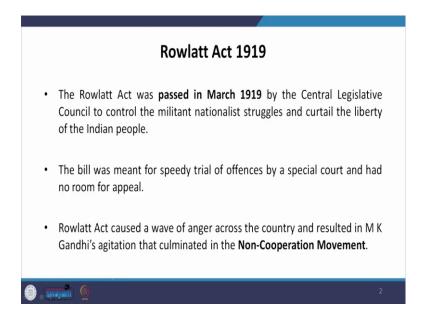
Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema Prof. Sarbani Banerjee Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee

Lecture - 03 History of the Partition of India - III

Good morning and welcome to my lecture on Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema. So, this is the lecture three and earlier we talked about the Indian National Congress, the Moderates, the Extremists; we have discussed a few British policies and this is going to be a continuation of the different policies and the important turn of events, the earmarks in history that add up to and that ultimately lead to the Partition of India.

So, after talking about the Morley Minto reforms and the Lucknow Pact, we are going to discuss

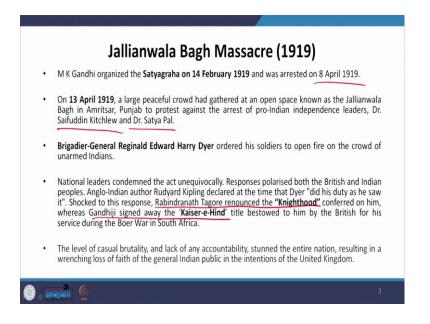
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the Rowlatt Act, [which] was passed in March 1919 by the Central Legislative Council to control the militant nationalist struggles, and as a way of curtailing the liberty of the Indian people, this bill was meant for speedy trial of offences by a special court and had no room for appeal.

So it had its own arbitrary nature inbuilt in the act itself. The Rowlatt Act caused a wave of anger across the country among the Indians and it resulted in M.K. Gandhi, you know, announcing his Non-Cooperation Movement. So, Gandhi had organized the Satyagraha on 14th of February, 1919 and he was arrested on 8th of April, 1919.

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On 13th April of the same year, a large peaceful crowd had gathered at an open space known as the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar Punjab, in order to protest the arrest of pro-Indian independence leaders, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satya Pal.

When people had assembled at Jallianwala Bagh and they were peacefully protesting, at that spot Brigadier General Reginald Edward Harry Dyer ordered his soldiers to open fire on the crowd of an unarmed Indian people. Mass of people that were completely without weapons and they had just assembled to protest peacefully.

National leaders condemned the act of General Dyer unequivocally and the responses around Jallianwala Bagh tragedy further polarised both British and the Indian peoples. So, renowned authors such as Rudyard Kipling, for example, he legitimizes, he justifies Dyer's Act by saying that he was only delivering his duty.

Shocked to this response made by Kipling, Rabindranath Tagore renounced the "Knighthood" that was conferred on him. In the same way, Gandhiji signed away the 'Kaiser-e-Hind,' the title that was bestowed to him by the British for his service during the Boer War in South Africa. So, the level of casual brutality and the sheer lack of answerability or accountability had stunned the entire nation, and the people of India had lost their faith, the general public of India had lost their faith in the intentions of the United Kingdom.

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Montagu-Chlemsford Reforms (1919)
 The reforms draw their name from Edwin Samuel Montagu, the Secretary of State for India during the later parts of WWI and Lord Chlemsford, Viceroy of India between 1916 and 1921. It is also known as Montford Reforms.
 Montagu's August 1917 Declaration announced the British Government's intention to grant self-government to Indians.
 Montagu promised the gradual development of self-governing institutions in India.
 Montagu headed a delegation during 1917-18, in which he held his discussions with Viceroy Lord Chelmsford.
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After this, we talk about the Montagu-Chlemsford reforms that came in 1919. The reforms draw their name from Edwin Samuel Montagu, who was the Secretary of State for India during the later parts of First World War and from the name of Lord Chlemsford who was the Viceroy of India and who ruled between 1916 and 1921.

