

Jallian Wala Bagh Massacre and the Birth of Revolutionary Terrorism in the Indian Freedom Struggle

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Abstract: The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre provoked a violent current of horror and dismay all over the country. The scale of destruction caused by the massacre agitated the people to revolt against the British in a more rigid manner. They were prepared in mind and body to pass through the severest ordeals. The large band of revolutionaries of the freedom struggle who chose a life of exile for many years- some for their life far away from their mother land- yeoman's service to the cause of India's freedom by propagating true facts about the nature of British Rule in India to people hitherto kept an ignorance or misled by the false propaganda of the British and succeeded in evoking the sympathy of the British. It is they who set an example before the Indians by sacrificing their own life. This paper is an attempt to bring out the hardships underwent by the Indians at the time of massacre and how it ignited them to fight for the nation's freedom.

Index Terms: Violent current of horror, revolutionaries, national movement, Independence.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Indian Freedom Struggle is contemporary world history's much talked about and in fact an inspiring people's movement for colonialisation and evils of imperialism. As India surges the path of progress, it is important to keep in mind of how it emerged as a nation. The freedom movement that stemmed from the autocratic and despotic nature of rule by the Britishers swept the minds of the commoners in India who for so long were subjected to heinous torture and brutality in the hands of those who arrived in India as traders in 1600's.

The freedom movement although led by the Moderate leaders of the Indian National Congress, nonetheless also had many leaders with revolutionary thoughts and ideas inspired from the history of their ancestors and even of those leaders from other nations to rise vehemently against oppression. The people were passing through a sense of frustration and pessimism after agitation and demonstration, against the Rowlatt Bills, the Non-cooperation and the Khilafat Movement had not borne the desired results. So there was a revival of the revolutionary and the terrorist movement in the country, which succeeded the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.

A. Objectives

1. To analyze the impact of Jallian Wala Bagh Massacre in the rise of Revolutionary Freedom Struggle.

Revised Version Manuscript Received on March 20, 2017.

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2. To trace the role of revolutionary terrorism towards Indian Nationalism.

B. Hypothesis

The Jallian Wala Bagh Massacre was instrumental in sphere heading the success of the revolutionary terrorism movement during Independence.

C. Sources of Study

The research entirely depends on Secondary Sources. Secondary Source include books related to Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and the Rise of Nationalism. Ample websites and blogs have also been referred.

II. JALLIANWALA BAGH MASSACRE AND ITS IMPACTS

The 1919 Amritsar Massacre, known alternatively as the Jallianwala Bagh massacre after the Jallianwala Bagh (Garden) in the northern Indian city of Amritsar, was ordered by General R.E.H. Dyer. On Sunday April 13, 1919 which happened to be 'Baisakhi', one of Punjab's largest religious festivals, fifty British Indian Army soldiers, commanded by Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer, began shooting at an unarmed gathering of men, women, and children without warning. Dyer marched his fifty riflemen to a raised bank and ordered to kneel and fire. Dyer ordered soldiers to reload their rifles several times and they were ordered to shoot to kill. Official British Raj sources estimated the fatalities at 379, and with 1,100 wounded. Civil Surgeon Dr. Williams Dee Meddy indicated that were 1,526 casualties. However the causality number quoted by the Indian National Congress was more than 1,500, with roughly 1,000 killed.

On April 13th, the holiday of Baisakhi, thousands of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh (garden) near the Harmandir Sahib in Amritsar. Baisakhi is a Sikh festival, commemorating the day that Guru Gobind Singh founded the Khalsa Panth in 1699, and also known as the 'Birth of Khalsa'. During this time people celebrate by congregating in religious and community affairs, and there may have been a large number who were unaware of the political meeting.

A. Commencement of Violence

An hour after the meeting began as scheduled at 4:30 pm, General Dyer marched a group of sixty-five Gurkha and twenty-five Baluchi soldiers into the Bagh, fifty of whom were armed with rifles. Dyer had also brought two armored cars armed with machine guns, however the vehicles were

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Stationed outside the main gate as they were unable to enter the Bagh through the narrow entrance.

The Jallianwala Bagh was bounded on all the sides by houses and buildings and had a few narrow entrances, most of which were kept permanently locked. The main entrance was relatively wider, but was guarded by the troops backed by the armoured vehicles. General O. Dyer ordered troops to begin shooting without warning or any order to disperse, and to direct shooting towards the densest sections of the crowd. He continued the shooting approximately 1,650 rounds in all, until ammunition was almost exhausted.

