

# COMPREHEHNSIVE COURSE ON MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

## INM- 1930 TO 1939

**CIVIL DISOBIDIENCE MOVEMENT  
NEW SWARAJISTS- 1934**

**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935  
STRATEGIC DEBATE- 1935 TO 1937  
CONGRESS MINISTRIES- 1937-39**

**WORKBOOK- CLASS HANDOUT**



*By- Pratik Nayak  
(PNLIVE)*





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Sources of Reading-  
 Pratik Nayak- Workbook  
 Running notes of the class

Comprehensive Coverage-  
 Previous Years Questions

Hello Learners- please find this workbook containing topics to covered

This workbook contains the compiled information/facts/analysis sourced from various sources.

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### Chronology of Events- 1930 Onwards

Road to Poorna Swaraj- Lahore Resolution

Civil Disobedience Movement- 1930 to 1931  
 Round Table Conferences- 1930 to 1932

Communal Award- 1932

New Swarajists- 1934

Government of India Act- 1935  
 Strategic Debate- 1935 to 1937

Congress Ministries- 1937 to 1939  
 28 Months- of Congress Rule

World War 2- 1939 onwards  
 Extreme Communalism by Muslim League  
 Pakistan Resolution- March 1940

Sil...Sil....What happened post 1930... Salt Satyagraha ke baad kya hoga ?

Golu..Kuch bhi puchte ho aap..... Chalo samjhata hoon



## Prelude to CDM

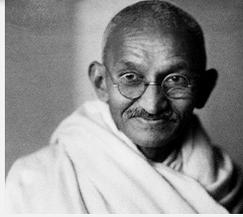
Poorna Swaraj- December 1930  
January 1930- Gandhi's 11 Point letter- last Ultimatum

February 1930

Congress Working Committee invested Gandhi with full powers to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) at a time and place of his choice

Gandhi had decided to make, salt → Centre to CDM

There is no other article like salt, outside water, by taxing which the government can reach the starving millions, the sick, the maimed and the utterly helpless... it is the most inhuman poll tax the ingenuity of man can devise



दुधपेस्ट में नमक हो या न हो लेकिन खुन में देश का नमक होना जरूरी है

2 March, he addressed his historic later to the Viceroy → British rule as a curse

disobeying the Salt Act

Gandhi had decided to make, salt → Centre to CDM

Racist law under which Indians were

forbidden from harvesting their own salt and instead required to purchase it from

British sellers at inflated costs. The salt tax represented 8.2% of the

British Raj tax revenue and hurt the poorest Indians the most

symbolic identification with mass suffering

Rsymbol//law that could unify the entire country - implications of loyalty and mutual trust

linked with ideal of Swaraj Rich- Poor- affected all

can be applied to all over country Urban-Rural

Non- Divisive- No Caste, Religion bias substance of common use, it cut across religious, caste, and class differences. It could make a deep emotional appeal.

Source of Income- psychologically important

income for the poor through selfhelp earlier instance- no rent (revenue) campaign

restricted to peasantry only Breaking of Salt Law- implied civil disobedience

non-violent character part of constructive program

## Civil Disobedience Movement सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन

Dandi March (March 12-April 6, 1930)  
Gandhiji, along with a band of seventy-eight members of the Sabarmati Ashram

Launch of the Civil Disobedience Movement, began on March 12

Gandhi broke the salt law by picking up a handful of salt at Dandi on April 6



**Civil Disobedience Movement *सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन***



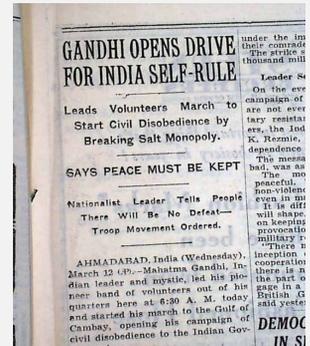
**Spread of Salt Disobedience**

**Tamil Nadu, C. Rajagopalachari**  
salt march from Trichinopoly to Vedaranniyam on the Tanjore coast

**Malabar, K. Kelappan**  
the hero of the Vaikom Satyagraha  
Calicut to Payannur  
1931- Guruvayur Satyagraha

**Assam, satyagrahis walked from Sylhet to Noakhali (Bengal) to make salt**

**Andhra, a number of sibirams (camps) came up**  
Satyagrahis marched through villages



**Q. Government's Response?**

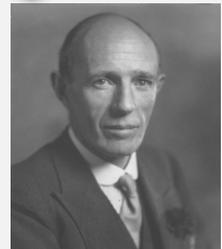
Congress → the Government is afraid of persons like ourselves,'

**arrest of Congress leaders in the North West Frontier Province**

**Nehru's arrest in April 1930**

**Gandhi's arrest came on May 4, 1930**

**Arrest all congress leaders.....**



**Q. So, did the movement stopped post the arrest of national leaders?**

**No, Organisation was still working**  
After Gandhi's arrest, the CWC sanctioned  
Motilal Nehru, who was functioning as the Congress President

**Different forms of Protests emerged over a time.....**

1. Surya Sen's → Chittagong Revolt Group
2. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Peshawar → volunteer brigade 'Khudai Khidmatgars', popularly known as the 'Red-Shirts'  
Arrest of Badshah Khan → Newspaper Pakhtoon  
Arrested during the movement  
Local Leader → Malang baba/ Abdul Shakoor



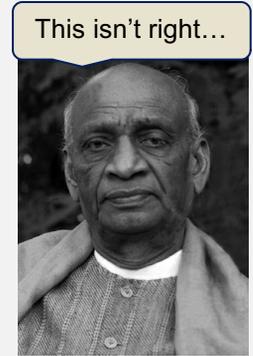
3. Sholapur → virtual parallel government  
massive wave of protest at Gandhiji's arrest.  
thousands of textile and railway workers  
Solapur → Most fiercest form of protest  
Parallel Government established

