

Students Role in Freedom Struggle

*In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF HISTORY

By

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I

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree/diploma.

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Statement 1

This project is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for M.A. History from Lovely Professional University.

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This project is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by giving explicit references.

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II

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Students Role in Freedom Struggle" is confided and original work done by Towseef Hussain Khan, a student of Lovely Professional University, Punjab, under my supervision and guidance.

This subject of this dissertation is an original contribution towards the discipline of History and has not previously formed the basis for the award of the Degree, Diploma, Associated ship, and fellowship or another similar title to any candidate.

The Dissertation represents entirely an independent work of the candidate under my guidance.

Date-

Place-

Signature of Supervisor

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III

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IV

ABSTRACT

Role of students is very important in any activity, students regarded as the future of any country. This study is based upon role of students in Indian freedom struggle. Everyone knows about important leaders, important women those who participated in freedom struggle but role students is lesser known. The study comprises all the movement of freedom struggle and role of students. The origin of students organisations are also given special reference in this paper by the author.

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Introduction

The origin of student's participation in Indian freedom struggle can be traced back to 1903 with the establishment of **Abhinav Bharat Society** which is also known as 'Young India'. The organization was established by social reformist **Vinayak Damodar Savarkar** with help of his brother **Ganesh Damodar Savarkar**. The main aim behind the establishment of this society was to initiate a platform for student to raise their voice against corrupt British India government. Savarkar drew the idea of Abhinav Bharat Society from Garibaldi's 'Young Italy', which was an organization established to fight against the corrupt government in Italy and their main aim was to the unification of Italy. By the end of 19th century, Young Italy gained very much popularity and eventually achieved the objective of unification of Italy. Thus Savarkar thought to follow the same path by establishing an organization like Young Italy which was necessary to mobilize young generation people especially students and scholarly people. Although there were lots of difference between India and Italy's political scenario but India was also facing the problem of corrupt government rule like Italy.

Eventually, Savarkar founded the first secret society Abhinav Bharat Society in 1903, Poona. Initially, they were only a few members and activists associated with this but within a short period of time number of activists increased drastically and gained popularity all over the country. Within a span of 1 year Abhinav Bharat Society grew up into India's one of the largest organization with several thousands of activists and revolutionaries and spread number of branches all over the country. Later on, one branch of Abhinav **Bharat was launched in London in 1906**, when Savarkar went to London for further studies in Law. It was a remarkable achievement for Savarkar to get huge support from all over the country because at that time Indian National Congress gained strong ground and had an image of the largest organization of India. But one loophole of Indian National Congress was that negligence of young generation people. Indian National Congress gave less importance to young generation people. This was observed by Savarkar and he knew the importance of young generation people. This attitude of Indian National Congress provided a space for rapid growth of Abhinav Bharat Society. Although aim and objective of Indian National Congress and Abhinav Bharat Society were almost same but ideology was totally different. On the one hand where Indian National Congress was following a peaceful and defensive ideology, on the other hand, Abhinav Bharat Society was following violent and aggressive ideology. Aggressive Ideology attracted a mass number of young people, especially students from all over the country as it had immediate results. In 1904, Savarkar held a meeting in Poona where more than 200 representatives from different parts of India attended and discussed the working plan of Abhinav Bharat Society.

The first notable event done by Abhinav Bharat Society was Organisation of Lt. Col. William Curzon-Wyllie in India House, London. This incident shook the entire country and everyone was stunned by this news. Soon the news was spread all over India and Abhinav Bharat Society suddenly became the burning topic of the country. This incident also helped Savarkar to attract a number of young people to join Abhinav Bharat Society. Another important event was assassination of **M.T. Jackson, a British officer in 1909** by Abhinav Bharat Activists. An Investigation revealed that Savarkar was indulged in this organization. These two back to back events put a tag on Abhinav Bharat Society as extremists organization and British started targeting Abhinav Bharat Society to stop the growth. After this Abhinav Bharat Society was exposed and no longer had the advantage of being a secret society.

