

I: MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS , 1909

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Background of Morley-Minto Reforms

- Despite Queen Victoria's proclamation that Indians would be treated equally, very few Indians got such an opportunity as the British authorities were hesitant to accept them as equal partners.
- Lord Curzon had carried out the partition of Bengal in 1905. This led to a massive uprising in Bengal as a result. Following this, the British authorities understood the need for some reforms in the governance of Indians.
- The Indian National Congress (INC) was also agitating for more reforms and self-governance of Indians. The earlier Congress leaders were moderates, but now extremist leaders were on the rise who believed in more aggressive methods.
- INC demanded home rule for the first time in 1906.
- Gopal Krishna Gokhale met Morley in England to emphasise the need for reforms.
- Shimla Deputation: A group of elite Muslims led by Aga Khan met Lord Minto in 1906 and placed their demand for a separate electorate for the Muslims.
- John Morley was a member of the Liberal government, and he wanted to make positive changes in India's governance.

Major provisions of the Morley-Minto reforms

- The legislative councils at the Centre and the provinces increased in size.
 - Central Legislative Council – from 16 to 60 members
 - Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and United Provinces – 50 members each
 - Legislative Councils of Punjab, Burma and Assam – 30 members each
- The legislative councils at the Centre and the provinces were to have four categories of members as follows:
 - Ex officio members: Governor-General and members of the executive council.
 - Nominated official members: Government officials who were nominated by the Governor-General.
 - Nominated non-official members: nominated by the Governor-General but were not government officials.
 - Elected members: elected by different categories of Indians.
- The elected members were elected indirectly. The local bodies elected an electoral college who would elect members of the provincial legislative councils. These members would, in turn, elect the members of the Central legislative council.
- The elected members were from the local bodies, the chambers of commerce, landlords, universities, traders' communities and Muslims.
- In the provincial councils, non-official members were in the majority. However, since some of the non-official members were nominated, in total, a non-elected majority was there.
- Indians were given membership to the Imperial Legislative Council for the first time.
- It introduced separate electorates for the Muslims. Some constituencies were earmarked for Muslims and only Muslims could vote their representatives.
- The members could discuss the budget and move resolutions. They could also discuss matters of public interest.
- They could also ask supplementary questions.
- No discussions on foreign policy or on relations with the princely states were permitted.
- Lord Minto appointed (on much persuasion by Morley) Satyendra P Sinha as the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

- Two Indians were nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State for Indian affairs.

Assessment of the Morley-Minto reforms

- The Act introduced communal representation in Indian politics. This was intended to stem the growing tide of nationalism in the country by dividing the people into communal lines. The culmination of this step was seen in the partition of the country along religious lines. The effects of differential treatment of different religious groups can be seen to this day.
- The Act did nothing to grant colonial self-government, which was Congress's demand.
- The Act did increase Indian participation in the legislative councils, especially at the provincial levels.