Civil Disobedience Movement *सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन*

**Q. Other Forms of Upsurge during CDM?**

**Bihar** → refusal to pay chowkidara tax  
 Chowkidars, paid out of the tax levied specially on the villages,  
 hated because they acted as spies for the Government started in Bihar

Government retaliated by confiscation of property worth hundreds  
 visit by Rajendra Prasad and Abdul Ban from Patna became the occasion for, a huge mass rally



**Bengal, Anti-chowkidara tax and anti-union board tax**  
 No Salt because of monsoon  
 Bardoli taluqa in Surat district, and in Jambusar in Broach, a determined no-tax movement was in progress  
 tax refused houses were broken into, their lands confiscated  
 Vallabhbhai Patel's → Mothers house ransacked → utensils kicked out

**Maharashtra, Karnataka, Central Provinces** → defiance of forest laws

**Why?**  
 Indian Forest Act of 1878. Both the 1878 act and the 1927

consolidate and reserve the areas having forest cover, or significant wildlife, to regulate movement and transit of forest produce, and duty leviable on timber and other forest produce  
 size of the crowd that broke the forest laws swelled to 70,000

**Manipur and Nagaland** → Rani Gaidinliu of Nagaland joined the Heraka religious movement resisted the conversion of Nagas to Christianity & derived from ancestral Naga practices known as "Paupaise" emphasized the worship of the supreme being "Tingkao Ragwang"

arrested in 1932 at the age of 16, and was sentenced to life  
 Nehru gave her the title of "Rani"  
 Released in 1946  
 Opposed NNC, Awarded Padma Bhushan



**UP** → a no-revenue, no-rent campaign. no-revenue part was a call to the zamindars to refuse to pay revenue to the Government  
 No rent a call to the tenants not to pay rent to the zamindars  
 zamindars were largely loyal to the Government

There were strikes by railway workers in 1930 and dockworkers in 1932.  
 In 1930 thousands of workers in Chotanagpur tin mines wore Gandhi caps and participated in protest rallies and boycott campaigns

**Assam** → Agitation against Cunningham circular

blanket ban on any anti-British and pro-swadeshi activity by students. He also ordered them to sign an undertaking to the effect that they would have to quit their schools and colleges if they participated in anti-government demonstrations or movements.

swadeshi school in the city on the lines of national schools being established

Kamrup Academy

Civil Disobedience Movement *सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन*

Dharsana, On May 21, 1930 → Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib and Manilal



→ In eighteen years of my reporting in twenty countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disturbances, riots, street fights and rebellions



Dharsana, On May 21, 1930 → Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib and Manilal  
a band of 2000 marched towards the police cordon that had sealed off the Dharasana salt works

police rushed forward with their steel-tipped lathis and set upon the non-resisting Satyagrahis  
Webb Miller, the American journalist

Wadala → raids on the salt works crowd of 15,000  
Karnataka, 10,000 invaded the Sanikatta salt works  
Madras, the defiance of salt laws  
Andhra bands of village women walked miles to carry away a handful of salt

Q. How was the mobilisation done?

Prabhat pheries      Manjari senas      Magic lantern shows  
Vanar senas      Secret patrikas

Q. Impact of Agitation?

Imports of foreign cloth and other items fell  
Government income from liquor, excise and land revenue fell  
Elections to Legislative Assembly were largely boycotted  
Mass Participation was seen  
Women      Students      **Muslims Participation?**  
Workers      Merchants and Petty Traders

Q. Government Response to the agitation?

Throughout 1930 was ambivalent  
faced the classic dilemma of- 'damned if you do, damned if you don't'

if force was applied, the Congress cried 'repression'  
if little was done, the Congress cried 'victory'.  
The hegemony of the Government was eroded

कन्फुज कर दिया है... क्या करें ??



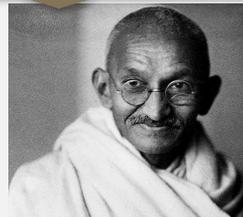
Friends....Remembered, I came to India in 1928, now finally submitting the report in 1930

सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन... No taking part in 1<sup>st</sup> RTC

courted arrest  
Madan Mohan Malaviya and M.S. Aney



Sir John Simon



Publication of the Simon Commission → June 1930  
no mention of dominion status

July 1930      viceroy suggested a round table conference (RTC)

Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar be allowed to explore the possibilities of peace between the Congress and the Government

First Round Table Conference (November 1930- January 1931)

The Congress and most business leaders' boycotted the First RTC and continued with CDM

Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberals and princes attended

Civil Disobedience Movement *सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन*

**First Round Table Conference (November 1930-january 1931)**  
**Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberals and princes attended**

**1st RTC → Inaugurated by King George V**  
**Presided by Ramsay McDonald (PM)**

**No Consensus emerged out- even in Muslims**

**Hence Concluded →**

- **Indian Administration would be given to the Legislative assemblies**
- **All India Federation to be formed**
- **Executive → Answerable to the legislative (except Defence, Foreign Affairs and Emergency)**
- **Provincial Autonomy**

- **Government realised the failure of the RTC**
- **Decided to change strategy**



**January 25, 1931**

**Gandhi and all other members of the CWC were released**

**Gandhi-Irwin Pact**

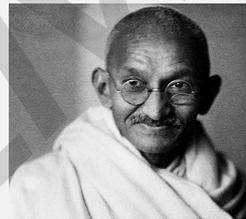
**Meeting between the Viceroy and Gandhi @ Delhi (5 March 1931)**

*सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन... Okay i'll stop CDM only if you accept my demands*

*Stop CDM and Participate in RTC ...pls...*

**Q. Gandhi-Irwin Pact- Provisions- What the Government promised ?**

1. **immediate release of all political prisoners not convicted of violence;**
2. **remission of all fines not yet collected;**
3. **return of all lands not yet sold to third parties;**
4. **lenient treatment to those government servants who had resigned;**
5. **right to make salt in coastal villages for personal consumption (not for sale);**
6. **right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing; and**
7. **withdrawal of emergency ordinances.**



