Leading members of Congress and the Muslim League decided to boycott any meetings with the Commission. However, some of the minority groups such as Sikhs, Anglo-Indians and the Untouchables did give evidence. There were even some Muslims who gave evidence, going against the wishes of Jinnah, the leader of the League. The minority groups hoped that the British might treat them favourably if changes were made to the system of government.

The Simon Commission did not published its report until 1930. It proposed the abolition of dyarchy and the establishment of representative government in the provinces and a federal India, but no changes in the central government. The Report was condemned by Congress but Jinnah saw some merits in it because Muslims would be given some power in the provinces. However, by the time of the report's publication things had changed quite dramatically in India.

#### The impact of the Simon Commission on Congress

Feelings ran high in Congress when it became clear that no Indian would be allowed to sit on the Simon Commission. An All-Parties Conference was called in 1928 for those who were against the Simon Commission and out of this conference came the **Nehru Report**. The Nehru Report proposed a new constitution for India. It was prepared by a committee chaired by Motilal

Nehru with his son Jawaharlal acting as secretary. The committee of eleven included two Muslims.

#### The Nehru Report:

- Dominion status on the same terms as the White Dominions within the British Empire
- India was to become a federal state
- No additional powers would be given to the provinces
- Universal franchise

Though the Muslim League approved the Nehru Report, Jinnah was concerned that the Muslims would lose their protected electoral status as a result of the Lucknow Pact (See Chapter One). Jinnah was also anxious that a Hindu dominated government would not always be sensitive to the demands of local Muslim communities. Political divisions between Hindus and Muslims were now beginning to appear.

At the Congress annual conference in December 1928, the two 'hooligans', Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, put forward a motion which Congress accepted - this was the demand for the British to withdraw from India by 31 December 1929. This would give India - *purna swaraj* - complete independence.

If there was no withdrawal, then Congress would begin another campaign of disruption. It was also announced that 26 January 1930 was India's Declaration of Independence Day.

At the annual conference in December 1929, Congress had to act because the British had not withdrawn. It was announced that 26 January 1930 was India's Declaration of Independence Day.

Gandhi declared that he would begin a second satyagraha campaign. He hoped that he could unite the various groups in Congress and avoid bloodshed in any demonstrations against British rule. The campaign of civil disobedience began with the **Salt March**.

## The Salt March, 1930

The purpose of the 'march to the sea' was for Gandhi to symbolically take salt as if he was going to produce some. This broke the law because only the government was allowed to produce salt.

The march was a great publicity coup for Gandhi. He walked 386 kilometres from Ahmedabad to Dandi on the coast. He was accompanied by the world's press all along the march. Moreover, as he went thousands of Indians joined him. Untouchables were also in the march - for Gandhi this was to show India that his demonstration encompassed all citizens. He ensured that his idea of satyagraha was reported and that his followers be aware of this concept.

Gandhi's example of breaking the Salt Law was followed by hundreds of thousands across India. The government began to arrest and imprison thousands of people. Jawaharlal Nehru was imprisoned for six months in April and Gandhi himself was arrested and imprisoned in May. This led to widespread strikes and demonstrations. Within weeks of the beginning of the Salt March, there were about 60,000 members of Congress in jail. The satyagraha campaign continued across India and British goods were boycotted and there was continued refusal to pay taxes. There was some violence and some deaths despite Gandhi's appeals to his followers.

By the end of 1930 the campaign seemed to be subsiding but there were still about 30,000 in jail. Gandhi called off the campaign when he was invited to the Second Round Table Conference in 1931.

## The Round Table Conferences

After the failure of the Simon Commission and the rising political tension in India during 1928-30, the Labour Government sought to bring together all interested groups and improve the way in which India was governed. Labour was concerned that the Dyarchy was not working effectively because the provincial governments were always short of money. Problems between Hindus and Muslims were increasing. In addition, Congress was becoming more extreme in its views (see Nehru and Bose above). On a selfish level, the Labour government wanted to show some success because it was experiencing domestic problems as a result of the Wall Street Crash.