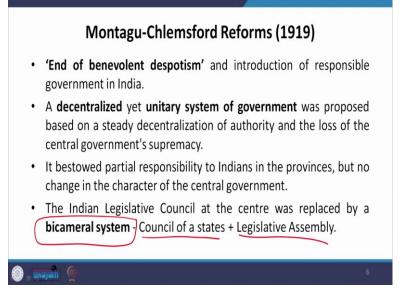
So, the reforms are also known as Montford Reforms. So, Montagu's 1917 Declaration announced the British government's intention to grant self-government to Indians. And Montagu promised the gradual development of self-governing institutions in India. Montagu headed a delegation during 1917 and 1918, in which he held his discussions with Viceroy Lord Chlemsford.

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Montagu-Chlemsford Reforms (1919)
• The reforms were delineated in the Montagu-Chlemsford Report prepared in 1918 and formed the theoretical basis of the Government of India Act, 1919 .
 The report's primary proposal was that control of some areas of provincial governance be transferred to Indian ministers who are accountable to an Indian electorate.
 The key features of this report :- Increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration. Gradual development of self-governing institutions with a progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.
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So, the reforms were delineated in the Montagu-Chlemsford report prepared in 1918 and they formed the theoretical basis of the famous Government of India Act in 1919. The primary proposal in the report was that control of some areas of provincial governance be transferred to the Indian ministers, who would be accountable to an Indian electorate.

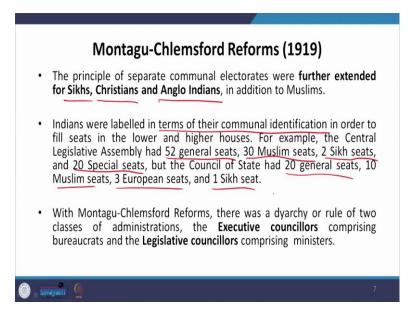
And the key features of this report included increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration. So, a further opportunity to become visible within the political arena, and then gradual development of self-governing institutions with a progressive realization of responsible government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire. (Refer Slide Time: 06:42)



Then the reforms would also refer to 'End of benevolent despotism' and introduction of responsible government in India. It referred to a decentralized yet unitary system of government, which was proposed based on a steady decentralization of authority and the loss of central government's supremacy.

The Montagu-Chlemsford reforms bestowed partial responsibility to Indians in the provinces. the Indian legislative council at the centre was replaced by what was called as the bicameral system - a bicameral system comprising (a) the Council of a state and (b) Legislative Assembly.

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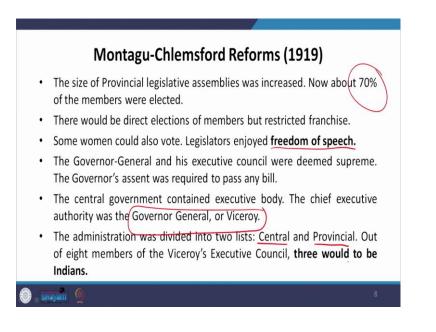


So, the principle of separate communal electorates were further being extended for Sikhs, the Christians and the Anglo Indians in addition to the Muslims. We see that the Morley-Minto reforms was just the beginning, which actually set a trend and now what the Muslim had demanded for a separate electorate was also being voiced by the other communities, such as the Sikhs, the Christians and the Anglo Indians.

Indians were now being labelled in terms of their communal identification and this is a crucial point in divisive politics. You know, in order to fill seats in the lower and higher houses. If you look at the composition, we will see all these divisions and this is how an Indian self-perception would develop. We would have these words in our common parlance. This is a legacy that these reforms actually leave to the modern day Indians.

We still talk of general seats, for any post we talk like this and it had started back in 1900 and at the beginning of 20th Century actually, with Morley-Minto Reforms. So, the Central Legislative Assembly having 52 general seats and then 30 Muslim seats, 2 Sikh seats, 20 special seats and then the Council of State had 20 general seats and 10 Muslim seats, 3 European seats, and 1 Sikh seat.