**What was accepted by Gandhi ?**

**suspend the civil disobedience movement**  
**participate in the next Round Table Conference**

**Q. Gandhi-Irwin Pact- was it failure (retreat) ?**  
**Yes, Why so ?**

**- No, it was not considered as a failure**

**Subhash Chandra Bose-**

**opposed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and subsequent suspension of the movement particularly on grounds that Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries could not be saved**



**Q. Gandhi-Irwin Pact- was it failure (retreat) ?**  
**Yes, Why so ?**

**- Irwin turned down- public enquiry into police excesses**

**- commutation of Bhagat Singh and his comrades' death sentence to life sentence**



**Civil Disobedience Movement *सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन***

**Q. Gandhi-Irwin Pact- was it failure (retreat) ?  
Yes, Why so ?**

**Sudden halt of a movement, without acknowledging ground realities**

**Goal of Purna Swaraj not achieved**

**Social base- peasants & others didn't get reprieve, neither their lands were returned back immediately**

**Seen as an act of betrayal by youth as they thought the movement would end with a concrete outcome**

**Yes, Why so ?**

**Gandhi & congress leaders attended the second RTC on British terms & conditions**

**Outcome of Second RTC- was not in favour of Congress**

**Q. Gandhi-Irwin Pact- was it failure (retreat) ?  
No- it wasn't**

**Gandhian technique-  
Pressure- Compromise- Pressure**

**Mass movement's are generally shortlived  
Cant have high energy from start to end of movement**

**Mid 1930's – there were signs of exhaustion  
Government repression was also high**

**Sacrifices by masses are not similar to those of activists who were always ready**

**No- it wasn't**

**Congress put on equal footing with the government  
Relationship status changed**

**Release of political prisoners  
Jubilant atmosphere**

**Period from March 1931 onwards to December 1931**

(Pre'20-SetB) Q.47.The Gandhi-Irwin Pact included which of the following?

- 1.Invitation to Congress to participate in the Round Table Conference
- 2.Withdrawal of Ordinances promulgated in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement
- 3.Acceptance of Gandhi's suggestion for enquiry into police excesses
- 4.Release of only those prisoners who were not charged with violence

Select the correct answer using the code given below

- [a] 1 only
- [b] 1, 2 and 4 only
- [c] 3 only
- [d] 2, 3 and 4 only



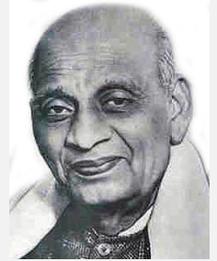
**Period from March 1931 onwards to December 1931**

Karachi congress session 1931 (26-31 March) Q. Resolutions at Karachi?

I presided the Karachi congress session...

1. While disapproving of and dissociating itself from political violence, congress admired the bravery and sacrifice of the martyrs

I've drafted the resolution at Karachi



2. endorse the Gandhi-Irwin or Delhi Pact



3. Two resolutions were adopted  
Fundamental Rights National Economic Programme

First time the Congress spelt out what swaraj would mean for the masses

**Fundamental Rights-**  
Speech and Thought  
Assembly and Association  
Equality before law  
Neutrality of State → Religion  
Elections → Universal adult  
Franchise  
Free and Compulsory primary  
education  
Protection for the minorities

Substantial reduction in rent and revenue  
Exemption from rent in case of economic holdings  
Relief from agricultural debts  
Control of usury  
Better condition for workers, limited hours of work  
State ownership of industries, mines and transport  
Right to form unions

2<sup>nd</sup> RTC @ London

key participants from India

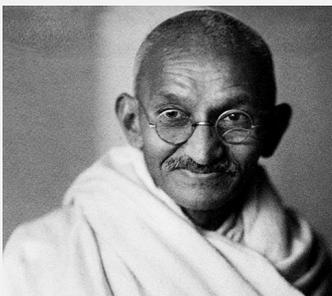
B. R. Ambedkar,  
Mohammad Ali Jinnah,  
Mahatma Gandhi,  
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,  
V. S. Srinivasa Sastri,  
Sir Muhammad Zafrulla  
Khan and Mirabehn,  
Sarojini Naidu

Princely States  
Representatives

Adopted by the Constituent  
assembly

Its time to go to  
England for attending  
2<sup>nd</sup> RTC

ઇલ્લો કટોરો ઝેહર નો આ  
પી જાઓ બાપુ



ઝવેરચંદ મેઘાણી



Even this last cup of poison,  
you must drink, Bapu! –  
Jhaverchand Meghani



**Period from December 1931 Onwards – CDM 2.0**

Second RTC, December 1931

Not much was expected

Minority member demanded representative rights → 11.5

Crete Population

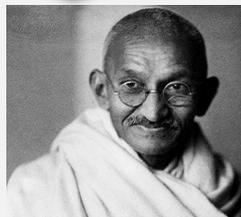
Gandhi → We represent 85 crore of population

Gandhi returned to India on December 28, 1931

On December 29, 1931

The CWC decided to resume the civil disobedience movement

सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन... आग → २.०



हम यहाँ के नए वाईस रॉय हैं....



Viceroy Willingdon.

**Phase 2 Called as- CDM- 2.0**

British officials had drawn their own lessons from the Delhi Pact

What was government's response?