### The First Round Table Conference, November 1930 - January 1931

This met in London in November 1930. The three British political parties were represented by sixteen delegates. There were fifty-seven political leaders from British India and sixteen delegates from the princely states. However, Congress refused to attend because many of its leaders and members were in prison as a result of Gandhi's satyagraha campaign. In addition, Congress still demanded immediate Dominion status.

- It agreed to set up an all-India federation in which the Indian states would take responsibility for most matters except for defence foreign affairs and finance.
- However, because of the absence of Congress, no final agreements were reached.

### **The Second Round Table Conference, September - December 1931**

Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India from 1926 to 1931, had been able to develop a close relationship with Gandhi and following the latter's release from prison in 1931 persuaded him to enter into talks with the Indian government to settle the problems that had developed since the Salt March the previous year. Gandhi was then invited as the representative of Congress for the Second Round Table Conference.

- Gandhi claimed that Congress alone represented India. He said 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 immediately rejected by the other Indian participants.
- No agreement could be reached by the various groups and the Conference collapsed.

The new National Government in Britain was less ready to make with real changes in India and decided to deal with only those groups who were prepared to work with the administration in India. Gandhi was arrested in January 1932 on his return from Britain and Congress was outlawed. By the middle of 1932 about 60,000 members of Congress were in prison (a similar figure to that during the Salt March of 1930).

In August 1932, the British government announced the **Communal Award**. This gave guaranteed and separate seats to Sikhs, Muslims, Christian and the Untouchables in any future Indian assembly. This enraged Gandhi because he viewed the 50 million Untouchables as Hindus. Gandhi then began a fast and said he was prepared to die unless the leader of the Untouchables, Ambedkar, rejected the Communal Award. He did so.

### **The Third Round Table Conference, November - December 1932**

- The British Labour Party and Congress did not send any representatives to the Conference. Jinnah was not invited.
- It discussed the franchise, finance and the role of the Indian states but no firm decisions were reached. The Conference ended in December 1932.

## The Government of India Act, 1935

Following the failure of the Round Table Conferences, the British government decided to make its own changes to the way in which India was governed. It was a mixture of suggestions from the Simon Report and the Round Table Conferences.

### Terms of the Act:

- The Viceroy would still be appointed by the British government.
- The Viceroy would control defence and foreign affairs.
- The Viceroy would be advised by an Executive Committee which would be comprised of mainly Indians.
- The Dyarchy was abolished.
- A national parliament was to be set up in Delhi with two chambers - the Council of State and the Assembly.
- The Council of State and the Assembly would have elected and appointed members. There would be more elected members than appointed ones and all elected would be Indians.
- India would be divided into 11 provinces and each would have its own Legislative Assembly and government. The provinces would run all affairs except defence and foreign affairs.
- Each province would have an appointed governor.
- The electorate was increased to 36 million adults. (It was hoped that by increasing the electorate people would vote against Congress - this was a miscalculation as seen in the 1937 elections.
- Separate electorates were kept and some seats were reserved for Muslims and other minorities.
- Burma was separated from India and administered separately.

Despite the changes, the British retained real control but the act was as far as the British government could go without granting complete independence.

## What were the reactions to the Government of India Act?

### Congress rejected the Government of India Act because:

- It wanted *swaraj*
- It disliked the special provisions for minorities and felt that Muslims might win control of some provinces.

### The Muslim League rejected the Government of India Act because:

- It felt it gave no real power to Muslims
- It feared that Hindus would not be willing to guarantee the rights of minorities in the provinces.
- Jinnah expected that Congress would co-operate with the Muslim League and allow it a share in the government posts in some provinces. But Congress refused to give any posts to the League

## Congress in the late 1930s

Congress decided not to boycott the elections of 1937. Though it had objected to the 1935 Act, it was anxious that non-participation might lead to minority groups coming to power and it would thus exclude them from government. Jawaharlal Nehru led the Congress in its election campaign. Congress won 715 seats, out of a total of 1,585. This was a tremendous victory because 938 seats were reserved for the minority groups. Congress took power in eight states, but only after a statement that there would be no interference from governors.

Gandhi was replaced as leader of Congress by Jawaharlal Nehru when the first parliament met in 1937. There was much internal dissension within Congress in the immediate years before the Second World War. Bose and Gandhi had serious disagreements about policy and in the end Bose resigned from Congress and set up his own movement in Bengal. This was the Forward Bloc Party.