II: MONTEGUE- CHELMSFORD REFORMS, 1919

PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

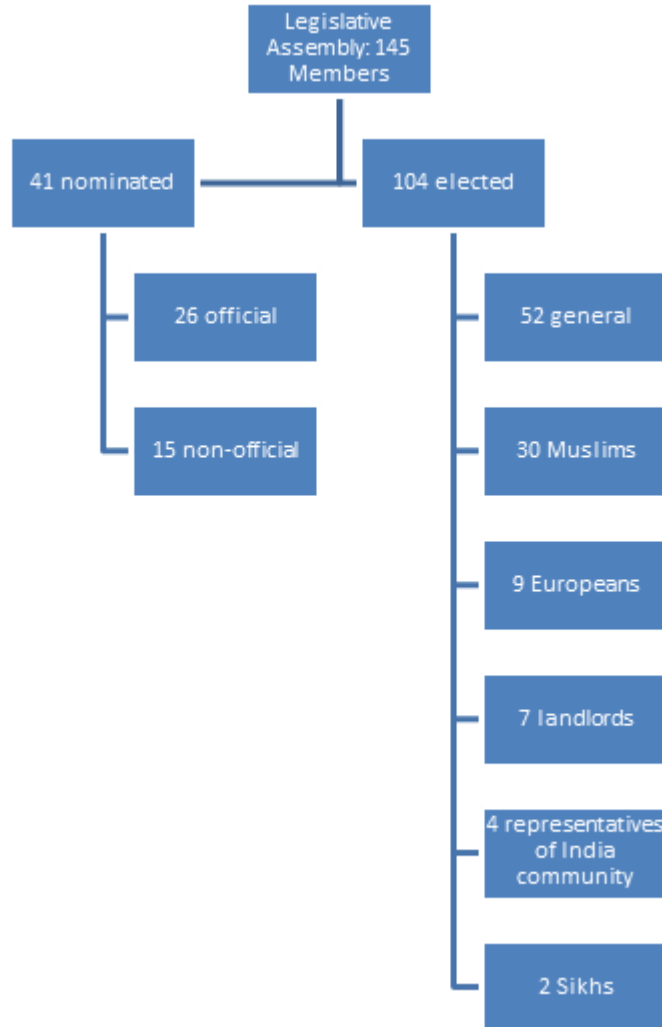
Provincial Government

- Executive:
 - Dyarchy was introduced, i.e., there were two classes of administrators – Executive councillors and ministers.
 - The Governor was the executive head of the province.
 - The subjects were divided into two lists – reserved and transferred.
 - The governor was in charge of the reserved list along with his executive councillors. The subjects under this list were law and order, irrigation, finance, land revenue, etc.
 - The ministers were in charge of subjects under the transferred list. The subjects included were education, local government, health, excise, industry, public works, religious endowments, etc.
 - The ministers were responsible to the people who elected them through the legislature.
 - These ministers were nominated from among the elected members of the legislative council.
 - The executive councillors were not responsible to the legislature, unlike the ministers.
 - The Secretary of State and the Governor-General could interfere in matters under the reserved list but this interference was restricted for the transferred list.
- Legislature:
 - The size of the provincial legislative assemblies was increased. Now about 70% of the members were elected.
 - There were communal and class electorates.
 - Some women could also vote.
 - The governor's assent was required to pass any bill. He also had veto power and could issue ordinances also.

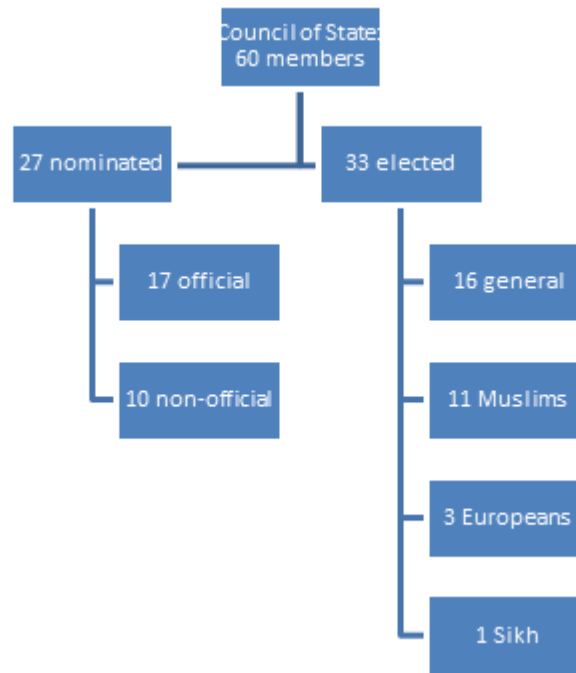
Central government

- Executive:
 - The chief executive authority was the Governor-General.
 - There were two lists for administration – central and provincial.
 - The provincial list was under the provinces while the centre took care of the central list.

- Out of the 6 members of the Viceroy’s executive council, 3 were to be Indian members.
- The governor-general could issue ordinances.
- He could also certify bills that were rejected by the central legislature.
- Legislature:
 - A bicameral legislature was set up with two houses – Legislative Assembly (forerunner of the Lok Sabha) and the Council of State (forerunner of the Rajya Sabha).
 - Legislative Assembly (Lower House)
 - Members of the Legislative Assembly:



- The nominated members were nominated by the governor-general from Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians.
- The members had a tenure of 3 years.
- Council of State (Upper House)
 - Only male members with a tenure of 5 years.
 - Members of the Council of State:



- The legislators could ask questions and also vote a part of the budget.
- Only 25% of the budget was subject to vote.
- Rest was non-votable.
- A bill had to be passed in both houses before it became a law.
- There were three measures to resolve any deadlock between both the houses – joint committees, joint conferences and joint sittings.
- Governor-General
 - The governor-general’s assent was required for any bill to become law even if both houses have passed it.
 - He could also enact a bill without the legislature’s consent.
 - He could prevent a bill from becoming law if he deems it as detrimental to the peace of the country.
 - He could disallow any question, adjournment motion or debate in the house.