Changed Government Attitude

British officials had drawn their own lessons from the Delhi Pact

Three main considerations in British policy

1. Gandhi would not be permitted to build up the tempo
2. Goodwill of the Congress was not required
3. National movement would not be allowed to consolidate

January 4, 1932, Gandhi was arrested

Congress organisations at all levels were banned

Arrests were made of activists, leaders, sympathisers

Press was gagged and nationalist literature, banned  
Large Repression took place

**April 1934, Gandhi decided to withdraw the civil disobedience movement**

Communal award and Poona pact

Announced by the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, in August 1932

Muslims(1909), Sikhs and Christians(1919) → Minorities  
Depressed classes → Minorities → Separate Electorates

Effort to separate the depressed classes from the rest of the Hindus by treating them as separate political entities

Gandhi saw the Communal Award as an attack on Indian unity

Went on an indefinite fast on September 20, 1932

B.R. Ambedkar, M.C. Rajah and Madan Mohan Malaviya  
September 1932, Signing of Pact

Abandoned separate electorates for depressed Class  
18% of the seats allotted → Central legislature

Seats reserved for the depressed classes were increased from 71 to 147 in provincial legislatures

Poona Pact was accepted by the Government as an amendment to the Communal Award.

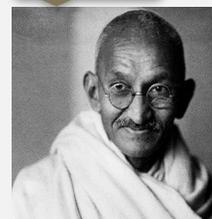
Now...separate electorates for Depressed classes



क्यों..पर ???



ये हुई ना बात



मान जाओ देखो बापू उपवास पे हैं।





**Q. Limitations & Weakness of the Civil Disobedience Movement :-**

**1. The Issue of Peasants- Rich Peasants vs. Poor Peasants**  
**Definition of Swaraj**  
**Role of the Patidars & Jat Peasants**

**2. The issue of Business groups- Suffered from British Rule – 1900s**  
**Made profit during WW-I**  
**Formation of FICCI-1927**  
**Wanted economic reforms- Hence supported CDM**  
**After RTC- didn't supported the second phase**  
**Industrialists coming closer to congress- worker's didn't trust congress**

**3. Congress had ignored the dalits, for fear of offending the sanatanis, the conservative high-caste Hindus began organising themselves, demanding reserved seats in educational institutions, and a separate electorate that would choose dalit members for legislative councils.**

**5. Dr B.R. Ambedkar, who organised the dalits into the Depressed Classes Association in 1930, clashed with Mahatma Gandhi at the second Round Table Conference by demanding separate electorates for dalits**

**Communalism tinge-**

- 1. After the decline of the Non-Cooperation-Khilafat movement, a large section of Muslims felt alienated from the Congress**
- 2. mid-1920s the Congress came to be more visibly associated with openly Hindu religious nationalist groups like the Hindu Mahasabha**
- 3. 1928-1929 → Nehru Committee Report & the 14 points of Jinnah**
- 4. When the Civil Disobedience Movement started there was thus an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust between communities**
- 5. large sections of Muslims could not respond to the call for a united struggle**
- 6. 1930 → Speech of Mohamed Iqbal**

In 1930, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, as president of the Muslim League, reiterated the importance of separate electorates for the Muslims as an important safeguard for their minority political interests. His statement is supposed to have provided the intellectual justification for the Pakistan demand that came up in subsequent years. This is what he said:

'I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian home-lands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism ... A community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religions and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty according to the teachings of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of life and behaviour and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and thereby its whole past as a living operative factor in my present consciousness ...

'Communalism in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries ... The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified...

'The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word "nation" to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things, however, does not exist. India is a land of racial and religious variety. Add to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces, as at present constituted and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates.'

Source

**Q. Difference- NCM vs CDM ??**

	<u>NCM</u>	<u>CDM</u>
<b>objective</b>	<b>remedying two specific wrongs → Khilafat, Punjab and a vaguely-worded swaraj</b>	<b>complete independence</b>
<b>methods</b>	<b>non-cooperation</b>	<b>violation of law from the very beginning</b>
<b>Muslim participation</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Low</b>



**Q. Period between 1932-1935**

कौन होनी चाहिये ?  
What should be the course of movement?

**Strategic debate** Two-stage debate on the future strategy

1<sup>st</sup> → what course the national movement should take?

participation in elections to the Central Legislature (due in 1934) or boycott them

elections to the Central Legislative Assembly to be held in 1934

participation in elections to the Central Legislature (due in 1934) or boycott



MUKHTAR AHMED ANSARI



New Swarajists

New Swarajists

M.A. Ansari,  
Asaf Ali,  
Bhulabhai Desai,  
S. Satyamurthy and  
B.C. Roy



Bhulabhai Desai-  
Indian Freedom Fighter



participation in elections to the Central Legislature (due in 1934) or boycott

necessary to utilize elections and work in the legislative councils to keep up the political interest and morale of the people

C. Rajagopalachari

commended the Swarajist approach to Gandhiji

strong Congress presence in the legislatures would serve the movement as 'its equivalent'

AICC meeting at Patna decided in May 1934 to set up a parliamentary board to fight elections under the aegis of the Congress itself

November 1934 → Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly

Congress captured forty-five/seventy five

August 1935, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act of 1935



## Government of India Act of 1935

### Government of India Act 1935

**Why this Act ?**

**Features ?**

**Weakness ?**

**1. Failure of the Gol Act- 1919**  
 Provincial dyarchy  
 Not giving any form of responsible government & self government to Indians

**Rowlatt Act- 1919**  
**Jalianwala bagh tragedy- 1919**

**2. Non Cooperation Movement**  
 Leadership rejected the Mont-ford reforms  
 Boycotted the elections that took place in 1920

**3. Swarajist Movement**  
 Council entry programme  
 exposed the weakness of the Gol-1919

**Government- formed Muddiman Committee**  
 It accepted the weakness in the Mont-Ford reforms  
**Motilal Nehru- demanded Indian Constituent assembly**  
 Also demanded Round Table conference  
**Jinnah- demanded responsible government**  
 Federal constitution along with provincial autonomy