Slowly British India Government started banning the activities of Abhinav Bharat Society and putting a continuous check on its growth and development. Later on, Savarkar and his brother Ganesh was found guilty in Jackson assassination case and they were sentenced to lifetime imprisonment. This put a setback on Abhinav Bharat Society as the central figure of Society was arrested. Thus since 1910, Gradually Abhinav Bharat Society started losing its popularity and on the other hand, Indian National Congress gained much strong ground in India. Although Society was active till 1952 when Government of India officially put a ban on Abhinav Bharat Society and declared it as an illegal organization. Although Abhinav Bharat Society was not able to achieve its objectives but the contribution of Savarkar towards Indian freedom struggle was remarkable. Savarkar's revolutionary thinking only responsible for bringing Indian Student under a common platform and to encourage them to fight against British and contribute to the freedom struggle. Abhinav Bharat Society can be marked as the beginning of student organization in India. Abhinav Bharat Society exposed the strength of students and young people and capability of what they can do, which was absent in Indian freedom struggle till 1903.

Scope of the Study

This study gives attention to students contribution in the freedom struggle of India, How students raised their voice against oppressive British India Government, It also emphasizes on the origin of student organizations in India, What are the tools used by students to raise their voices such as strikes, demonstration, hartals etc. An attempt is also made to reveal the cause behind various incidents in India that witnessed the role of students. It Also tries to examine the ideologies of various leaders and how students followed the different ideologies in a different time. How students as groups were working all over the world in different countries for independence from a foreign power. This study also stresses on what was the role of Indian National Congress to unite the students from all over the country. Gandhi's view on students and his expectations from students also one of the major content of in this study. This study also explains different movement led by Gandhi which gained popularity among mass people. By dividing the student's growth in Indian freedom struggle into different phases

tried to classify according to the different leaders and their ideologies. How students shifted their ideology from violence to non-violence. Also tried to know the reason for unsuccessful of ideology violence. A brief analysis is given on causes for the success of Quit India Movement and also stressed on the role of students in Quit India Movement.

OBJECTIVES

- 1) To analyze the origin of student Unions and organizations in India.
- 2) To justify the various ideologies of different leaders and their approach against British.
- 3) To discuss the different obstacle phased by the students in the different phases of the freedom struggle.
- 4) To compare the non-violence and violence ideology and suggest the ideal one for next generation.
- 5) To discuss why the student is important for nation building process.
- 6) To explain how a student can contribute effectively in the freedom struggle.
- 7) To bring light upon what is the importance of student unions and organization to unite students.
- 8) To analyze how Gandhi influenced a large number of student to join Indian National Congress.

Research Methodology

This research study is based on the analysis of both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources examined briefly to get authentic information about the topic of the study. Books, official website, journals will be thoroughly analyzed to understand the ideology, background, origin, causes and impact of students participation in foredoom struggle.

Some secondary sources such as newspaper reports, articles, and journals available in various libraries and archives analyzed to consolidate the future study. To gain additional information a secondary number of sources analyzed. Articles, journals, archives utilized as per need to clarify the complicated and confusing information provided by the primary source from different libraries. To conclude the report both primary and secondary sources, reviewed in the context of each other to generate a comprehensive research study.

Chapter-1

Students Role in Swadeshi Movement:-

In 1905 Indian freedom struggle witnessed a huge boost with the rise of Swadeshi Movement. Swadeshi Movement regarded as the trigger point of Indian freedom movement, from where the movement got acceleration. It was a first big event in the history of Indian freedom struggle after the **revolt of 1857**. Various causes were responsible for this revolt but the immediate cause was **Lord Curzon's decision of dividing Bengal** into two parts East Bengal and West Bengal, on the basis of religion. Behind this decision, British had the plan to destroy the unity of Indians in Bengal, which was creating a problem for British. During the beginning of 19th century Indians started unitising together under a various national level organization like **Indian National Congress, Abhinav Bharat Society, Muslim League** etc. British observed these and introduced new policy divide and rule and as result of that British decided to divide Bengal on the basis of religion to create conflict among the native people of India. So this decision of British backfired on themselves when thousand of Indians from different social, religious, economic, political background came together to fight against British Raj. Various classes of society came out together among them women, students and scholars played a vital role. Swadeshi Movement was initiated by the leaders like **Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Dada Bhai Naoroji** etc. All these leaders were moderate that means till some extent they supported violence. The main ideology behind the Swadeshi movement was to avoid British Raj in all the aspect of society whether it is in education or in administrative or in trade or politics by forcefully or violently. This ideology attracted thousands of young generation people from all over the India. Students came out in huge number for the first time in Indian freedom struggle. Most of the student came under organizations like Indian National Congress and Abhinav Bharat Society but some also came voluntarily to join the movement. It can be regarded as the transformation of the student movement in India. All the iconic political leaders realized the need of student's support, thus they encouraged students by speech to come out and join hands together against British. Effect of the movement initially seen in Bengal presidency but later on spread to south India and Madras presidency also became the center of the movement. A huge number of students gathered in these presidencies to demonstrate anti-British propaganda. It was a major setback for British that they lost the loyalties of Indian students and scholars and this become a serious concern because scholars and students were the major elements of better administration. Thus British took some strict actions to overcome from this movement which created violence all over India, especially in Bengal region.