The political divisions between Hindu and Muslim also began to grow after the 1937 elections. Congress sought to reduce the power of the provinces and when Gandhi called for Hindi to become the national language of India, Urdu speaking Muslims were horrified.

## Jinnah and the Muslim League

### Muhammed Ali Jinnah 1876-1948

1876	Born Karachi
1895	Became a barrister in London
1896	Returned to India and joined Congress
1913	Joined the Muslim League
1920	Broke with Congress, disagreeing over Gandhi's methods
1929	Issued his 14 Points
1930	Jinnah resigned from Congress after disagreements over Gandhi's policy of non-violence.
1930-34	Exile in Britain
1934	Became leader of the Muslim League
1947-48	Governor-General of Pakistan

The Muslim League was set up in 1906. Its strongest support came from Muslims who were frightened of Hindu domination, but many Muslims, were also members of the Indian National Congress. Initially, the Muslim League concentrated on protecting Muslim liberties and rights and promoting understanding between the Muslim community and other Indians. In 1916 the League and Congress made the Lucknow Pact (see Chapter One) in an effort to win self-determination and it seemed as if the two organisations could work together.

There was no notion of creating a separate state but as the political and religious differences developed in the 1920s, the idea of two nations out of India began to grow.

In 1929, Jinnah put forward his 14 Points and he tried to make a compromise with Congress. Amongst these points were:

- Muslim representation should not be less than one-third in the central legislature
- Representation of minorities should be by separate electorates
- The Constitution should provide safeguards
- For the protection of Muslim culture.

Congress rejected them and this pushed him into exile for four years.



However, on December 29, 1930 Sir Muammad Iqbal, gave his presidential address to the All India Muslim League annual session.

*I would like to see Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.*

However, it was the Government of India Act which widened the gulf between Congress and the Muslim League. In the years after the passing of the act, support for the League grew rapidly. In 1938, Jinnah met the leadership of Congress (Gandhi, Nehru and Bose) and insisted that Congress recognise the Muslim League as the sole party of India's Muslims. Congress, and Gandhi especially had always assumed that it could represent all parties and rejected Jinnah's claim. The rift was complete.

After this, the League began to campaign for a separate Muslim state but needed something which could act as a catalyst. It arrived in 1939, when Britain went to war with Germany.

## Question technique Section B

### Question (c)

Question (c) asks you to look at all four sources and then consider a statement. You have to explain whether you agree with this statement and you must use the sources and your own knowledge in order to give a sustained argument which offers a balanced judgement.

- Decide which sources can be used to support the view.
- Decide which sources can be used to challenge the view. Some sources can be used to give both sides.
- Use the sources to stimulate your own knowledge. Remember that if you develop information from the source then it becomes own knowledge. For example, Source D will often provide several opportunities to develop your own knowledge.
- Ensure you write a balanced answer in which you use one or more of the sources and your own knowledge to support the view and one or more of the sources and your own knowledge to challenge the view.
- Write a conclusion in which you make a final judgement on the view given in the question.

Source A: A photograph showing Indians during the Simon Commission, 1927



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**Source B:** From a British newspaper 1931

At the Second Round Table Conference, Gandhi accepted his invitation and visited London. At the Conference, he said he spoke for the whole of India and this meant the Muslims and the Untouchables. This was a mistake on Gandhi's part and served only to antagonise the Muslim League, the Sikhs and also the Untouchables. The British could not come up with any new suggestions and the conference failed.

**Source C:** From the diary of a British politician who attended the Second Round Table Conference, 1931

Gandhi said he was attending the Conference with 'God as his guide' and this immediately upset some of the other Indian representatives. He then went on to say that he spoke for all India - a point which irritated the Muslim and Untouchable representatives. There was no agreement about separate electorates for the minority groups and so the Conference petered out. In addition, the British were in the middle of a political crisis and there was not as much enthusiasm from this quarter as there could have been. All groups came away dissatisfied.

**Source D:** From a modern history textbook

Opposition grew gradually and the passing of the Government of India Act in 1935 seemed to please no group. The British, in the form of the Viceroy, still held great powers and gave little away to the local assemblies. In addition, the Muslims were concerned that the Act would give too much to Congress and thus another attempt by the British had failed to win support.