So, an Indian would not be only an Indian any more; with Montagu-Chlemsford Reforms, there was a dyarchy or rule of two classes of administrations – the Executive councillors comprising bureaucrats and the Legislative councillors comprising ministers. (Refer Slide Time: 09:37)



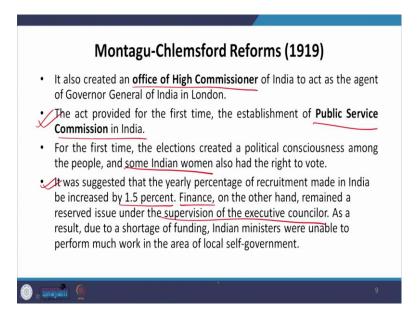
So, the size of the Provincial legislative assemblies was increased. Now, about 70 percent of the members were elected. There would be direct elections of members, but restricted franchise.

Some women would also vote. So there were certain good things about these reforms too; women were coming out to vote. That had never happened before. Legislators enjoyed their freedom of speech; that was also positive. The Governor-General and his executive council were deemed supreme. The Governor's assent was required to pass any bill. So, the central government contained executive body. The chief executive authority was the Governor-General or Viceroy.

So, the administration was divided into two lists, basically: the Central and the Provincial. Out of eight members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, there would be three Indians. So, definitely the INC had been able to push, I mean their stake was increasing, they were stakeholders in the larger scheme and more and more so.

But there were also compromises that were being made. The self-perception of the Indian was changing, they were no longer just Indians, but we will see with Poona Pact, with the further reforms and policies, the divisions in terms of one's caste, one's communal belonging keep coming back again and again.

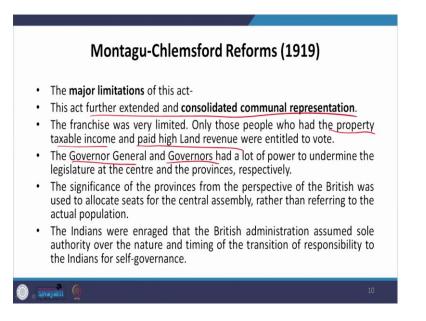
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So, Montagu-Chlemsford Reforms created an office of High Commissioner of India to act as the agent of Governor-General of India in London. So, the supreme control was of course not being bestowed to the Indians. It was still with the Britishers; just that the Indians had an increased representation in the government. The act provided for the first time the establishment of Public Service Commission in India, which was a very positive sign. So, Indians were gaining more agency within the polity.

For the first time, the elections created a political consciousness among the people, and some Indian women also had the right to vote. It was suggested that the yearly percentage of recruitment made in India be increased by 1.5 percent, this was also a positive change. Finance on the other hand would remain a reserved issue under the supervision of the Executive Councilor.

So, finance would be controlled by the Executive Councilor. As a result, due to a shortage of funding, Indian ministers were unable to perform much work in the area of local self-government. So, although there were representations in some exclusive matters, the British would hold on to their own control. So, the question of self-government at the localized level would not be very strongly functional. The question of autonomy was still a distant cry; it was still something that remained to be achieved. (Refer Slide Time: 13:33)



So, the major limitations of Montagu-Chlemsford Reforms include... it further extended and consolidated communal representation – something that I have already stated again

and again. Next, the franchise was very limited. Only those people who had the property taxable income and those who could pay high Land revenue were entitled to vote.

So, here we see an India being etched out through dialogue with the British, which is very elitist by nature. The ones who would vote, someone that could define and who could determine the destiny of a future independent India had to have certain positions. So, the ones that were paying Land revenue, that had property taxable income. So, you know, the future enactors and leaders of India were actually emerging from the upper echelons of the society and the voice of the masses remained unheard.

The Governor-General and the Governors had a lot of power to undermine the legislature at the centre and at the provinces, respectively. So, the main power was still in the hands of the British, like we see the Governor-General and the Governors. The significance of the provinces from the perspective of the British was used to allocate seats for the Central Assembly, rather than referring to the actual population; this was another drawback.

Further, the Indians were enraged that the British administration assumed sole authority over the nature and timing of the transition of responsibility to the Indians for selfgovernance.