One of the major objectives of Swadeshi movement was "**National Education**". British education system was based upon a western policy which was neglecting native language, art, literature, and cultures. Thus Political leaders and social thinkers like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Savarkar, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and many others came out with the view of national education. It was essential to win the confidence the students and encourage them for national education and to show them the adverse effect of western education. Soon Indian students realized the importance of local education and raised voice against the western system of education. The movement gained ground mainly in Bengal and later on spread all over India. The immediate cause of Swadeshi movement was the Lord Curzon's policy to **divide Bengal into two parts based on religion**. But later on, the objectives of Swadeshi movement got broader aspects. Extremism was the first time saw among nationalist leaders. Before Swadeshi movement, nationalists leaders were following moderate policy but the moderate policy was not bringing enough results thus nationalist leaders realized the need to change the attitude and bring some revolutionary ideas in order to attract British concern over the nationalist's demands.

Extremism policy got popularity much among young generation people. Most of them were students and scholars. Students and other young generation people find easy to follow extremism and violent policies. Indian National Congress urged students from all over the India to join the Swadeshi Movement and make the movement more effective and strong.

In Bengal, Bipin Chandra Pal became a fiery spokesman for a new nationalist India. He traveled the length and breadth of Bengal, and then the whole of India, arousing the people of India to the new spirit of action. Through education and journalism, he reached the silent, tradition-directed masses and became their spokesman. He founded the famous nationalist newspaper **Bande Mataram in Calcutta**, and his co-editor was another young **Bengali leader, Aurobindo Ghose. Aurobindo Ghosh**, while in school in England, devoted himself to the cause of India's awakening and her new spirit of nationalism. He conceived that the first step in the Indian renaissance must be political liberation, and he demanded that the Congress follow a dynamic policy that would bring self-rule to India. Thus in Bengal, in the Punjab, and in Maharashtra the nationalists had begun to distinguish themselves from the moderates in the Congress, and they had "begun to talk about self-rule for India. More important, perhaps, the people had begun to listen to them with due attention. At the same time, two events took place in 1904 and 1905 that gave impetus to the cause of the nationalists. Firstly the young Japanese nation defeated the forces of Imperial Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. The second vital event was directly related to Indian nationalism. October 16th, 1905 was observed as a day of national mourning. There were four programmes for the day: **(1) Rakhi Bandhan, (2) the observance of hartal and fast, (3) laying the foundation of a Federal hall of which there were to be statutes of all the districts of Bengal, and (4) the inauguration of 8 the national programme for weaving industry**. A large number of student came out and participated in these activities from different parts of India. Although the partition of Bengal was a "settled fact", the agitation against the

partition continued with unabated vigor. Leaders like Surendranath Bannerji and Bipin Chandra Pal toured throughout the new province and addressed huge meetings and administered Swadeshi and Boycott vows. Intensive propaganda was carried out through the nationalist press. Then followed the movement for the boycott of foreign goods (especially British goods), beginning with the organization of meetings all over the province and outside. The response of the people was spontaneous, and repressive measures of the Government transformed the movement into a potential force. Even priests declined to officiate at ceremonies where foreign stuff was intended as an oblation to the gods. The students were the most enthusiastic participating force of the movement. They arranged bonfires of the foreign stuff and picketing of -shops. The method of the boycott had played an important part in the Irish history and it is necessary to recall that the history of Great-Britain and her colonial and imperial ventures were read and digested by at least two generations of educated Indians.

No doubt Indians borrowed some of their political strategy from those nations which had successfully defied British authority. The successful boycott of American goods by the Chinese was a recent occurrence which was noted and discussed in the newspapers. If the Government of India and the British Government were not prepared to listen to what Indians had to say, here was evidently the sure and proper means of making them notice it through the boycott movement.