**4. By 1927-28- Entry of Simon Commission**  
 All white commission- hence protest- 'Simon, Go Back'

**Anti-Simon Movement took place**  
 Lord Birkenhead challenged Indians to draft own constitution

**Muslim league- Delhi Proposals**  
**Congress- Madras Session**

**Feb- 1928- All Party Conference**  
**Congress- Muslim league- Hindu Mahasabha**

### Changes ?

**India**

**England**

**5. Nehru Committee**  
 Presided by Motilal Nehru and other members from all parties  
 Came up with 'Nehru Report'  
 Dominion status  
 Responsible government  
 Parilamentary system  
 Provincial autonomy with strong centre

It became the basis for immediate demand for self government and not gradual government  
 But SC Bose & JL Nehru- Came up with Independence of India League – wanted complete Independence

**6. Reaction to Nehru Report**  
 Calcutta Session- 1928- Congress gave one year time to government to accept dominion status/ nehru report  
 31 Dec 1929- last date  
 If not accepted- India will demand Complete Independence- Poorna Swaraj  
 Jinnah gave 14 Points- March 1929

**7. May 1929- Change of Government in England**  
 Labour Party- Ramsay McDonald becomes British PM  
 Viceroy Iriwn called to England for discussions

**October 1929- Diwali Declaration by Iriwn**  
 India will have natural progression to Dominion Status - it is implicit in Montague Declaration  
 Assurance of Round Table Conference once the Simon Commission submits its report

**8. November – 1929-**  
**Delhi Manifesto- demanded by Congress**  
 Purpose of Round table conference- To implement dominion status  
 Congress to have majority in RTCs

No assurance given by Iriwn

**9. 31 December 1929- Lahore Session**  
 Congress adopts Poorna Swaraj as goal  
 CDM to launched soon



**Government of India Act of 1935**

**Government of India Act 1935**

**Why this Act ?**

10. January 1930-  
Gandhi's 11 point

March 1930- Civil Disobedience Movement  
Mass movement  
First roundtable conference- but congress boycotted

11. March 1931  
Delhi Pact= Gandhi-Irwin Pact  
Gandhi suspended CDM temporarily

Karachi Session- March 1931  
Presided by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

12. December 1931  
Gandhi participates in the Second RTC  
Change in the cabinet in England- conservatives under PM Ramsay McDonald

2<sup>nd</sup> RTC failed

New viceroy- Willingdon appointed

13. January 1932-  
Second Phase of CDM (2.0)  
But movement not successful

14. Communal Award & Poona Pact- Sep 1932  
Separate electorates

Third Round Table Conference- December 1932

By March 1933- White Paper issued by the government

15. Central Assembly Elections announced- 1934  
New swarajists emerged

1932- Lothian Committee was formed in the background

By 1935- picture was clear- India was heading towards political turmoil

**The Government of India Act, 1935**

The British parliament passed the government of India Act in August 1935.

**Basis of the Act :**

- The report of Simon Commission
- The report of the all parties conference (Nehru Committee report)
- The discussions of the three round table conferences
- The white paper (March 1933)
- The joint select committee report.
- The Lothian report which determined the Electoral provisions of the Act.

**Lothian Committee → Lord Lothian is chairman of the committee**

Indian franchise committee

a franchise which would be a suitable foundation for a system of responsible government

per cent and 5 per cent of the seats in both provincial legislatures and the assembly should be reserved for women

proposed educational and property qualifications for voter

Gandhi demand for universal adult suffrage was rejected

increases in the number of qualified voters in the provinces and made special provisions to guarantee representation for women and the "untouchables,"

Samuel Hoare- Secretary of State announced reforms  
Government of India Act- 1935

**Provisions of the act ?**

**Provisions of the act ?**

1. All India Federation
2. Dyarchy at Centre
3. Provincial Autonomy
4. Special powers for Governors



## Government of India Act of 1935

### Features of the Act ?

Bulky  
Highly complicated  
Federal set up

Absence of preamble

### Creation of lists

Federal lists  
Provincial lists  
Union lists

### Changes ? India & England

#### Changes in England- ?

Secretary of State + India Council (15 members)  
Established in Gol 1858 act

Now the council was abolished  
Due to its anti-india policies

SoS given with advisors

### The Government of India Act, 1935

1. All India Federation
2. Dyarchy at Centre
3. Provincial Autonomy
4. Special powers for Governors

### Federal Provisions-

1. All India Federation- proposed  
British Indian Provinces- Governor ruled  
Chief Commissioners Provinces  
Indian Princely States

How the states can join the federation- ?  
By instrument of accession

Voluntary process

States to be entitled to half of the seats in upper house

aggregate population of states should be at least 50% of total population of all Indian princely states

2. Federal legislature-  
Bicameral –

Council of state- total 260 members  
156- Indian provinces and 104- Princely States  
Federal assembly – 375 members

250- Indian provinces and 125- princely states  
Members to be partly nominated \* and partly elected

Princely states given power to nominate members  
Why- to make sure the nationalist don't dominate the legislatures

3. Federal legislature- extension of separate electorates

General

Muslims

Sikhs

Europeans

Indian Christians

Anglo India

Women \*

Commerce & Industry

Landlords

Labour

Backward areas and tribes

2. Federal executive-

Dyarchy at centre- Provincial list- divided into two parts

1. Reserved subjects-  
Defence,

External Affairs

Partially excluded areas (tribal areas)

Ecclesiastical affairs

To be administer by Governor General of India along with his counsellors - No responsibility

Dyarchy at centre- Provincial list- divided into two parts

2. Transferred subjects-

Administered by the GGI on the advice of the ministers answerable to the federal legislature

### 2. Provincial Part ?

#### Provincial Executive with Autonomy

The governor enjoyed some 'real' power.

For the provinces like central provinces and Sindh, he had special responsibilities in which he was not bound to seek the advice of council of ministers.

He could, by a proclamation, take the entire government of the provinces into his hands (for six months) if he was satisfied that the government of the province could not be carried on in accordance with the normal provisions of the Act.