So, although some degree of power was being transferred to the native or the Indian rulers, the British were wary – they were not sure how much of power to transfer to the Indians and they wanted to supervise and control this entire transition of responsibility. They wanted to determine how much of power be given to Indians and when the Indians were ready for self-governance. This was seen as an outright insult by the Indians, who were actually deemed or perceived as not ready for ruling their free country.

In the chapters of pre-independent struggles, Simon Commission remains as a black spot. (Refer Slide Time: 16:32)

Simon Commission (1927)

- The Government of India Act stated that after ten years, a statutory Commission would be set up to study the working of the government. This resulted in the Simon Commission (1927).
- Simon Commission The Conservative Party-led government in the UK feared a defeat at the hands of the Labour Party in the elections due, and expedited the appointment of a commission in 1928, which was composed entirely of British members with not a single Indian member included in it. This was perceived as an insult to Indians who stated that their destiny could not be determined by a few British people.
- The Congress Party decided to boycott the Commission at their session at Madras in 1927. The Muslim League led by M A Jinnah also boycotted it.
- When the Commission landed in February 1928, there were mass protests and black flag demonstrations
 all over the country with the slogan, 'Simon Go Back.'
- The police resorted to lathi charges to suppress the movement. Even senior leaders like Pandit Nehru were not spared.
- In Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai, who was leading the demonstration against the Simon Commission, was brutally lathi-charged. He died later that year due to injuries sustained then.

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So the Government of India Acts stated that after 10 years, a statutory Commission would be set up to study the working of the government, and it resulted in the Simon Commission in 1927.

The Simon Commission... it was the result of the Conservative Party-led government in the UK. Fearing a defeat at the hands of the Labour Party, a speedy appointment of a commission [was made] in 1928, which was composed entirely of British members. So, it was a commission determining Indian policies, but it did not have a single Indian member in that commission. In that board, all the members were British.

And this was actually perceived as a humiliation, as an insult to the Indians and because it implied that the Indians were not ready to decide their own destiny. It would be determined by a few British people. Now, the Congress Party had decided to boycott the Simon Commission at their session at Madras in 1927. The Muslim League led by M.A. Jinnah also boycotted it.

When the commission landed in February 1928, there were mass protests and there were black flag demonstrations. There were slogans all around the country – 'Simon Go Back'. So, the police resorted to lathi charges as a way of suppressing the protesters and senior leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru were also not spared. In Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai who was leading a demonstration against the Simon Commission was brutally lathi-charged and he died later during the year as a way of succumbing to the injuries that were sustained at that time.

So, Simon Commission is something remembered in Indian history as a black spot in British rule of India.

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Ramsay MacDonald's Communal Award 1932

- The Communal Award, based on the conclusions of the Indian Franchise Committee, commonly known as the Lothian Committee, was issued on August 16, 1932 by the British Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald.
- It intends to establish separate electorates in India for the Forward Caste, Scheduled Caste, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, and the Depressed Classes (now known as the Scheduled Caste)

A white paper on the future of India's constitution was released by the government. The constitution proposed the creation of multiple Muslim-majority provinces as well as the institution of parliament with different electorates.



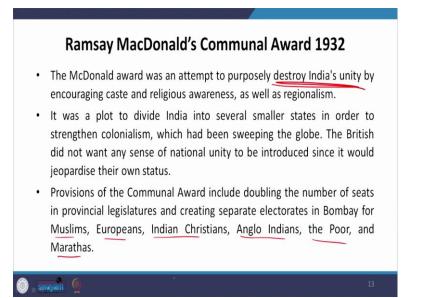
Next, we are going to discuss Ramsay MacDonald's Communal Award in 1932. So, the Communal Award was based on the conclusions of the Indian Franchise Committee, which was commonly known as the Lothian Committee. And it was issued on August 16 1932 by the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald.

It intends to establish separate electorates in India. So, the question of separate electorate became almost synonymous with the formation of a free Indian polity, with the formation of Indian self-governance. So, we see that the two things are actually progressing parallelly – the progress towards independence and at the same time, an advancement in terms of separate communal identities and thereby the question of two nations.