Question (c) 'The main reason for opposition to British rule in India in the years 1927-1939 was the Government of India Act, 1935.'

Use the sources and your own knowledge to explain whether you agree with this view. (15)

### Part of a possible answer

*It is clear from Source A that there was great opposition to British rule even in 1927. The arrival of a leading British politician seems to have been greeted with a huge well-organised demonstration. The fact that Simon was visiting to consider changes to the Dyarchy - a system which was failing - and above all visiting only because it suited the Conservative government in Britain served to increase opposition.*

Now complete this answer by:

- Linking the first paragraph to the next, ensuring you select sources which disagree with the statement.
- Ensuring you use additional knowledge to amplify the sources.
- Moving to the second part of the essay by using the sources which agree with the statement
- Ensuring you use additional knowledge to amplify the sources.
- Writing a conclusion.

### NOW USE SOURCES A, B AND C TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

- (a) Give three statements that could be inferred from Source A about the Simon Commission, 1927. (3)
- (b) Study Sources B and C  
Does Source C support the evidence of Source B about the Round Table Conferences? Explain your answer. (7)

## Chapter 5

### The impact of the Second World War on India

Within two years of the end of the Second World War, India had been given independence but it had also been partitioned. The problems of the 1920s and 1930s escalated and it was evident to all by 1945, that the British must withdraw from the sub-continent.

On 3 September 1939, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, announced that India had declared war on Germany without consulting the Indian Assembly. This was an indication of Britain's control over India.

#### How did Congress react to the declaration of war?

Congress had mixed feelings about the war. It objected strongly to being involved in a war without being consulted. As a pacifist, Gandhi naturally urged the British government to negotiate with Hitler. However, Nehru was anti-fascist but believed that India should support Britain - but of her own free will. Nehru also said support would come if *swaraj* was granted. Some of the state governments which were controlled by Congress resigned in protest and within a few months, Congress ordered all state governments to resign. Congress began a campaign of civil disobedience in July 1940 when the Viceroy refused to create a National Government in India. Within weeks almost 2,000 Congress members had been imprisoned.

#### How did the Muslim League react to the declaration of war?

The Muslim League supported Britain's declaration of war on Germany. Jinnah could not believe his good fortune as Congress removed itself from government. As Congress left the administration, Jinnah spoke of the 'Day of Deliverance', by which he meant that Muslims were no longer subservient to Hindus. Jinnah then began to put forward the demands of the Muslim League.

In March 1940 Jinnah spoke to about 100,000 Muslims at a meeting in Lahore. Here he spoke of a Muslim state for the first time using the name Pakistan, which meant 'Land of the Pure'. At the meeting he said:

*'If the British government is really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness for the people of the sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into autonomous national states.'*

At the Muslim League Conference, Jinnah's speech was translated into League policy and became known as the Lahore Declaration. Membership of the League increased rapidly after the Declaration.

The Lahore Declaration worsened relations between Congress and the Muslim League. Gandhi called it the 'vivisection of India' and said Partition would be suicide for India. Nehru said it was a 'mad scheme' and was put in jail after inciting Congress followers to prepare for a conflict with the Muslims.

### The Cripps' Mission

In early 1942, the situation in India took on a more serious complexion because of the Japanese invasion of south-east Asia. By early 1942, the Japanese had reached Burma and were pressing towards India's borders. The possibility of a Japanese invasion worried Viceroy Linlithgow because he knew some Indians would welcome the Japanese as a means of ridding their country of the British.

It was important for the British to secure the loyalty of the Indians and persuade them that loyalty to Britain was more worthwhile than loyalty to Britain's enemy. The British government therefore proposed concessions that went beyond the 1935 Government of India Act. In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the government, was sent to India to put forward the proposals to the Indian leaders. Cripps was a friend of both Gandhi and Nehru and was sympathetic to the Indian wishes for independence.

Cripps proposed -

- full Dominion status and the right to secede as soon as the war was over. He also suggested that any province that did not want to join the new India should be allowed to become independent on its own.
- the Indian people would elect an assembly which would draw up a constitution.
- any province or princely state could determine its own future.
- all groups to form a government of national unity, headed by the Viceroy, for the duration of the war.