B. The Uncountable Deaths

Apart from the many deaths directly from shooting, a number of people died in stampedes at the narrow gates or by jumping into the solitary well on the compound to escape the shooting. A plaque in the monument at the site, set up after independence, says that 120 bodies were pulled out of the well. The wounded could not be moved from where they have had fallen, as a curfew had been declared- many more died during the night.

The number of deaths caused by the shooting is disputed. While the official figure given by the British inquiry into the massacre is 379 deaths, the method used by the inquiry has been subject to criticism. Officials were tasked with finding who had been killed during July 1919, three months after the massacre, by inviting inhabitants of the city to volunteer information about those who participated would be identified as having been present at the meeting, and some of the dead may not have had close relations in the area. Additionally, a senior civil servant in the Punjab interviewed by the members of the committee admitted that the actual figure could be higher.

C. Steps Taken by INC

Since the official figures were likely flawed considering the size of the crowd (15,000- 20,000), number of rounds shot and period of shooting, the politically interested Indian National Congress instituted a separate inquiry of its own, with conclusions that differed considerably from the Government's. The causality number quoted by the INC was more than 1,500, with approximately 1,000 killed. Despite the Government's best efforts to suppress information of the massacre, news spread elsewhere in India and widespread outrage ensued; however, the details of the massacre did not become known in Britain until December 1919.

As per regimental diaries kept by the Gorkha Battalion adjutants in the British Indian Army, the plan to attack the gathering in Amritsar was claimed to have been triggered by the news of a mob attack on a British schoolteacher Sherwood on April 9, which was later shown to be merely an excuse used by an incensed Dyer who commanded a brigade in nearby Jalandhar and the Lt Governor of Punjab Michael O'Dyer who were convinced that they faced an imminent threat of mutiny in Punjab on the scale of 1857.

D. O. Dyer's Cruelty

Back in his headquarters, General Dyer reported to his superiors that he had been "confronted by a revolutionary army".

In a telegram sent to Dyer, British Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dyer wrote: "Your action is correct. Lieutenant Governor approves."

O'Dyer requested that martial law be imposed upon Amritsar and other areas; this was granted by the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, after the massacre. The "crawling order" was posted on August 19 under the auspices of martial law.

Dyer was messaged to appear before the Hunter Commission, a commission of inquiry into the massacre that was ordered to convene by Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, during late 1919. Dyer said before the commission that he came to know about the meeting at the Jallianwala Bagh at 12:40 hours that day but did not attempt to prevent it. He stated that he had gone to the Bagh with the deliberate intention of opening fire if he found a crowd assembled there.

He stated that he did not make any effort to tend to the wounded after the shooting: "Certainly not. It was not my job. Hospitals were open and they could have gone there."

The Hunter Commission did not award any penal nor disciplinary action because Dyer's actions were concluded by various superiors (later upheld by the Army Council). However, he was finally found guilty of a mistaken notion of duty and relieved of his command.

E. Impact of the Massacre

Mass riots erupted in Punjab and the government had to place five of the districts under martial law. Eventually an enquiry committee after its Chairman, Lord Hunter, held General Dyer guilty of a mistaken notion of duty, and he was relieved of his command and prematurely retired from the army. The Indian National Congress held its annual session in December 1919 at Amritsar and called upon the British Government to "take early steps to establish a fully responsible government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination."

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre provoked a violent current of horror and dismay all over the country. The scale of destruction caused by the massacre agitated the people to revolt against the British in a more rigid manner. The freedom movement although led by the Moderate Leaders of the INC, nonetheless also had many leaders with revolutionary thoughts and ideas inspired from the history of their ancestors and even of those leaders from other nations to rise vehemently against oppression.

III. RISE AND GROWTH OF REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM

The Revolutionary Terrorist Movements was largely the outcome of the same set of causes which gave rise to the extremist wing in the national politics. Only the revolutionaries wanted quicker results and discounted the value of moderates and low-grade pressure. The revolutionaries believed that the British rule was destructive of all that is worthwhile in national life- political liberties, religious freedom, morality and Indian culture. Though it is difficult to pinpoint the political philosophy of the revolutionary terrorist in different parts of India, but they are one common aim was freedom from the British rule.

In the words of Francis Gunthur, “The Indian Revolution is the first entirely above-ground revolution in history that has undeviatingly followed a policy of using wholly honourable Means to achieve its ends- a revolution in which means were held to be as important as the end- a revolution without hate, without terror, without a spy system, without treachery, without assassination- a revolution in which all the habitual evils of revolution were ruled out.”