The theory of two nations, which is becoming more and more prominent with the progression of years towards [Partition].... And this is the development that becomes the most prominent in the 1940s. The question of separate electorate gets interspersed with the question of independence. So, now we have separate electorates according to MacDonald's Communal Award for the Forward Caste and for the Scheduled Caste – all these legacies that we carry till today.

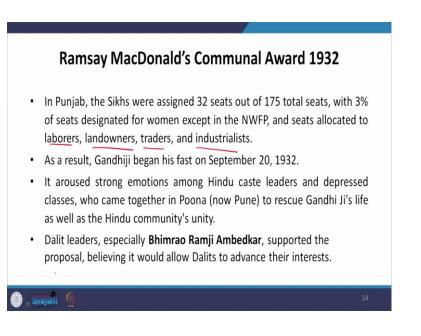
For the Muslims, for the Buddhists, for the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Anglo Indians, for the Europeans and for the Depressed Classes that are now known as the Schedule Caste. So, a white paper on the future of India's constitution was released by the government. The constitution proposed the creation of multiple Muslim-majority provinces as well as the institution of parliament with different electorates. The MacDonald Award was an attempt to purposely destroy India's unity, by encouraging caste and religious consciousness or awareness as well as a sense of regionalism.

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It was a plot to divide India into several smaller states as a way of strengthening colonialism, which had been sweeping the globe at that time. The British did not want any sense of national unity to be introduced since that would jeopardise their own status. The provisions of the Communal Award include doubling the number of seats in provincial legislatures, and creating separate electorates in Bombay for Muslims, Europeans, Indian Christians, Anglo Indians, the poor and the Marathas.

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So, in Punjab, the Sikhs were assigned 32 seats out of 175 total seats with 3 percentage of seats designated for women except in the North Western Frontier Province, and seats allocated to labourers, to landowners, traders and industrialists. So, through all these categories we have our sense of class belonging – where do we socio-economically belong in that ladder?

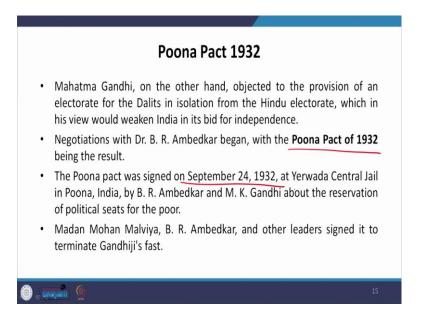
As a result, we see M. K. Gandhi beginning to fast from September 20, 1932. His fast aroused strong emotions among Hindu caste leaders as well as among the Depressed Classes, who came together in Poona (which is now Pune) in order to rescue Gandhiji's life as well as to vouch for the Hindu Community's unity.

The Dalit leaders, especially Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, supported this proposal of separate electorate for the depressed classes or the scheduled caste people, believing that it would allow Dalits to advance their interest. So, we see that what Ramsay MacDonald's Communal Award yields creates a kind of tiff between B.R. Ambedkar on

the one side spearheading the Dalits demand and M.K. Gandhi who is actually looking at the dwindling power of the caste Hindus.

So, if the Dalits were to separate themselves out from the Hindu identity, the Hindus as a community would further have their position [weakened], which M.K. Gandhi did not want.

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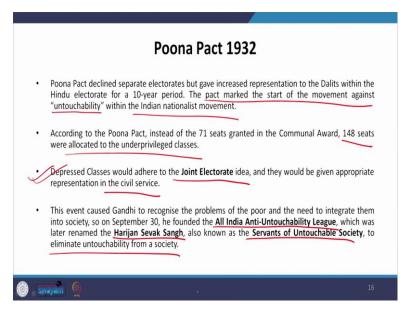


So, Gandhi objected to the provision of an electorate for the Dalits in isolation from the Hindu electorate, which in his view would weaken India in its bid for independence.

Negotiations with Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had begun...so negotiation between M. K. Gandhi and Ambedkar which resulted in the Poona Pact in 1932. The Poona Pact was signed on September 24, 1932 at Yerwada Central Jail in Poona by B.R. Ambedkar and M.K. Gandhi, and this was regarding the reservation of political seats for the poor.