Congress and Gandhi rejected Cripps' offer because it wanted immediate independence and also did not like the idea of some states being allowed determine their own fate. Congress still stuck to the idea that it represented the whole of India. Jinnah and the Muslim League were happy to accept the offer because they could see that a separate state for Muslims could be the end product.

Following Congress' rejection of the offers made by Cripps, the British government stated that it would retain control of India until the end of the war - whenever that might be. This infuriated Congress and Gandhi.

## The 'Quit India' Campaign

The response by Gandhi to the British decision to maintain control was to begin another satyagraha campaign. He said that there would be mass civil disobedience across India in order to push the British out. This became known as the 'Quit India' campaign. Gandhi announced the 'Quit India' campaign in August 1942, having won the support of Congress. Congress had been concerned that if it refused to co-operate with Britain then coming to some agreement about independence after the war might be rather difficult. However, Congress did not want to see Jinnah and Chandra Bose win over some of their supporters. On launching 'Quit India', Gandhi said:

'I want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had. Congress must win freedom or be wiped out in the effort. We shall either free India or die in the attempt.'

The British administration was prepared and the day after the announcement of the campaign:

- Gandhi, Nehru and other top leaders in Congress were placed in jail and most were held until 1944.
- The Congress Party was declared illegal and its funds were frozen. Its offices were raided and many documents were seized.

The government's actions caused tremendous uproar and there were demonstrations all over India. The demonstrations turned into riots and violence ensued. Key targets were police offices, government buildings, railway lines and communications posts. One problem for the British was that the disruption slowed down supplies reaching the British army fighting the Japanese in Burma. There were more than 1,000 killed and 3,000 injured in the riots.

In order to restore order the British had to divert 35,000 troops to support the police. The British were extremely concerned that the campaign would enable the Japanese to invade India more easily and thus control had to be secured quickly. The quick action of the British meant that the campaign began to subside by November and by the end of the year it was clear it had failed.

Congress had seen that the army had remained loyal to the British and the widespread national support had not been as strong as it had anticipated.

## Subhas Chandra Bose, 1897-1945

Subhas Chandra Bose had been called one of the 'young hooligans' (see Chapter 4) by Gandhi and he was an extreme nationalist who sought to push the British out of India by any means. He opposed Gandhi's non-violent campaigns and resigned from Congress in 1939. He returned to his home in Bengal where he formed the Progressive Bloc - this aimed to remove Britain from India by revolution if necessary.

When the Second World War broke out he viewed the enemies of Britain as the friends of India and visited Germany and Japan seeking an alliance with each of them to attack the British government in India. Eventually, in Singapore, the Japanese allowed him to recruit an army to fight the British - this was his Indian National Army (INA). The recruits were Indian prisoners of war who had been captured by the Japanese. More than 20,000 Indians volunteered to join him and fought in the Japanese attempts to invade India from Burma.

The INA did attack various parts of India but it was never a huge threat. The British were most fortunate the regular Indian army remained loyal not only during the 'Quit India' campaign but also against the Japanese and the INA.

In 1943, Bose announced himself as Head of the Provisional Government of Free India. He is believed to have been killed in a plane crash in Taiwan in 1945.

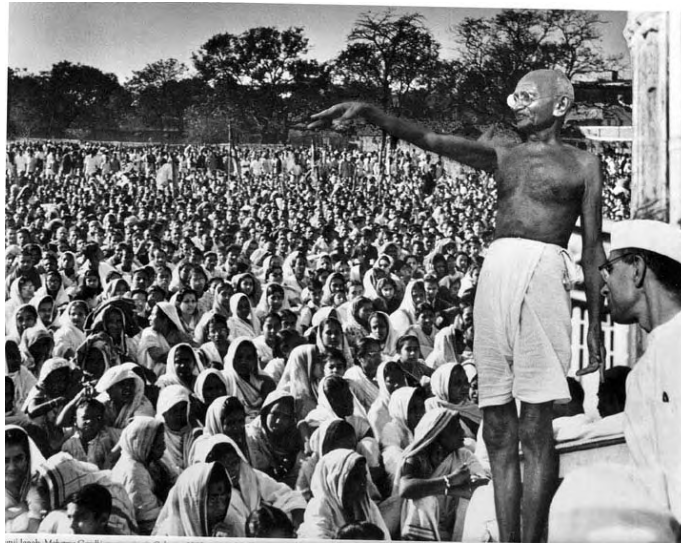
### What was the impact of the Second World War in changing the political situation in India?