**Government of India Act of 1935**

**2. Provincial Part ?**

**Provincial Executive- Government**

**Provincial Autonomy-**  
 Provinces to have elected assembly  
 Given status of separate legal entity  
 No direct control of GGI \*  
 Power derived from the crown

**Abolition of dyarchy in provinces**  
 No transferred/reserved subjects

**Full responsible government established**

**But- Special powers of Governor**

**Provincial Executive- Special Powers of Governors**

**Term- Safeguards and special responsibilities**

**Discretionary matters**  
 Summoning of legislature  
 Appointing minister  
 Assent/vetoing the bills

**Veto Power for Governor in Provinces**

**The Minorities**  
 The rights of civil servants  
 Law and order  
 British business interests

**Provincial Assembly- Bicameralism introduced in provinces**

**Bengal**  
**Madras**  
**Bombay**  
**UP**  
**Bihar**  
**Bihar**  
**Assam**

**New Provinces created**  
**Sind**  
**Odissa**

**Burma separated from India**

Bengal	250	Bihar	192
United Provinces	228	Central Provinces	112
Madras	215	Orissa	60
Bombay	175	Sindh	60
Punjab	175	NWFP	50

**Extension of Communal Electorates in provincial assemblies**

**Issues with this act ?**

**Federation- never came into existence**  
**Aim was to satisfy diverse political interest**  
**And suppress the nationalists**

- 1. Federal – legislatures, executive & GGI**
- 2. Provincial- autonomy, legislature, executive & Governor**

**Issue with Dyarchy**

**Not a responsible form of government**

**Already bad experience from dyarchy – 1919**  
**Why to repeat it at centre**

**Defence**  
**External affairs kept with GGI**  
**They were non-votable items**  
**Hence the legislature had no control over it**

**Issue with Federation ?**

**How will the states join the Federation ?**

**Via the instrument of Accession**  
**Document was not clear**  
**Varied from ruler to ruler**  
**There were 550 princely states**  
**How do they join the federation**

**Defence,**  
**External Affairs**  
**Partially excluded areas (tribal areas)**  
**Ecclesiastical affairs.**

**GGI had discretionary powers**  
**Legislature had no right to question**

**Issue with Federation – Assembly ?**

**Indian Provinces**  
**Princely States- why would they join voluntarily**

**They wouldn't compromise their autonomy**

**Ill conceived federation-**  
**States had more representation**  
**Princely states had 24% total population but had 40-33% seats in the federal leg.**

## Government of India Act of 1935



**Issue with Federation ?**  
Members of the legislature  
Indian provinces- elected  
Princely states- nominated  
Counterweighing of the elected representatives

**Federal Legislatures-**  
Not having much powers  
No power of raising revenues  
No control over chargeable expenditures  
Even the GGI can issue veto over the laws passed by the legislatures

**Role of the Governor General of India**  
Appointed by the crown  
Paid 2.5 lakh salary from consolidated fund of India  
but having discretionary powers  
Not responsible to the house

**Role of Governor General of India**  
Issue of ordinances  
Veto power  
  
exercise his individual judgement in a large number of subjects like law and order, safeguarding interests of minorities, members of the public services, Indian princes and British commercial interests

**Issue with the Provincial Autonomy ?**  
Provincial lists-  
Demarcation of subjects  
Entrusted to provincial government  
  
But special power given to governor  
Even provincial legislatures- 6 states had bicameralism introduced  
Extension of separate electorates- communalism  
Elite classes  
voters qualification still obstructed  
Governor can take control for 6 months/indefinite period - in case of administrative failure

**Issue with the Provincial Autonomy ?**  
Provincial assembly-  
legislative power of the governor  
Can issue ordinance even the house was in session

Previous sanction required before introduction of any bill by the provincial assembly  
- Finance bills etc.

**Limitations ?**  
Act didn't give responsible government nor complete independence

**Federation-** didn't come into existence  
Dyarchy at centre- didn't allowed any form of responsible government

**Parliamentary system-** but more representation of princely states

**Governor general-** made the pivot of the government  
**Secretary of state-** controlled the all India Services

**British Parliament** remained at the helm of Indian affairs

**Even it didn't give Dominion status**  
Provincial autonomy was a sham  
The act was introduced as a transitory act- but the period of transition was never defined  
Voting rights not given to all

**Even it didn't give Dominion status**  
Provincial autonomy was a sham  
The act was introduced as a transitory act- but the period of transition was never defined

Voting rights not given



**Reality behind the act ?**

**British-** wanted to weaken INM

**Incorporating moderate elements among the leadership** into colonial framework

**Difference between leadership** to be exploited  
Right vs Left

**Others** to be suppressed

**Once some political leaders** tasted powers- they would not back to politics of sacrifice-  
Emerging of provincial leaders would stop the national leadership taking stand



## Government of India Act of 1935

### Indian Reaction-

#### Jawaharlal Nehru-

We are provided with a car, all brakes and no engines

Liberals- criticised the act, but willing to work with the government

Muslim league- criticised it  
But ready to give chance

Jinnah- thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable

### Federal Court-

Most successful outcome of the act

3 judges

CJI + 2 others

Located at Delhi

### Independent Status

Interpretation of act/constitution given to the court

Federal Court (Supreme Court Established)

### Linlithgow- JPC Chairperson-1935

August 1935- Bill given royal assent

But the federation never came into existence

### +Ves of the Act ?

1935- Federal Bank (Reserve Bank of India Established )

Establishment of Federal Public Service Commission

Secretary Of State

Secretary of State (In England) was given advisers, who might or might not be consulted. Indian council was abolished because of much agitation in India.

Elections Conducted in 1937

Did the Government of India Act, 1935 lay down a federal constitution? Discuss. (2016, GS-2)

## The Period Between- 1935 to 1937

Based on the Government of India Act, 1935- What was the Congress reaction ?

In 1937, over the question of office acceptance in the context of provincial elections

rejected by the Congress

Congress demanded, convening of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise

Enter councils → to create deadlocks

rejected by the Congress

agreement that the Congress should fight the coming elections on the basis of a detailed political and economic programme

after the elections?