And leaders, such as Madan Mohan Malviya along with B.R. Ambedkar and others actually signed this as a way of terminating Gandhiji's fast. Gandhi had fast until death till the Dalits actually acquiesced, and so basically Ambedkar and Gandhi had a divide in their opinions, but they tried to reconcile and so Poona Pact was signed.

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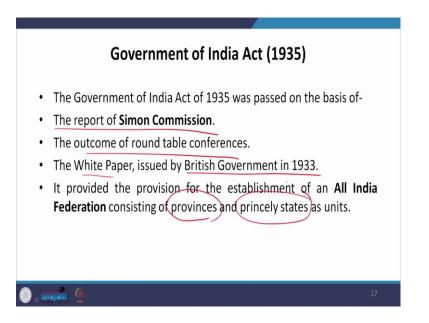


As a result of Poona Pact...we see that the pact declined separate electorates of course, so Gandhiji had his way to a certain extent. However, it gave increased representation to the Dalits within the Hindu electorate for a period of next 10 years. The pact marked the start of the movement against "untouchability."

So, it was a very significant moment for Dalit agency in India. Dalit voice and Dalit rights, the question of Dalit rights emerged with this pact. So, the visibility of the Dalit within the Indian nationalist movement was marked with this pact, the Poona Pact. According to the Poona Pact instead of 71 seats granted in the Communal Award 148 seats [were granted to the Dalits]...so, more than double [seats] were allotted to the underprivileged classes. It was an achievement on the part of Ambedkar and his followers. Depressed Classes would adhere to the Joint Electorate idea and they would be given appropriate representation in the civil service. This was another achievement.

This event caused Gandhiji to recognise the problems of the poor and the need to integrate them into the society. As a result, on September 30th of the same year, he founded the all India Anti-Untouchability League, later renamed as the Harijan Sevak Sangh, and also known as the Servants of Untouchable society as a way of eliminating the practice of untouchability from the Hindu society.

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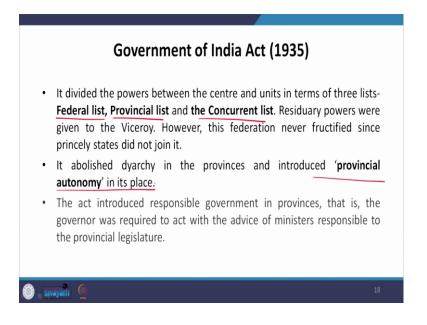


Next, we talk about the Government of India Act in 1935. The Government of India Act was passed on the basis of the following [factors]. So, the report of Simon Commission,

the outcome of round table conferences and then the White Paper issued by the British Government in 1933. It provided the provision for the establishment of an All India Federation consisting of provinces and princely states as units.

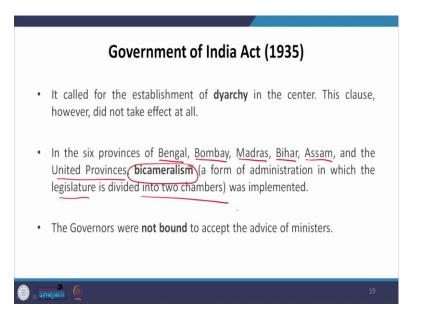
So, the Government of India Act divided the powers between the centre and units in terms of three lists - (a) the federal list, (b) the provincial list and (c) the concurrent list. The residuary powers were given to the Viceroy.

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However, this federation never fructified since princely states refused to give in or to join. It abolished diarchy in the provinces and instead introduced provincial autonomy in its place. So, the provinces were becoming autonomous as a result of this act.