Another important issue of Swadeshi Movement was National Education. To establish at various places educational centers on the principles of ancient Gurukula system in order to inculcate in boys and girls during their formative years religious and ethical ideals so that their spiritual, mental, intellectual and physical strength may develop and that their lives may be pure. To train students in such a way as to make them versed in Kannada, Sanskrit, Hindi and other Indian as well as foreign languages; to make them cultured and to enable them to pursue independently agriculture, business, handicrafts, and so on. To assist brighter and more able students to pursue higher training and education at famous centers of learning, both in this country and abroad. To train religious preachers to go from village to village so that they may educate the masses in religious, moral, educational and economic matters, through recitation of scriptures and lectures; to enable them to hold initiation ceremonies in the country as well as abroad, to admit people to the **Veerasaiva faith**, and generally to propagate the Veerasaiva religion. To establish a library to facilitate Veerasaiva scholars for the study of various subjects on their own and pursue research. To establish a printing press at which newspapers and books for public welfare would be easily printed. To invite as many Veerasaiva youth from different parts as possible and to give them as much instruction as possible at the Vidyalaya in religious, moral and physical fields. To offer instructions to not-Veerasaiva youth, as far as practicable. A careful perusal of the aims of the school would reveal that he looked upon **Veerasaivism** as a religion of equality and fraternity and individual freedom in matters, both religious and secular. He never thought the practice of and encouragement of such a religion would come in the

way of nationalism. That is why he gave a place of importance to the propagation of this religion in his system of education.

Manjappawas a prominent educationist and national leader and he were not a blind follower of national leaders like Tilak or Gandhiji. He could and did criticize these leaders whenever the occasion demanded it. But he was not just a critic of national leaders. He tried his level best to implement those views of theirs which appealed to him. For instance, he was very much influenced by the Swadeshi movement of Tilak, particularly his four-fold program — **Swadeshi, boycott, Swaraj and National Education**. That is why he exhorted his people to implement the ideas of Tilak on his own example. He liked Tilak's views on national education. Tilak's concept of education was: "**That which gives us a knowledge of the experience of our ancestors, that which enables us to become true citizens and to earn our bread is called education**". That is why Manjappa said, **education which is not conducive to self-reliance and comfortable living among the people, does not deserve to be called by that name. He was of the opinion that we should not remain content with the existing system of education which makes us fit only for subordination and servitude. Therefore, he laid stress upon technical and religious education. By technical education, he meant that education should provide a sense of self-security.**

The aim of education should be to provide capacity for self-employment. He advised thousands of our youth that they should go to the advanced countries of the West to receive education in industrial technology, and after their return, they must help to augment the national wealth. The work of educating the people is the responsibility of the educated few. The emergence of **Vandemataram movement** is seen from 11th February 1907 the day on which Bala Bharathi Samiti was founded. On this day, which happened to be the Mahasivarathri festival, a procession was taken out in the streets of Rajahmundry, carrying the flags written with 'Vandemataram'. The meeting was addressed by G. Hari Sarvottama Rao, a teacher trainee here and Veera Bhadra Rao spoke on Swadeshi. In this connection, mention may be made of Gunneswara Rao, the Karanam Of Rajahmundry who helped in placing his press at the disposal of Bala Bharathi Samiti and also helped the movement either by financing or by helping in the organization of processions and meetings in Rajahmundry. The student community of **Rajahmundry**, especially the Government Arts College and Training College, were Influenced by the ideals of Bala Bharati Samiti to spread Vandemataram, began to take an active part in the movement. The students being aggressive by nature peered at the Europeans and government officials and shouted 'Vande Mataram'. The principal, Mark Hunter who did not wish to interfere with the student's agitation at the beginning. Later under the orders of Sub-Collector Braidwood decided to stop the activities of the students of the Bala Bharati Samiti. The principal declared that wearing badges of Vandemataram and participation in Bala Bharati activities was a punishable offense.