A. Causes for Revolutionary Terrorism

There were many causes for the rise of revolutionary and terrorist movements in the country. The sacrifices made by the Indians on that occasion gave inspiration to follow their example. There was a general awakening in their country in the second half of the nineteenth century and people started thinking in terms of ending the foreign rule at any cost, even if the use of force was necessary for that purpose. The timidity of the moderates exasperated the youth of India and they decided to take to violence to turn out the foreigners from the country.

Many men in India were convinced that the British rule in India could not be ended by constitutional methods and force had to be employed for that purpose. These revolutionaries believed in the philosophy of bomb or pistol in one hand and the Gita in the other.

B. Rise of Revolutionary Terrorism

The terrorists considered the British Government as a vicious institution which was founded on force and fraud; they frayed no hesitation in working for its destruction by violent means. They virtually declared war against the government and appealed to all lovers of freedom: “Do not be led away by false hopes and temporary conciliations. Let not any conciliatory measure of the government pacify you and scare you away from your path. Sacrifice white blood unadulterated and pure to your gods on the altar of freedom; the bones of the martyrs are crying for vengeance, and you will be a traitor to your community if you do not adequately respond to the call.”

The terrorists advocated the shooting of Europeans and securing the help of the Indian soldiers in this work. They considered it as a sacred duty to subvert the British rule in India by violent means.

They were inspired by the Irish terrorists and Russian Nihilists and followed their method of assassinating corrupt and unpopular officials. They also engaged in dacoities to raise funds for the purchase of arms, etc. popularly known as Swadeshi dacoities. The revolutionary terrorists were operating in Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra, and parts of South India and even in foreign countries. Many secret societies of the terrorist youths also came into existence.

C. Maharashtra

Maharashtra was an important centre of the activities of the revolutionaries. It was in this land that Shivaji had raised the standard of revolt and laid the foundations of a great Maratha Empire. It was from Poona that the first three Peshwas exercised their spiritual and secular authority. The idea of Hindu-pad-padshahi was associated with this region, the imagination of the youth of Maharashtra. There was a frequent epidemic and famines were due to the British rule in this country.

Tilak played an important part in furthering the cause of the revolutionary movement in Maharashtra. To quote Prof. Bhanu, “We are all striving to regain our lost independence, and this terrible loss is to be uplifted by us all combination. If anyone be crushing down the country from above, cut him off.” On the same occasion, Tilak called upon the people to “rise above the Penal Code into the rarefied atmosphere of the sacred Bhagvad-Gita.”

D. Bengal

In addition to Maharashtra, the revolutionary movement was also strong in Bengal. The revolutionaries in Bengal came from the educated classes. It's pointed out that after 1857, Bengal alone produced more intermediates, graduates and M.A.s than all other provinces put together. The same was the condition in the following decades. It is these educated people who became revolutionaries. The work done by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda, Rajnarain Bose and Nabagopal Mitra had its effect. Unemployment among the educated classes in Bengal made the situation intolerable.

Things were made worse by the anti-Bengalee attitude of the English officials, who refused to recruit Bengalees in Government service. The Government advertisements contained the following words: “Bengalees Baboos need not apply.” This was bound to have its repercussions. The people of Bengal who had fought against the European Indigo-planters with their fish-spears and bamboo clubs, we're not going to be cowed down and they accepted the challenge. The revolutionary press in Bengal also helped the revolutionary movement.

E. Punjab

The Punjab also played its part in the revolutionary movement. The Punjabis detested the policy of repression followed by the British Government in India. They also protested against the treatment meted out to them in the various parts of the British Empire and the failure of the British Government to protect them. Sardar Ajith Singh, a revolutionary of the Bharat Mata Society of Lahore took an active part against the Colonisation Act which deprived the peasants of Lyallpur and other districts of the fruits of the lands which they had converted from barren areas into rich fields.

F. Main Characteristics

There was a revival of revolutionary and terrorist movement in the country after the First World War. The people were passing through a sense of frustration and pessimism after agitations and demonstrations against the Rowlatt Bills, the Non-Cooperation Movement and the Khilafat Movement had not borne the desired results. The revolutionaries put before the Youngmen of the country a new programme. They called upon them to start revolutionary and uncompromising struggle for the independence of the country. They tried to impress upon them to start revolutionary and uncompromising struggle for the independence of the country. They tried to impress upon the people of India the secret of the British character that they could be bullied but not argued into justice and generosity.

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The terrorism of the Government was to be met by counter-terrorism. This policy could alone restore self-confidence among the people who

were suffering from a sense of utter helplessness. The revolutionaries believed that the English masters and their hired lackeys should not be allowed to do whatever they liked unhampered and unmolested. Every possible difficulty and resistance must be thrown in their way.