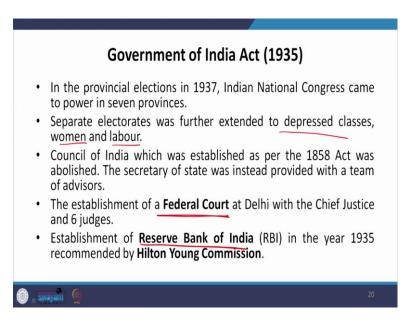
The act introduced responsible government in provinces, which meant that the governor was required to act with the advice of ministers responsible to the provincial legislature. (Refer Slide Time: 28:54)



And the Government of India Act called for the establishment of diarchy in the centre. So however, we see that this clause ah did not take effect at all. In the six provinces – Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Assam and the United Provinces, bicameralism was implemented.

Bicameralism means a form of administration where the legislature is divided into two chambers. This was implemented in these six provinces. The Governors were not bound to accept the advice of ministers.

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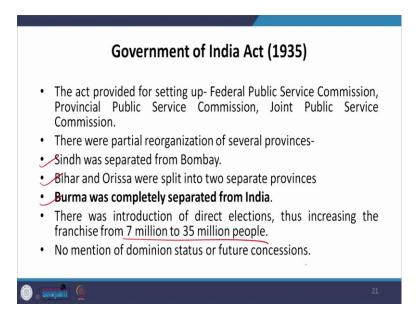


So, in the Indian provincial elections in 1937, the Indian National Congress came to power in seven provinces.

So, the Government of India Act was a crucial turning point in the history of preindependent ah India. We see that separate electorates was further extended to depressed classes, to women, to labour. So, all these separate identities become more and more concretized through the passing of these different acts. The Council of India which was established as per the 1858 Act was abolished.

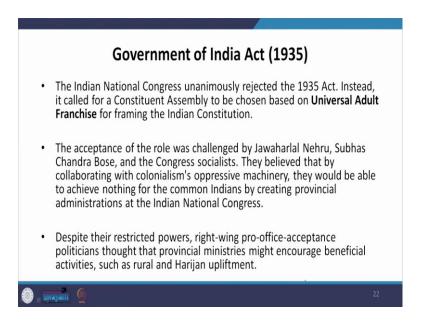
The secretary of state was instead provided with a team of advisors, the establishment of a Federal Court at Delhi with the Chief Justice and six judges. Establishment of Reserve Bank of India, the RBI in the year 1935 was recommended by Hilton Young Commission. So, these are all historic events that are coeval with this act.

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And the act provided for setting up the Federal Public Service Commission, Provincial Public Service Commission, Joint Public Service Commission. They were partial reorganization of several provinces. So, we see that the Government of India Act becomes a turning point. Sindh was separated from Bombay. Bihar and Orissa were split into two separate provinces. Burma was completely separated from India through this act. There were introduction of direct elections, thus increasing the franchise from 7 million to 35 million people – that is a huge change. No mention of dominion status or future concessions.

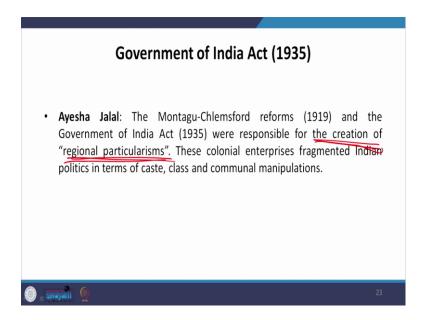
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So, the Indian National Congress unanimously rejected the 1935 Act. Instead INC called for a Constituent Assembly to be chosen based on universal adult franchise for framing the Indian Constitution. The acceptance of the role was challenged by Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and the Congress socialists. They believed that by collaborating with colonialism's oppressive machinery, they would be able to achieve nothing for the common Indians through creating provincial administrations at the Indian National Congress.

So, despite their restricted powers, right-wing-pro-office acceptance politicians would think that provincial ministries might encourage beneficial activities, such as rural and Harijan upliftment. So, they were seeing some positive aspects in these reforms, these changes.

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Jalal very correctly points out... like many other historians that study the postcolonial nations and the partition scholars, she [also] notes that the Montagu-Chlemsford Reforms in 1919 and the Government of India Act in 1935 were responsible for the creation of "regional particularisms".

These colonial enterprises fragmented Indian politics in terms of class and communal manipulations. With this, we come to the end of lecture three, and I am going to meet you again for the next lecture. Until then, thank you.