LIMITATIONS OF THE ACT

- This act extended consolidated and communal representation.
- The franchise was very limited. It did not extend to the common man.
- The governor-general and the governors had a lot of power to undermine the legislatures at the centre and the provinces respectively.
- Allocation of the seats for the central legislature was not based on population but the ‘importance’ of the province in the eyes of the British.
- The Rowlatt Acts were passed in 1919 which severely restricted press and movement. Despite the unanimous opposition of Indian members of the legislative council, those bills were passed. Several Indian members resigned in protest.

III: INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT FROM 1919 TO 1930

The Growth of Mass Nationalism

After 1919 the struggle against British rule gradually became a mass movement, involving peasants, tribals, students and women in large numbers and occasionally factory workers as well.

After the First World War India’s economic and political situation got altered, which led to a huge rise in the defence expenditure of the Government of India. Taxes on individual

incomes and business profits were increased. During the war, Indian industries expanded and Indian business groups began to demand greater opportunities for development. The war also demanded expansion of the British army. In 1917 there was a revolution in Russia.

The advent of Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi emerged as a mass leader. He arrived in India in 1915 from South Africa. Gandhi led Indians in non-violent marches against racist restrictions. His South African campaigns had brought him in contact with various types of Indians. He spent his first year travelling throughout the country, understanding the people, their needs and the overall situation.

The Rowlatt Satyagraha

In 1919 Gandhiji called for satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act. The Act curbed fundamental rights such as the freedom of expression and strengthened police powers. Gandhiji and people of India observed 6 April 1919 as a day of non-violent opposition to this Act. Satyagraha Sabhas were set up to launch the movement.

In April 1919 there were a number of demonstrations and hartals in the country and the government used brutal measures to suppress them. The Jallianwala Bagh atrocities, inflicted by General Dyer in Amritsar on Baisakhi day (13 April), were a part of this repression. During the Rowlatt Satyagraha, the participants ensured that Hindus and Muslims were united against British rule. Mahatma Gandhi saw India as a land of all the people who lived in the country – Hindus, Muslims and those of other religions.

Khilafat agitation and the Non-Cooperation Movement

In 1920 the British imposed a harsh treaty on the Turkish Sultan or Khalifa. The leaders of the Khilafat agitation, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali initiated a full-fledged Non-Cooperation Movement. Gandhiji supported their movement and urged the Congress to campaign against Jallianwala massacre, the Khilafat wrong and demanded swaraj.

The Non-Cooperation Movement gained momentum through 1921-22.C. British titles were surrendered and boycotted the legislature. The imports of foreign cloth fell drastically between 1920 and 1922. Large parts of the country were on the brink of a formidable revolt.

People's initiatives

Some people resisted British rule non-violently. People from different classes and groups interpreted Gandhiji's call in their own manner, protested in ways that were not in accordance with his ideas. In some cases, people linked their movements to local grievances.

In Kheda, Gujarat, Patidar peasants organised nonviolent campaigns against the high land revenue demand of the British. In coastal Andhra and interior Tamil Nadu, liquor shops were picketed. In the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh, tribals and poor peasants staged a number of "forest satyagrahas", sometimes sending their cattle into forests without paying grazing fee.

In Sind, Muslim traders and peasants were very enthusiastic about the Khilafat call. In Bengal, the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation alliance gave enormous communal unity and strength to the national movement. In Punjab, the Akali agitation of the Sikhs sought to remove corrupt mahants from their gurdwaras.

The people's Mahatma

Gandhiji believed in building class unity, not class conflict. Peasants believed that Gandhi would help them in their fight against zamindars, and agricultural labourers believed he would provide them land. At the end of a powerful movement, peasants of Pratapgarh in the United Provinces managed to stop illegal eviction of tenants; but they felt it was Gandhiji who had won this demand for them.

The happenings of 1922-1929

Mahatma Gandhi called off the Non-Cooperation Movement. When the Non-Cooperation movement was over, Gandhi's followers stressed that Congress must undertake

constructive work in rural areas. Other leaders argued that the party should fight elections to the councils. In 1930, the Civil Disobedience movement was launched. Two important developments of the mid-1920s were the formation of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu organisation, and the Communist Party of India. By the end of the decade, the Congress resolved to fight for Purna Swaraj in 1929 under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. Consequently, "Independence Day" was observed on 26 January 1930 all over the country.