Terrorism had an international bearing also because the attention of the enemies of England was drawn towards India through acts of terrorism that they did not believe in terrorism for terrorism sake. They resorted to it as an effective means of retaliation. The language they used could not but inspire the youth of the country. It would grip their hearts. They would appeal to the sense of patriotism and the absurdity of tolerating the foreign rule.

G. Words of Patriotism

Strong yearnings for sacrifice and heroic deeds would be aroused. The words that follow depict their mood:” The youth of the country is standing on the threshold of a revolution in order to cast off shackles of mental slavery and communal tradition. He is heading towards the philosophy of revolution. This tendency in him is igniting the fire of hatred and struggle against foreign domination. He wants the tyrant and the exploiter to be burnt to ashes. The revolt of the youth against exploitation and injustice is taking the shape of terrorism. Terrorism is the only first step off people’s revolution ... The history of all the revolutions in the world has gone this way. Terrorism creates awe in the heart of exploiting tyrant and through a policy of revenge brings self-confidence, courage and optimism to the oppressed and suffering masses. The struggles launched by the suffering and oppressed peoples all over the world for their emancipation, serve as guides to the path of revolutionaries. By the continuous and incessant struggles, the oppressed have always overpowered and overthrown the oppressors. The Indian revolutionaries also will inevitably be successful in their mission.”

Again, ”Young Indian! Shake off illusion, face realities with a stout Heart, and do not avoid struggles, difficulties and sacrifices. The inevitable is yet to come. Do not be misguided anymore. Peace and tranquility, you cannot have and India’s Liberty can never be achieved through peaceful and legal means.”

H. Growth of Revolutionary Terrorism

The revolutionaries were above all sectarian and communal considerations unlike the former movements religion was not allowed to have residence over the secular and nationalistic outlook of its organisers who belong to different religious groups in the country. The revolutionary brotherhood had reached a stage where there was no caste, no religion or even separate identity. Reference in this connection can be made to Ramprasad Bismal and Ashfaq Ullah Khan. Both of them were revolutionaries. In spite of professing different religion, they used to eat their meals in the same plate. Ashfaq was abused by the Muslims as a kafir but he never bothered about it. Both of them were hanged in the Kakori conspiracy case.

The revolutionaries believed that the repressive measures of the government had destroyed all hopes of political reform

being gained without violence. Moreover, armed resistance against something “Satanic and Ignoble” was infinitely more befitting for any nation than the prevalence of “Effortless and Philosophical cowardice.” The revolutionaries went to the villages not to get votes but to secure “Co-martyrs” for the country who would die without anybody knowing where their corpses lay. They would like to go down in history unknown, unhonoured, unsung, unlamented and unwept. These “Mad lovers” of the country were not actuated by avarice, rivalry or jealousy. They were inspired by a divine motive of devotion and service.

IV. REVOLUTIONARY TERRORIST MOVEMENTS

The Revolutionary movement for Indian independence is a part of the Indian independence movement comprising the actions of the underground revolutionary factions. Groups believing in armed revolution against the ruling British fall into this category, as opposed to the generally peaceful civil disobedience movement spearheaded by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. The revolutionary groups were mainly concentrated in Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab as discussed in the previous chapter. More groups were scattered across India.

Broadly speaking, the history of the freedom struggle can be divided into two distinctive phases—Pre-Gandhian period (1885-1919) and Post-Gandhian period (1919-1947).

A. Pre-Gandhian Period

The pre-Gandhian period can be further divided into the Moderate Phase (1885-1905) and the Extremist Phase (1906-1919).

B. Moderate Phase

The first phase of twenty years of its life the Indian National Congress was controlled by the moderates. The leaders of this period were Dadabhai Naroji, Mahadev Govinda Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, W.C. Banerjee, S.N. Banerjee, Pheroz Shah Mehta etc.. All of them belonged to educated middle class and had very modest objectives.

Having faith in the honesty and sincerity of the British government they linked the progress of India with their prosperity. They also believed that the British Government was ignorant of Indian problems and if it would come to know them, it would take measures to remove them. They tried to enlighten British public opinion and parliament concerning Indian affairs. Without having any radical ideas, moderates wanted the removal of injustice done to Indians by the British bureaucrats and demanded certain reforms in the administrative, constitutional and economic spheres. Instead of demanding complete independence for India, the moderates only asked for larger number of elected representatives in central and provincial legislatures. They also demanded for Indian representation in the Indian Council at London and in the Executive Councils of the Centre and Provinces. With such representation, Indians would get the opportunity to be involved with the functioning of democratic government. While the demands of the moderates were liberal in respect of administrative and constitutional reforms, these were revolutionary in the economic sphere.