On 19th March 1907, when **J.Ramachandra Rao**, a student of B.A., class accompanied by Gunneswara Rao visited the hostel and asked the inmates to help. The members of the Samiti were conducting the night schools. For this action, the principal suspended them. Later on tendering an apology, they were readmitted. The intelligentsia of Rajahmundry interceded in the affair and requested the principal to reconsider his order. The principal accepted the students to remain as members of the Bala Bharati Samiti but prohibited them from participating in its processions and wearing badges inside the college. But the orders of the Principal were transgressed when Bipin' Chandra Pal visited Rajahmundry on 19th and left Rajahmundry on 24th April 1907. Here Harisarvottama Rao, a teacher trainee of the Rajahmundry. Arts College addressed the meeting. Students began to wear the Vandemataram badges, and on 25th April, the principal found the students wearing the Vandemataram badges writing the half-yearly examinations. He ordered then to remove their badges and they complied including J. Ramachandra Rao. Then the principal went to another room, where also he ordered to remove the badges. But one of the students cried Vandemataram. Immediately the students in the examination hall and also in other rooms took up the cry 38 and rushed out of the classes. Even the B.A., Class students who removed the badges, again put them on. The Principal asked the defiant students to remove the badges or leave, the college within two minutes. The students left the college. The principal thereupon passed orders dismissing G. Harisarvottama Rao and debarring J. Ramachandra Rao. They were not only debarred from college but also were made ineligible for any government service. Other students in B.A., the class were debarred for two years and the students in F.A. Class were debarred for one year. By this order of the government, about 138 students were affected out of a total number **222 in the College**. At Kakinada, the students who returned from Rajahmundry distributed the Vandemataram leaflets and started the Vandemataram protection league.

This vigorous propaganda swayed even the feelings of coolies who began to shout publicly the Vandemataram slogan. The incident of beating Kopalle Krishna Rao on shouting Vande Mataram, which resulted in mob fury, was a notable one. The Swadeshi movement in Krishna District had a far-reaching effect on the overall development of the movement in Andhra. **Bipin Chandra Pal's visit to Vijayawada and Machilipatnam** on 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th April 1907 at the invitation of M. Krishna Rao had a far-reaching effect in the Krishna District. At Vijayawada, a reception committee was formed with Munagala Raja as Chairman and A. Kaleswara Rao as Secretary. He gave two speeches in the meetings conducted in Venkateswara Town Hall. From here he proceeded to Machilipatnam, where he was received by **Pattabhi Seetaramaiah, M. Krishna Rao and K. Hanumantha Rao, M. Narasimhan, Suryanarayana Rao and others**. He stayed in the house of Ramdas Nayudu, a Brahma samaj. On 26th Sri Krishnamacharl, headmaster of the Hindu High School presided. On 27th, P. Venkatappaiah, ex-chairman the Machilipatnam Municipality presided.

Chapter-2

Students Role in Non-Cooperation Movement:-

Gandhi's faith in the British Government was stunned in the year 1920. He anticipated no justice from it. He was opposed to the Rowlatt Bills, which curtailed even the minimum freedom of every citizen. **The Jallianwala Bagh massacre** and the subsequent martial law oppressions and atrocities on the people of Punjab stirred the fury of the whole of India. Gandhi was incredibly upset at the happenings. The report of **the Hunter Committee** published in May 1920, and the debates in the House of Lords protecting and praising Dyer's conduct at Amritsar reddened the Indian sentiments. Another major event, which played an important part in launching the Non-co-operation movement, was **Khilafat issue**. The Khilafat was a religious institution of the Sunni Muslims. Gandhi and other leaders of the Indian national movement supported the Muslim demand regarding the Khilafat for various reasons. Thus it was high time to launch and register a protest movement on National basis against the British atrocities. Under the leadership of Gandhi, the movement went organized and composed until the tragic event of Chauri Chaura took place, which became the immediate cause for the termination of Non-co-operation movement. Gandhi first recommended non-cooperation as a medicine for the Khilafat wrongs at **the Khilafat Conference held in Delhi on the 23rd November 1919**, the redress of the Punjab wrongs was, of course, there. He also placed before the Conference broad items of the non-cooperation program such as renunciation of titles, honors and government service. For the time being, the idea of non-cooperation was lost in the proceedings of the Conference.