The March to Dandi

In 1930, Gandhiji marched to break the salt law. According to this law, the state had a monopoly on the manufacture and sale of salt. The Salt March related the general desire of freedom to a specific grievance shared by everybody and thus, did not divide the rich and the poor. Gandhiji and his followers marched for over 240 miles from Sabarmati to the coastal town of Dandi where they broke the government law by gathering natural salt found on the seashore, and boiling seawater to produce salt.

Peasants, tribals and women participated in large numbers. The Government of India Act of 1935 prescribed provincial autonomy and the government announced elections to the provincial legislatures in 1937. In September 1939, the Second World War broke out. Congress leaders were ready to support the British war effort, but in return they demanded independence. The British refused to concede the demand and the Congress ministries resigned in protest.

IV: NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi was the main force behind the non-cooperation movement. In March 1920, he issued a manifesto declaring a doctrine of the non-violent non-cooperation movement. Gandhi, through this manifesto, wanted people to:

1. Adopt swadeshi principles
2. Adopt swadeshi habits including hand spinning & weaving
3. Work for the eradication of untouchability from society

Features of the Non-Cooperation Movement

- The movement was essentially a peaceful and non-violent protest against the British government in India.
- Indians were asked to relinquish their titles and resign from nominated seats in the local bodies as a mark of protest.
- People were asked to resign from their government jobs.
- People were asked to withdraw their children from government-controlled or aided schools and colleges.
- People were asked to boycott foreign goods and use only Indian-made goods.
- People were asked to boycott the elections to the legislative councils.
- People were asked not to serve in the British army.
- It was also planned that if the above steps did not bring results, people would refuse to pay their taxes.
- The INC also demanded Swarajya or self-government.
- Only completely non-violent means would be employed to get the demands fulfilled.
- The non-cooperation movement was a decisive step in the independence movement because, for the first time, the INC was ready to forego constitutional means to achieve self-rule.
- Gandhiji had assured that Swaraj would be achieved in a year if this movement was continued to completion.

Causes of Non-Cooperation Movement

- **Resentment at the British after the war:** Indians thought that in return for the extensive support of manpower and resources they had provided to Britain during the First World War, they would be rewarded by autonomy at the end of the war. But the Government of India Act 1919 was dissatisfactory. In addition, the British also passed repressive acts like the Rowlatt Act which further angered many Indians who felt betrayed by the rulers despite their wartime support.
- **Home Rule Movement:** The Home Rule Movement started by Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak set the stage for the non-cooperation movement. The extremists and the moderates of the INC were united and the Lucknow Pact also saw solidarity between the Muslim League and the Congress Party. The return of the extremists gave the INC a militant character.
- **Economic hardships due to World War I:** India's participation in the war caused a lot of economic hardships to the people. Prices of goods began to soar which affected the common man. Peasants also suffered because the prices of agricultural products did not increase. All this led to resentment against the government.
- **The Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre:** The repressive Rowlatt Act and the brutal massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar had a profound effect on the Indian leaders and the people. Their faith in the British system of justice was broken and the whole country rallied behind its leaders who were pitching for a more aggressive and firm stance against the government.

The Khilafat Movement: During the First World War, Turkey, which was one of the Central Powers, had fought against the British. After Turkey's defeat, the Ottoman caliphate was proposed to be dissolved. Muslims regarded Sultan of Turkey as their Caliph (religious head of the Muslims). The Khilafat movement was launched under the leadership of Ali Brothers (Maulana Mohammed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali), Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, and Hasrat Mohani. It got the support from Mahatma Gandhi to persuade the British government not to abolish the caliphate. The leaders of this movement accepted the non-cooperation movement of Gandhiji and led a joint protest against the British.

Significance of Non-Cooperation Movement

- Swaraj was not achieved in one year as Gandhiji had told.
 - However, it was a truly mass movement where lakhs of Indians participated in the open protest against the government through peaceful means.
 - It shook the British government who were stumped by the extent of the movement.
 - It saw participation from both Hindus and Muslims thereby showcasing communal harmony in the country.
 - This movement established the popularity of the Congress Party among the people.
 - As a result of this movement, people became conscious of their political rights. They were not afraid of the government.
 - Hordes of people thronged to jails willingly.
 - The Indian merchants and mill owners enjoyed good profits during this period as a result of the boycott of British goods. Khadi was promoted.
 - The import of sugar from Britain reduced considerably during this period.
 - This movement also established Gandhiji as a leader of the masses.
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