The worst result of the British rule was the extreme poverty of India. To protect the Indian economy, the moderates asked the government to stop draining off wealth from India, reduce the land revenue, abolish- salt tax, promote modern industries and to protect trade by imposing import and export duties. All these demands were presented in prayer like language, leaving the final decision to the mercy of the British Crown. The moderates only followed the method of prayer, petition, representation, deputation and persuasion for which their approach was criticized as “political mendicancy”. However, the nature of these demands shows how the Indian National Congress functioned as the spokesman of each and every section of the people.

The growing popularity of the Congress appeared as a threat to British imperialism. So the British government took some measures to obstruct the functioning of the National Congress. Though the moderates failed to bring any instant gain, yet they have exposed the real motive of the British economic imperialism. They were able to generate the spirit of national consciousness among the people. They provided political education and indirectly raised a strong public opinion against the British rule. However, they never protested against the government and limited their activities within the existing laws of British India.

C. The Extremist Phase

There was a rise of extremism or militant nationalism within the National Congress extending from 1906 to 1919. A young group realized the futility of the ideology and techniques of the moderates. Instead of going out of the Congress, they wanted to capture it from within. Several factors contributed to the growth of extremism in the freedom struggle of India.

D. Exposure of the True Nature of the British Rule

Gradually the people of India and their leaders realized the true nature of the British rule. They became convinced that the British would not grant self-government to them. M.G. Ranade’s ‘Essays in Indian Economics’, Dadabhai Naroji’s ‘Indian Poverty and Un-British Rule in India’, R.C. Dutta’s ‘Economic History of India’ proved that the prime motive of the British Government was to exploit-India economically. Dissatisfaction over the British administration was primarily responsible for the growth of militant nationalism.

E. Dissatisfaction with the Ideology and Techniques of the Moderates

A considerable section of the people within the Congress was not satisfied with the policies of the Congress which was dominated primarily by the moderates. They criticized their techniques of prayer and petition as political mendicancy. They were convinced that no tangible goal would be realized by the moderates. Tilak criticized the sessions of the Congress as “the entertainments of holidays” and Lala Lajpat Rai called them the “annual national festivals of the educated Indians.” Being dissatisfied with the moderate ideology, they preferred direct action or revolutionary methods.

F. Social and Religious Awakening

The nineteenth century movement of renaissance and reformation helped in reviving the faith of Indians in their culture. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his Brahmo Samaj, Swami

Dayananda and his Arya Samaj, Swami Vivekananda and his Ramakrishana Mission had played an important role in this regard. These organisations revived the glory of Indian Culture and generated a sense of self-confidence in the mind of Indians. The extremist leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai etc. were influenced by the ideas of these reformers who had generated the spirit of patriotism along with the revival of Indian Culture. Forgetting the inferiority complex, the Indian mass came forward to face the challenge of the western culture and British administration.

G. Racial Arrogance of British

The racial arrogance and disrespectful behavior of the Britishers towards the Indians, greatly injured their sentiments. Aggrieved Indians often failed to get justice against their oppression. Even the Anglo-Indian newspapers supported the stand of the Englishmen. Such arrogance and rough behaviour of Britishers, partially helped the rise of extremism.

H. Economic Exploitation and Plight of Indians

Under the British rule, the economic interest of all sections of Indians was hampered. The cultivators suffered due to the revenue policy of the government. The British Government served the interests of the British traders more than the Indian traders. The educated Indians failed to get employment as per their qualifications. Industries could not grow in India due to the exploitative policy of the government. All sections of Indians gradually lost their faith in the British sense of justice.

I. Reactionary Policies of Different British Viceroy

The extremists made a solid contribution to the national movement. While the objective of ‘Poorna Swaraj’ inspired the people, the techniques of boycott and Swadeshi brought economic advantages to Indians. People were made prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of their motherland. Their programme of national education aimed at the cultural regeneration in India. All these proved beneficial in the long run. Even Gandhiji adopted the techniques of the extremists later on. While previously, Indian nationalism was confined to the limited educated class, the extremists had brought it nearer to the middle and lower middle class.

Some good results also came out of extremism. The partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911. The extremists had generated a sense of self-sacrifice in the mind of Indians. They had compelled the British Government to provide certain constitutional privileges to Indians from time to time. John Morley, the Secretary of State at London and Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India had suggested certain steps to check the growing discontentment among the Indians.