But the events in 1920 brought the idea of non-cooperation to the forefront. The Viceroy's reply to the Khilafat deputation on the 19th January 1920 disappointed the Indian Muslims. The Khilafatists thought of sending a deputation to London. According to **Maulana Abul Kalam Azad**, the matter was discussed for six long hours in the drawing room of Hakim Ajmal Khan. Nothing came out of the discussion; thereafter, the matter was referred to a subcommittee consisting of Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Azad, to go into the question of alternative methods if the constitutional methods failed to achieve the object. They again discussed the matter with Gandhi at the residence of Sushil Rudra, Principal of St. Stephan's College, Delhi. Gandhi placed his non-cooperation program before Azad and **Ajmal Khan**; it was here that the Non-cooperation movement was "conceived". Gandhi, as previously planned, inaugurated the Non-cooperation movement on the 1st August 1920 by returning his **Kaiser-I-Hind gold medal, Zulu War medal, Boer War medal** with a letter to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy. The letter briefly stated his reasons for returning the medals and starting the Non-cooperation movement. He wrote: "... Valuable as these honors have been to me, I cannot wear them with an easy conscience so long as my Musalman Countrymen have to labor under a wrong done to their religious sentiments... The attitude of the Imperial and your Excellency's Government on the Punjab question has given me (an) additional cause for 159 grave dissatisfaction.....I can retain

neither respect nor affection for such a Government". Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and other leaders toured extensively through the Punjab, Sind, and Madras, addressing huge meetings on the Khilafat question. Gandhi asked the people to replace the off-shouted slogans- "**Mahatma Gandhi ki jai**" and "**Mohammad Ali ShaukatAli-ki-Jai**"- by "**Hindu Musalman- ki-jai**". He said: "There should be only three cries recognized, "Alla-ho-Akbar" to be joyously sung out by Hindus and Muslims showing that God alone was great and no other. The second should be "**Bande Mataram**" or "Bharat Mata-ki-jai". And the third should be "Hindu-Musalman-ki-jai" without which there was no victory for India, no true demonstration of the greatness of God. He preferred "Bande Mataram" to "**Bharat Mata-ki-jai**".

The provincial Congress Committees were unanimous in accepting the principles of non-cooperation, but they differed about the details of the program. Even before the special Congress had met in Calcutta in September 1920, the Gujarat and the Bihar Political Conferences, under the presidentship of Abbas Tyabji and Rajendra Prasad respectively, had passed resolutions supporting the non-cooperation. To the conservative minds, Gandhi's non-cooperation appeared to be a negative movement. But his Non-co-operation with England presupposed the co-operation of all Indians. Gandhi succeeded in establishing this unity in India and in bridging over the differences, especially between Hindus and Muslims. He created for the first time something like a real Indian Nation, all United in a **160 uniform** national sentiment. He regarded the union between Hindus and Muslims as a fundamental condition for a free India. The special session of the Congress began in Calcutta on September 4th, 1920.

It was convened to consider the recommendations of Hunter Committee, the Treaty of Sevres, and non-cooperation. There was a huge gathering of **20,000 persons** including 5,000 delegates representing all provinces. Muslim delegates attended the session in large numbers. Lajpat Rai, who had recently returned from America, was elected to preside over the momentous session. Gandhi prepared the draft of the non-cooperation resolution in the train itself at the request of Shaukat Ali. Gandhi was at sea as to who would support the non-cooperation resolution and who would oppose it. He only saw an imposing phalanx of veteran warriors assembled for the fray- Mrs. **Besant, Pandit Malaviya, Vijayaraghavachari, Motilal Nehru, C.R.Das, and Jinnah**. Before Gandhi's resolution on non-cooperation was conferred in the open session, the Subjects Committee deliberated on it. It met on the premises of the Indian Association. About three hundred members attended it. The discussion lasted for six hours. Gandhi met with the "most terrific and formidable opposition that he had ever faced before, in his political career". The debate was although orderly thought at times "the speeches were strong and enlivened here and there by sharp passage-at-arms among the opponents". The substantive motion before the Subjects Committee was the resolution drafted by the Reception Committee and thirty amendments.

The principal amendments were moved by **Gandhi, C.R.Das, and Bipin Chandra Pal**. Gandhi's amendment was his resolution on non-cooperation; C.R.Das's amendment was on the lines of the Reception Committee resolution, and that of Bipin Chandra Pal was practically a super session of Gandhi's resolution. In the Subjects Committee, Gandhi was at his best. According to an eye-witness account: "He was heard with rapt attention-amidst pin drop silence. The smooth flow of his easy eloquence was a treat. His beaming eyes, the mellowness of his voice and the earnestness with which he evidently spoke so dispassionately with such absolute fairness that it seemed a judge was giving his charge to the jury. Gandhi was very serious about his resolution. Neither **"friendly appeals" nor "hostile threats"** could move him from his position. His speech was so lucid and convincing that he "practically demolished" the entire case of eminent leaders like **C.R.Das, B.C.Pal, M.A. Jinnah, M.M.Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mrs. Annie Besant** and others. It decided the fate not only of the Congress but also of the country. Bipin Chandra Pal's amendment was first put to vote and declared lost by 124 to 140 votes. He was not satisfied with the counting and he demanded a re-poll. Again his amendment was lost by 135 to 161 votes. Then a poll was taken on Gandhi's amendment, which was carried by 148 to 133 votes. The resolution he placed before the Subjects Committee envisaged noncooperation because of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs; it did not appeal to **C. Raghavachariyar**. He told Gandhi: **"If non-cooperation was to be declared. Why should it be with reference to particular wrongs?** The absence of Swaraj was the biggest wrong that the country was laboring under; it should be against that and that non-cooperation should be directed".