- The war gave the Muslim League the chance to put forward its case for a separate Muslim state.
- The Muslim League's co-operation with the British administration during the war did win support for the idea at a time when Congress was trying to undermine the war effort.
- The Muslim League grew in membership and in the provincial elections of 1945 it won 90 per cent of the Muslim seats.
- For Congress, the war showed that it had great influence over many Indians but that it did not have the power to overthrow the British.
- Britain saw that it could still control India - but only by force. It was difficult to know whether there was the will to continue to rule in such a way when the war was over.



Practice with Question (a)

Source A: Gandhi speaking to a crowd in 1942.



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(a) Give three statements that could be inferred from Source A about the role of Gandhi. (3)

## Chapter 6

### The growth of communal violence, 1945-47

#### The attitude and problems of the Labour government

At the end of the Second World War, Britain found herself economically exhausted. It had spent more than £1 billion on India during the conflict and other wartime spending had led to debts of almost £3 billion. Questions were asked whether Britain could continue to run a huge empire and whether it was worth holding on to India. Importantly, India was no longer a place which imported huge amounts of British goods and British entrepreneurs no longer saw India as a place to invest.

#### The Simla Conference, June-July 1945

The new Viceroy met Congress leaders, following their release from prison, at Simla to discuss a proposed constitutional settlement. Jinnah, as Head of the Muslim League was also invited.

Wavell proposed -

- A new Executive Council which would ensure a balance between Hindu and Muslim
- Revised provincial and national assemblies
- A specific number of seats for religious groups in the assemblies

Congress and the Muslim League could not agree on the way in which members would be chosen for the Executive Council and the conference broke down.

#### The Labour Government, July 1945

In July 1945, the Labour Party took office in Britain and there was renewed optimism in Congress that there might be a move towards self-rule. There were many in the Labour government who were in favour of granting India independence. Congress had always had close links with Labour Party. The Labour government allowed the planned Indian elections of late 1945 early 1946 to go ahead in order to gauge public opinion now that the war was over. The elections were a success for the Muslim League and it won all 30 seats reserved for Muslims in the Central Assembly. Success was repeated in the provinces. However, the elections caused some demonstrations and riots and there was a mutiny in the Indian navy at Bombay and parts of the army.

In the light of the election results and the increasing unrest, Prime Minister Attlee sent a three-man Cabinet Mission to try to solve the problems in India.

### The Cabinet Mission

The Cabinet Mission comprised Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander. Attlee was concerned to keep a united India but did not preclude separate Muslim state within India. The three remained in India for three months.

The Cabinet Mission's proposals:

- Immediate full Dominion status for India with protection for Muslims
- Central government would be responsible for foreign policy, defence and internal communication
- Provincial governments would be responsible for education, health, police health and public works
- Provinces would be allowed to combine and develop common policies.

Both Congress and the Muslim League accepted the proposals. Congress saw a united India and Gandhi stated that it was 'the best the British government could have produced'. The Muslim League saw that there was the basis of its own state within India.

Elections for the new Assembly were then held. Congress won 205 seats and the Muslim League won 73. After the election results, Nehru addressed Congress and stated Congress was no longer bound by the Cabinet Mission's proposals. He said that the idea of a separate Muslim state would gradually fade away. Jinnah and the Muslim League then rejected the proposals.

### Direct Action

Jinnah was angry that Congress had turned down the Cabinet Mission's proposals. He called for Muslims to have a day of action on 16 August 1946. Direct Action was meant to be a series of peaceful demonstrations and *hartals* to put pressure on the British and Congress. The British were concerned at the escalating problems and knew that the Hindus and Muslims in the Indian army would not fire on their civilian counterparts.