Their suggestions were adopted by the British Government which resulted in the passing of the Indian Council Act of 1909. The insertion of the Communal Electorate System in this Act exposed the ‘divide and rule’ policy of the government. However, the moderates opted to co-operate with the execution of the Act. Subsequently, the extremists became leaderless as Tilak was imprisoned for Six years in 1908, B.C. Pal retired from active politics and Aurobindo

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went away to Pondicherry. Lala Lajpat Rai also went on a sojourn to U.S.A. in 1914. Thus, the extremists lost their hold on Indian politics.

J. Home Rule Movement

But the movement again gained momentum with the formation of "Home Rule League" by Tilak. After completing his term of imprisonment, Tilak returned to India and joined active politics in 1914. He tried to bring unity between the Moderates and the Extremists with the hope of intensifying the national movement. But being failed to achieve anything, he established the Home Rule League in 28th April 1916. Mrs. Annie Besant who had joined the Congress, established a Home Rule League at London in 1914.

Both the Leagues co-operated with each other for a single cause. Both Tilak and Besant toured all over the country and carried out the message of the self-government among the masses. Besant's newspaper 'New India' and Tilak's 'Young India' helped in spreading the ideas of Home Rule. Leaders like M.M. Malaviya, Motilal Nehru etc. were also attracted towards the movement. Though the movement failed to achieve its objective, yet it made a solid contribution to the national movement.

K. Post- Gandhian Period (1919- 1947)

'Jalianwala Bagh Massacre' catalyzed the militant movement against British rule and paved the way for Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement against the British in 1920. After the end of World War I Turkish Khalifa was removed, which led to a worldwide protest by Muslims. Under the leadership of the Ali Brothers, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali, the Muslims of South Asia launched the historic Khilafat Movement. Gandhi linked the issue of Swaraj with the Khilafat issue to bring Hindus and Muslim together in one movement. The Civil Disobedience or Non-cooperation movement was started. The ensuing movement was the first countrywide popular movement. It began with returning of honorary titles given by the British and then continued to a boycott of the legislatures, elections and government works. Foreign clothes were burned and Khadi (home woven cloth) became a symbol of freedom. By the end of 1921, all of the important leaders, except Gandhi were in jail. In February 1922, at Chaurichaura, Uttar Pradesh, violence erupted and Gandhi called off the movement. He was then arrested and the movement ended.

Deshbandhu Chitt Ranjan Das, along with Motilal Nehru, founded the Swaraj Party in 1923 for maintaining of continued participation in legislative councils. The party was soon recognized as the parliamentary wing of the Congress. In Bengal many of the candidates fielded by the Swaraj Party were elected to office. The Governor invited C.R. Das to form a government but he declined. In 1924 Gandhi was released from prison due to poor health and was elected President of the Indian National Congress. 1925 saw the first woman becoming the president of Indian National Congress when Sarojini Naidu was elected President for the Kanpur session.

L. Rise of Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru

Vallabhbhai Patel, qualified as a barrister in 1913 and returned to India to a lucrative practice in Ahmedabad. But soon following Gandhi's footsteps, Vallabhbhai took to

spinning the charkha, boycotted foreign goods and clothes and burned his foreign possessions on public bonfires. He even discarded the western dresses he once so coveted. The relationship between Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai was concretely defined when Gandhiji was elected the President of the Gujarat Sabha and Vallabhbhai the Secretary, in 1917. He participated in the Nagpur flag satyagraha from May to August in 1923 in protest against the stopping of a procession which carried the national flag. In 1928, Vallabhbhai once again came to the rescue of the farmers, this time it was in Bardoli, which was then a part of Surat district. The Government increased the tax on the land. Those who were not able to pay the high taxes, their lands were confiscated. Vallabhbhai urged the farmers not to pay, declaring the hike unjust. He prepared the farmers for satyagraha. The Satyagraha continued for six months. Finally the government agreed to hold an inquiry into the justification of the tax hike, released the satyagrahis and returned all confiscated items back to the farmers. So pleased was Gandhiji with Vallabhbhai's effort that he gave him the title of "Sardar" or leader.

In 1929 Lord Irwin promises Dominion Status for India. This year also saw the rise of Jawaharlal Nehru, who was destined to become the first prime minister of free India. Jawaharlal Nehru was son of congress leader Motilal Nehru. Jawaharlal was educated in Britain from where he graduated as a barrister. After the Jalianwala Bagh massacre in 1919, he joined the freedom struggle. In the Lahore session of Congress in 1929, under President Jawaharlal Nehru, the resolution of "Poorna Swaraj", Complete Independence, was adopted. On December 21, 1929, the Trianga (tricolor) flag was unfurled. On January 26, 1930, the first Independence Day was celebrated. The Civil disobedience movement was started as well as the movement to no longer submit to British Rule. Nehru spent most of the period from 1930 to 1936 in jail for conducting civil disobedience campaigns.