If the Congress got a majority in a

province, should it agree to form the Government or not?

Congress → Left vs Right group

What to do ?

Lucknow Congress- 1936

Further Discussions took place

Q. What was Congress reaction to this act?

We should think about participating

**Q. What was Congress reaction to this act?**

Ye kya hai power.... power...!!!



A vaster and more pressing problem is that of the peasantry, for India is essentially a land of the peasant

Lucknow Congress → 1936  
Jawaharlal Nehru,  
Subhas Bose,

Responsibility without power, would take away the revolutionary character of the movement

Congress would get sucked into parliamentary activity within the colonial framework

would fall into 'a pit from which it would be difficult for us to come out

**By Faizpur Session → 1937**  
**this was the first Congress Session in a rural area.**



bring the Congress nearer to the peasant masses, we are meeting here today at the village of Faizpur and not, as of old, in some great city'.

**By Faizpur Session → 1937**  
**congress should fight/contest these elections on the basis of a detailed political and economic programme**

- restoration of civil liberties,
- the release of political prisoners,
- the removal of disabilities on grounds of sex and untouchability,
- the radical transformation of the agrarian system,
- substantial reduction in rent and revenue,
- scaling down of the rural debts,
- provision of cheap credit,
- the right to form trade unions and the right to strike

**Rajendra Prasad**  
**T. Vishwanathan**  
**J.B. Kriplani**  
enter the assemblies with a view to creating deadlocks and making the working of the Act impossible



equally committed to combating the 1935 Act

work in the legislatures had to be a short-term tactic

combine mass politics with work in the legislatures

Other groups and parties who would readily form ministries

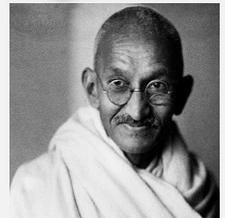
**Q. Gandhi's Position??**

भाइयों और बहनों



election campaign  
Nehru's country-wide election tour → 80000kms  
Reaching 10 million people

Power corrupts



Initially, opposed office acceptance  
Later on, willing to give a trial  
Gandhiji did not address a single election

Congress ministries were formed in Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, Orissa, United Provinces, Bihar and later in NWFP and Assam

Central control board known as the Parliamentary Sub-Committee was formed, with Sardar Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Rajendra Prasad as members

February 1937 Elections to the provincial assemblies

Congress contested 716 out of 1161 seats

got a majority in all provinces, except

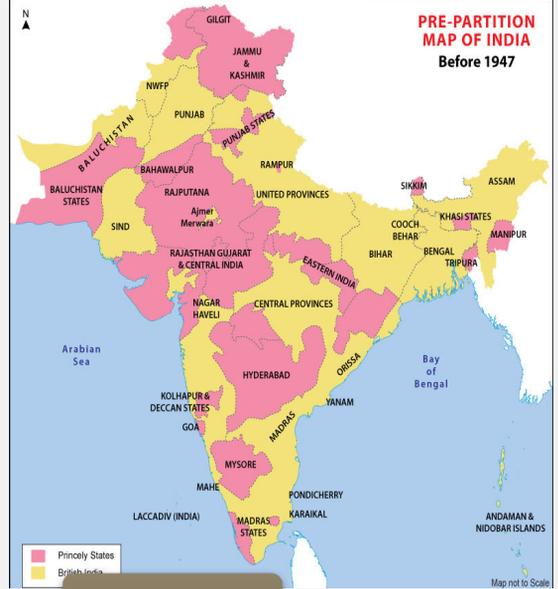
Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Sindh and NWFP

Emerged as the largest party in Bengal, Assam and NWFP



**28 Months Of Congress Rule In Provinces**

offices have to be held lightly, not tightly



**Q. Analyse the work Congress Ministries that were formed for a brief period of 28 months in Indian provinces .**

**February 1937**

- entire psychological atmosphere in the country
- breathing the very air of victory and people's power
- khadi clad men and women who had been in prison → Ruling secretariat
- increase in the prestige of the Congress as an alternative power
- Ministers set an example in plain living
- salaries drastically from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 500
- accessible to the common people

Hum jit gaye.....



**1. Law & Order reforms**

1. ease curbs on civil liberties → lifting restrictions from emergency organisations
2. Press restrictions were lifted
3. Police powers were curbed and CID stopped shadowing politicians
4. Political prisoners, and revolutionaries were released

Public Safety Acts and the like, were repealed  
 bans on illegal political organizations → lifted  
 Hindustan Seva Dal and Youth Leagues  
 ban on the Communist Party remained (imposed by the central government)  
 Communists could in effect now function freely → Provinces  
 Press freed from news papers  
 blacklisting of newspapers ended  
 police powers were curbed  
 shadowing of political workers by CID → stopped  
 release thousands of political prisoners → Kakori and other conspiracy cases  
 Governor refusing to sign the orders  
 Resignation by UP and Bihar ministries

**2. Agrarian reforms**

1. land reforms, debt relief, forest grazing fee, arrears of rent, land tenures, etc

Laws passed

Land restore to the original owners  
 pensions of officials- → restored  
 give economic relief to the peasants and the workers  
 Agrarian legislation by these Ministries differed from province to province  
 U.P. a tenancy act  
 tenant could no longer be arrested or imprisoned for non-payment of rent  
 illegal exactions such as nazrana (forced gifts) and begar (forced unpaid labour)  
 Zamindari reforms  
 Kisan sabhas sprang up in every part of the country



**28 Months Of Congress Rule In Provinces**

**2.Labour reforms**

2.@ Labour → reducing strikes as far as possible, advocating compulsory arbitration prior to striking

When strike occurred, ministries took recourse to Section 144 and arrested the leaders

pro-labour stance  
advance workers' interests while promoting industrial peace  
alarmed the Indian capitalist class