Jinnah did not expect the eventual reaction to his call for a challenge to the British. In Calcutta, there was three days of rioting which left 5,000 dead, 20,000 injured and 100,000 homeless. This was the pre-cursor to violence across the Sind and Bengal. The British were unable to halt the violence. The Muslims continued their actions into September attacking members of the army, police and communication networks.

Both Gandhi and Jinnah were horrified by the violence but each said contradictory things -

Gandhi - 'If India wants a bloodbath, she can have it.'

Jinnah - 'Pakistan is worth the sacrifice of 10 million Muslims. We shall have India divided or we shall have India destroyed.'

Direct action showed just how far apart the two religious communities really were.

### **What were the effects of Direct Action?**

Viceroy Wavell persuaded Nehru to become the Prime Minister of India and he later took up the post on 2 September 1946. Equally appalled by the violence the Muslim League agreed to join the interim government. However, it was soon clear that the two groups could not work together. Violence continued across northern India.

The government in Britain informed by Wavell that the situation in India was getting out of control and that he, himself doubted his ability to manage the situation. Prime Minister Attlee, then made two key decisions. He replaced Wavell who was succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Mountbatten. The second decision was to fix a date for British withdrawal from India. Attlee announced that Britain would 'transfer power to responsible hands', leaving India no later than 30 June 1948.

## Examination practice

### Question (b)

Study Sources B and C

- (b) Does Source C support the evidence of Source B about Direct Action?  
Explain your answer. (7)

**Source B:** From an interview with a Hindu eye-witness to the day of Direct Action

I heard that two goalas (milkmen) had been killed in Beliaghata and riots have started in Boubazar ... it was a very critical time for the country; the country had to be saved. If we become a part of Pakistan, we will be oppressed... We want our own country. So I called all my boys and said, this is the time we have to retaliate, and you have to answer brutality with brutality ... We were fighting those who attacked us ... We fought and killed them. So if we heard one murder has taken place, we committed ten more ... the ratio should be one to ten, that was the order to my boys.

**Source C:** From an interview about Direct Action with a Muslim eye-witness who lived in Calcutta

Jinnah had said that this was the first time the Muslim League had gone against the constitution. He was disappointed at Congress going back on its word following the Cabinet Mission. He called for a *hartal* and a holiday for us Muslims. Yet when the day came we were attacked by thousands of Hindus. In Calcutta they killed thousands of us. All we wanted was our own country.

## Chapter 7

### Independence and Partition

#### The British decision to withdraw

Lord Mountbatten was appointed Viceroy of India in February 1947. He was to be the last Viceroy of India. The Prime Minister told Mountbatten that India must not be partitioned. Britain would give power to the existing Indian central government and then leave India. Britain was concerned that India should be united and strong because there were fears that the Soviet Union might make attempts to extend its borders southwards and threaten the oilfields of the Middle East. There were similar fears that if the state of Pakistan were created, it too could not defend itself against the Soviet Union.

#### The work of Mountbatten.

Mountbatten spent the first weeks of his post getting to know leading Indian politicians. He quickly developed good relations with Gandhi and Nehru. However, his relations with Jinnah were somewhat cold. Jinnah felt that Mountbatten favoured Congress above the Muslim League.

Mountbatten became convinced that a united India was impossible.

- His first weeks in India showed him how the gulf between the two parties could not be bridged.
- Moreover, he realised the communal violence of 1946 had left bitter scars. The consequences of Direct Action were thus a major factor in Mountbatten's decision to move towards Partition.
- Mountbatten, in conversations with Congress and the Muslim League had come to realise that the only solution to independence was partition, a united India was impossible.
- The decision also made Mountbatten realise that independence had to be brought about as soon as possible. He suggested that the date be 28 August 1947.
- If there was no partition, then there would be chaos in India.

As Mountbatten was arriving at his decision there were riots in several places across India - the Punjab and the North-West Frontier province. The communal violence and killings did not diminish despite Gandhi's pleas and appeals to ordinary Indians. Gandhi was now ignored and his dream of a united India was shattered.

Mountbatten's first plan for independence was to allow all states and provinces to decide their own status but Nehru assured Mountbatten that this was totally unworkable. It was therefore scrapped. A new plan had to be put together as Mountbatten became more mindful of the increasing communal violence. He wanted to withdraw before there was a complete bloodbath.