M. Dandi March

On March 12, 1930, Gandhi marched from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi, to protest against 'state monopoly on salt' often called the Dandi march. The march was 375 km and took 26 days. As a result of this march, all of India joined the campaign to boycott foreign goods and refused to pay taxes. Sardar Patel left for Dandi to prepare for Gandhiji's Salt satyagraha. He went to villages to organize for the food and lodging of the marchers. In every village he went, he made stirring speeches, rousing the people to join the march to Dandi. The Government swooped down and arrested him while he was in the village of Ras. This was Sardar Patel's first prison sentence.

N. Government of India Act 1935 and formation of Provincial Legislative Government

In 1935, the Government of India Act was passed in the British Parliament. This created an All-Indian Federation based on provincial autonomy. The Congress swept 7 out of 11 of the provinces in July 1937. The Muslim League which claimed to represent Indian Muslims, secured less than a quarter of the seats reserved for Muslims. While,

Political prisoners were released and civil liberties promoted, the limitations on the Act of 1935 few real achievements were made. The Muslim League fared poorly in the elections.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the permanent president of the Muslim League, began rumors that the Muslim minority was in danger under the Hindu majority and promoted a two separate nation plan. In 1940, the Muslim League passed a resolution demanding Pakistan after as a separate country after Independence.

O. Quit India Movement

In 1942, Stafford Cripps led the Cripps Mission, promised Dominion Status with the right of secession but refused to allow immediate transfer of power. The Indian leaders refused to accept promises. Under tremendous pressure from his colleagues in Congress Gandhi agreed for a mass independent movement. The Quit India resolution was passed in 1942, Bombay session of Congress. Gandhi stressed, "We shall either free India or die in the attempt. We shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery". This is famously known as "Do or Die". This was declared illegal by British government and all of the prominent leaders were arrested. There were revolts all around India with the slogan of "British Quit India".

P. Events during Partition- Gandhi-Jinnah Talks

First partition of Bengal in 1905 had sowed the seeds of division of India. Many Muslim leaders had started entertaining the idea of a separate Muslim dominated country. Gandhi's initial stand was that India should not be partitioned into two nations after Independence. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the leader of Muslim League, a self-proclaimed champion of Muslim cause. Although Muslim League never had popular support amongst Indian Muslims, British always supported Muslim League. The Muslim League adopted the Pakistan demand in its Lahore resolution in 1940. The demand stated that the geographically contiguous regions of India where the Muslims are a majority like the North West and the Eastern side of India should be constituted as independent states.

On September 19, 1944, Gandhi-Jinnah talks began in Bombay over partition of India and creation of Pakistan. Gandhi insisted that he came in his personal capacity and was not representing Hindus or Congress. During the talks Jinnah insisted on the need for a separate Muslim state (Pakistan) while Gandhi tried to impress that India needs to remain a united one country. Talks ended on September 24, 1944 without any conclusion.

On the 21st of February 1946, mutiny broke out on board the Royal Indian Navy. Mutiny in Royal Indian Navy was quickly controlled. Mutiny in Royal Indian Navy only highlighted the amount of discontent amongst the Indian troops who were serving British Raj. As a result of the Indian National Army's exploits in World War II, British had already started doubting the loyalty of the British Indian soldiers who formed the bulk of troops in India. Afraid of further revolts in armed forces British planned to quickly hand over power to Indian political establishment. Events like INA's capture of Kohima in World War II and Indian Navy mutiny were probably not significant militarily but were a

psychological blow to the confidence of British government, which hastened Indian Independence.

Q. Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

To end the dead lock between Congress and Muslim League on the issue of creation of Pakistan, British Government sent a group of ministers. The mission consisted of Lord Pethic Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty.

On December 9, 1946 the Congress started framing the Indian Constitution. On March 22, 1947, Lord Mountbatten arrived as the last Viceroy. It was announced that power would be transferred from British to Indian hands by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten entered into a series of talks with the Congress and the Muslim League leaders. Jinnah insisted on creation of Pakistan as a separate country for Indian Muslims. Congress also agreed to the partition of India. Gandhi who had previously said that India would be partitioned over my 'dead body' now agreed to the partition plan. Mountbatten now prepared for the partition of the Sub-continent and announced it on June 3, 1947. The Congress and the Muslim League agreed that India would become free on August 15, 1947. The country would be partitioned under the guidance of the Red Cliff Mission.