Bombay → Textile Enquiry Committee  
increase of wages amounting crores  
Industrial Disputes Act  
prevent lightning strikes and lockouts  
strongly opposed by Left Congressmen



UP → Labour Enquiry Committee  
Rajendra Prasad  
increase in workers' wages with a minimum wage

1938 → National Planning Committee

**3..Economic reforms**

1.Encouragement given to indigenous enterprises

2.Develop planning through National Planning Committee  
set up under Congress President Subhash Bose in 1938

ministries did not have adequate powers  
inadequate financial resources

Congress could not attempt a complete overhaul  
extreme lack of financial resources,  
Could also not touch the existing administrative structure

their Ministries would not last long and would have to quit soon as the logic of their politics was to confront imperialism,

reactionary second chambers in the form of legislative councils  
landlords, capitalists and moneylenders

**4. Social Reform**

1.Prohibition imposed in certain areas

2.Measures for welfare of Harijans taken—  
temple entry, use of public facilities

3.Attention given to primary, technical and higher education

**Congress ministries resigned in October 1939 after the outbreak of the Second World War**

Aila...Prohibition



social reform and welfare  
Introduction of Prohibition  
advancement of untouchables or Harijans  
passing of laws enabled Harijans to enter temples  
free access to public office, places  
number of scholarships and freeships for Harijan students

attention to primary, technical and higher education  
Wardha Scheme of Basic education

Nai Taleem → Wardha  
subsidies were given to khadi, spinning and village industries

Q. Assessment?? **Positive** **Negative**

**Positive**

1. Indian self-government was necessary for radical social transformation got confirmed
2. demonstrated that a movement could use state power to further its ends without being co-opted
3. Weakening of myth → Indians were not fit to rule
4. Good work with minimum financial resources.

Resignation of Ministries was celebrated by Muslim league as Day of Deliverance

Also British Government didn't liked congress ministries hence they leveraged the league politics to counter congress

It also gave impetus to National Movements in Princely States-  
JL Nehru presided over All India Princely States Conference

Satygarha took place- Hyderabad, Travancore, Rajkot



**Negative**

**Negative-**

certain blemishes

Yusuf Meherally, S.S. Batliwala

→ prosecuted by the Madras Government

C. Rajagopalachari, the Premier of Madras Vs.

JL Nehru

few of the right-wing Congress ministers

K.M. Munshi → Using CID to watch the

Communists and other left-wing Congressmen

Bombay → seventeen out of seventy-seven

textile mills against the passage of the

Industrial Disputes Act

did not know how to deal with situations where their own mass base was disaffected

took recourse to Section 144 of the Criminal Code

Left was highly critical of the Congress Governments

practice of bogus membership  
factional strife and bickering both  
scramble for jobs and positions of personal  
advantage

Opportunists, self-seekers and careerists,  
drawn by the lure of associating with a party  
in power

Congress Ministries resigned in October  
1939 because  
of the political crisis brought about by World  
War 2

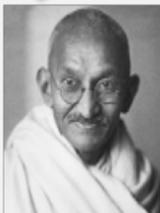
By 1938-39- Even Within Congress- Crises  
emerged with the issue of SC Bose

I am Genda  
Swamy...



**Next Phase- 1939 to 1945- World War 2  
Tripuri Crises & Congress Resignation**

Now...my man will  
become president



Yes...I have backing from  
Bapu...I'll be president



मैं बनूँगा  
अध्यक्ष...President



Congress position before war →

Congress' hostility to Fascism, Nazism, militarism and  
imperialism

offer to cooperate in the war effort had two basic conditions

1. After the war, a constituent assembly to be set up

2. Immediately, some form of a genuinely responsible government

February 1938 → Haripura congress  
Bose was unanimously elected the  
president → age of 41.

1939- Bose contested again & became  
president of Congress

Defeated the Gandhi's candidate  
P. Sitaramaya

This led to crises in Congress whereby  
CWC members tendered resignation  
by not working with Bose

all this led to SC Bose resigning from  
congress

**Q. Government Response?**  
rejected by Linlithgow

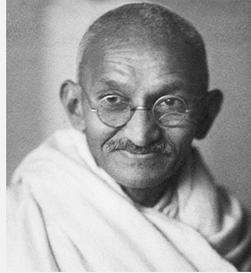




**CWC Meeting at Wardha (September 10-14, 1939)**

the war was an imperialist one since both sides

advocated an unconditional support to the Allied powers



Condemned Fascist aggression

Britain → War is for freedom....India → But we aren't getting one.

If Britain is fighting for democracy & freedom, it should give these to its colonies

The govt. Should declare the aim of fighting this war and also tell how they going to implement democracy?

Cong wanted to give chance

**Subhash Bose and the socialists argued**

advantage should be taken of the situation to wrest freedom by immediately starting a civil disobedience movement

**Chronology of Events- 1939 onwards**

**Next Phase- 1939 to 1945- World War 2 & Indian National Movement**

SC Bose resigned from the post because of Internal difference with the congress working committee

Will form a new organisation → Forward Bloc

Put under House arrest by the government  
Will flee from the house arrest

Lead the INA in July 1943

Tripuri Crises- Subhash Bose resigns as president- March 1939

Wardha Congress- Sep 1939  
Resolution to resign from ministries

Resignation of Congress Ministries- October 1939  
Linlithgow, in his statement, made on October 17, 1939, tried to use the Muslim League and the princes against the Congress

Debate on the Question of Immediate Mass Satyagraha- Nov Dec 1939

January 1940, Linlithgow stated, "Dominion status of Westminster variety, after the war, is the goal of British policy in India

Ramgarh session of the Congress- March 1940 with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as the president

Communal Politics- Rise of Muslim league  
March 1940- Pakistan Resolution

August Offer- by Viceroy Linlithgow  
August 1940

Individual Satyagraha- by Gandhi  
October 1940 to May 1941



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