The Partition Plan was drawn up in May 1947 and approved in London during the following month. It was then announced that partition and independence would be granted on 14 August. This was a little earlier than planned and Mountbatten hoped to reduce communal violence by doing this.

The Partition plan stated:

- Two countries would be created - India and Pakistan
- The Princely states could choose to join India or Pakistan or could, if they wished, remain independent
- A **Boundary Commission** was established to define the borders between the two states -
  - a) The provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, NorthWest Frontier, West Punjab and East Bengal formed Pakistan
  - b) This meant that East Pakistan was separated from the rest of Pakistan by 1,000 miles of Indian territory.

*Did you know?*

*In 1971 East Pakistan declared independence from West Pakistan and following a war of independence it became Bangladesh*

The leaders of the Princely states met Mountbatten in July and were unhappy with their treatment. They were told that they should join either India or Pakistan - whichever they were closer to geographically. Most felt that they had been given insufficient time to determine their fate. All the princely states joined India - Kashmir, ruled by a Hindu, but a predominantly Muslim state was occupied by both Indian and Pakistani forces. Kashmir is still occupied by the two forces in 2010.

The decisions of the **Boundary Commission** (also known as the Radcliffe Commission after the head of it) left:

- about 5,000,000 Muslims in India
- about 5,000,000 Hindus in Pakistan
- other groups such as the Sikhs, who had argued for special treatment were ignored altogether.

The location of the Muslim population coincided only approximately with the areas given to Pakistan. Many Muslims were outside these areas and many Hindus were within them. Because there was uncertainty about the drawing of the boundaries, many Hindus and Pakistanis sought to enter the new Indian and Pakistani boundaries before the Partition took effect. In the summer months of 1947, the movement of millions of people in circumstances of chaos, fear and resentment led to fighting and the deaths of hundreds of thousands of refugees. At least 600,000 people were killed in the Punjab alone and it has been estimated that about one million people were killed during that spate of communal violence.

- Independence was granted on 14 August 1947
- India and Pakistan became members of the British Commonwealth
- Jinnah became Governor-General of Pakistan. He died the following year, having suffered from tuberculosis and lung cancer.
- Nehru became the Prime Minister of India.
- After independence, Gandhi tried to persuade the peoples of both religions to end their violence. Gandhi was assassinated on 30 January 1948 by Nathuram Godse, a Hindu nationalist.

*Did you know?*

*Lord Mountbatten was murdered by the IRA in 1979.*



## Question practice

You have the opportunity to practice all three types of questions in Section C. You will need to use Chapters 5, 6 and 7 for these questions.

Source A: Photograph of a demonstration during the 'Quit India' campaign



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**Source B:** From the memoirs of a supporter of Gandhi, 1955

It was clear that Gandhi could no longer tolerate the idea of the British being in control of India. The Cripps Mission clearly disappointed him. He decided to embark on another satyagraha campaign and he seemed to realise that there might be violence even though he was utterly opposed to it. His 'Quit India' campaign did bring death and destruction but Congress were outflanked by the British.

**Source C:** From the diaries of a British MP, 1964

The situation in India was dreadful - the fear of the Japanese invading loomed large in 1942. In addition, the 'Quit India' campaign was only worsening the situation. Gandhi may have disliked violence but he knew what the consequences of his campaign would be. Death and destruction. India experienced this for three months. We had to keep control of India and so we were ready for Quit India.

**Source D:** From a modern history textbook

After 1939, it seemed clear that Britain could no longer hold on to India. The war had created huge economic problems and India now seemed an expensive luxury. In addition, the election of a Labour government made it more likely that independence would soon be granted. But the signals were there in the war - divisions in India, 'Quit India' and communal violence could no longer be ignored.

- (a) Give **three** statements that could be inferred from Source A about the 'Quit India' campaign. (3)
- (b) Study Sources B and C  
Does Source C support the evidence of Source B about 'Quit India'?  
Explain your answer. (7)
- (c) 'The main reason for Britain giving independence to India in 1947 was the consequences of the Second World War.'

Use the sources and your own knowledge to explain whether you agree with this view. (15)