R. Independent India

On 15th August 1947 India became an independent country and Pakistan was also formed. Jawaharlal Nehru took oath as the first Prime Minister of Independent India. Massive exodus of population from Islamic Pakistan to India took place. Nearly the whole Hindu population living in Pakistan's Punjab and Sindh and East Bengal migrated to India. Large numbers of Hindus were killed in the riots in Pakistan and many others were forcibly converted to Islam. Only a few Hindus survived in Islamic republic of Pakistan. Muslims from Independent India also migrated to Pakistan and many Muslims were killed in riots that took place in India. But majority of Muslims preferred to stay in India and were given equal rights in secular India. The Muslim population of Independent India was much bigger than that of Independent Pakistan. Indian independence was scarred by the trauma and bloodshed of partition.

V. CONCLUSION

A hard earned, prized freedom was won after long, glorious years of struggle. The independence was simply the fulfillment of Britain's self-appointed mission to assist the Indian people to Self-government. Partition was the unfortunate consequence of the age old Hindu-Muslim rift, of the two communities' failure to agree on how and whom power was to be transferred. The radical view is that independence was finally wrested by the mass actions of 1946-47 in which many Communists participated, often as leaders. But the bourgeois leaders of the Congress, frightened by the revolutionary upsurge, struck a deal with the imperialist power by which power was transferred to them and the nation paid the price of Partition. These visions of noble design or revolutionary intent,

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Frustrated by traditional religious conflict, attractive as they may seem blur, rather than illumine, the somber reality. In fact, the Independence- Partition duality reflects the success- failure dichotomy of the anti-imperialist movement led by the Congress. The Congress had a two-fold task: structuring diverse classes, communities, groups and regions into a nation and securing independence from the British rulers for this emerging nation. While the Congress succeeded in building up a nationalist consciousness sufficient to exert pressure on the British to quit India, it could not complete the task of welding the nation and particularly failed to integrate the Muslims into this nation. It is this contradiction- the success and failure of the national movement- which is reflected in the other contradiction- Independence, but with it Partition.

The two self-governing countries, India and Pakistan came into being at the stroke of midnight on 14th and 15th August 1947, respectively. Lord Mountbatten had attended the ceremony of the transfer of power held a day earlier in Karachi, the then capital of Pakistan and a day later was present in Delhi, for the transfer of power for India. Pakistan celebrates their Independence Day on 14th August, while India celebrates its Independence on 15th August each year.

The independence of India was inaugurated with a speech by Jawaharlal Nehru called "Tryst with Destiny". Nehru made this speech to the Indian Constituent Assembly in Parliament on the eve of Independence, almost towards midnight on 14 August 1947. This is considered to be one of the greatest and most famous speeches of all times and encapsulates the victory of India achieved in its non-violent struggle against the British. In this legendary speech Nehru proclaimed, "At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance." Through his speech Nehru also reminded his countrymen saying, "freedom and power bring responsibility". During his speech Nehru also remembered those who had moved across the border during Partition and said "We think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boundaries and who unhappily cannot share at present in the freedom that has come. They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen, and we shall be sharers in their good and ill fortune alike." Nehru ended his speech by paying homage to India saying, "And to India, our much-loved motherland, the ancient, the eternal and the ever-new, we pay our reverent homage and we bind ourselves afresh to her service. Jai Hind [Victory to India]."

The Independence of India on 15th August 1947 also marked the end of the Interim Government of India which was formed on 2 September 1946 from the newly elected Constituent Assembly of India and that was responsible for the transition of India and Pakistan from British India to Independence. The Constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949 and came into force on 26 January 1950 (which is celebrated as Republic Day every year). By the adoption of the Constitution, the Union of India came to be known as the Republic of India.

After Independence, Jawaharlal Nehru was appointed as the first Prime Minister of India and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

as the Deputy Prime Minister. Sardar Patel invited Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last Governor-General of India to continue as the Governor-General of now Independent India. Lord Mountbatten was replaced by Chakravarti Rajagopalachari in June 1948. Following Independence, India has remained in the Commonwealth of Nations and has maintained a friendly relationship with the United Kingdom since then. Both countries share strong cultural and social ties and currently there are over 1 million Indians residing in the United Kingdom.

Independence Day in India is observed by marking it as a public holiday across the country. On the eve of Independence Day each year, the Prime Minister of India delivers an "Address to the Nation" and hoists the national flag at the Red Fort. This is followed by twenty one gun shots in honour of the occasion and the singing of the national anthem. Government buildings are beautifully lit up and schools, colleges and offices around the country have flag hoisting ceremonies. People also fly tricolour kites which are symbolic of freedom and a popular way to enjoy and commemorate Independence Day.

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