Motilal Nehru also wanted the demand for Swaraj to be included in the resolution. Gandhi readily accepted it. He told the Congress that if there was a sufficient response to his program of non-cooperation, Swaraj would be obtained in one year. Another amendment Gandhi accepted was the boycott of British goods, which was included at the instance of **C. Raghavachariyar**. But Gandhi was not quite happy about it. The word "gradual" was added with regard to the boycott of schools, colleges, and law courts. This made Gandhi's resolution moderate. Gandhi moved this amended resolution in the open session with humility and yet with firmness. He said, **"I stand before you in fear of God and a sense of duty"**. The resolution said that both the Indian and the Imperial Governments had signally failed in doing justice to the Muslims of India and that the Prime Minister had deliberately broken his pledge given to them in regard to the Khilafat. Both the Governments had "grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of un-soldierly and barbarous behavior towards them". They had exonerated Sir Michael O' Dwyer who "proved himself, directly or indirectly, responsible for most of the Official crimes, and callous to the suffering of the people placed under his administration. The debates in the House of Commons and House of Lords had betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and 163 showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab. The only way " to vindicate national honor and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of

Swaraj". The Congress felt that there was no other alternative left open for the people of India except non-cooperation till all the said wrongs were righted and Swaraj was established. The following steps were suggested to achieve these objectives: **a) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation of nominated posts in local bodies; b) Refusal to attend Government levels, and official and semi-official functions held by government officials, or in their honour; c) Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges in the various provinces; d) Gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by them for the settlement of private disputes; e) Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia; f) Withdrawal by the candidates from election to the reformed councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election. g) A boycott of foreign goods.**

The response to the call for a boycott of courts by lawyers was not widespread, but it was not discouraging; some of the best-known lawyers left their lucrative practice to join the Non-cooperation movement. From U.P **Pandit Motilal Nehru, from Bengal C.R.Das and J.M. Sen Gupta, from the Punjab Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew and Pandit Ram Bhuj Datt, from Gujarat Vallabhbhai Patel, from Bombay M.R. Jayakar and L.B. Bhopatkar, and from Delhi Asaf Ali and Mohammad Taqi** suspended their legal practice in response to the call of the Indian National Congress. In all, more than 1,500 lawyers suspended their practice. Lawyers, as a class, showed sympathy for the spirit underlying the Non-cooperation movement. A number of bar associations passed resolutions condemning the repressive policy of the government. The boycott of Government and Government aided schools and Colleges were another item in the non-cooperation program. Soon after the Calcutta Session of the Congress, Gandhi and the Ali Brothers made efforts to persuade the Aligarh and Banaras University authorities to nationalize the universities, but they failed. Nevertheless, **hundreds of students came out** of them as a result of the Non-cooperation movement.

Before the Nagpur session of the Congress, students came out of their schools and colleges from the Punjab, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Sind, U.P., Madras and Bengal. The decision to non-cooperate was confirmed by the All-India College Students' Conference at Nagpur on the 28th December 1920 by an overwhelming majority. In the beginning of 1921 thousands of students joined the movement. The withdrawals from colleges and schools affiliated to the Calcutta University were **27 percent and 23 percent** respectively of their total number. The university suffered a loss of no less than **£20,000** under examination fee. The total number of Students from all over India who left their studies was about 90,000. In many provinces, schools refused their grants in aid to become free of government control. In other words, they became national schools. The movement made its impact even in England. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, the socialist leader, left her college in England and returned to India. A.K. Pillai, who was studying at the Oxford University, gave up his studies on account of the

Non-cooperation Movement. The movement attracted a large number of students who later on played an important role as freedom fighters. Some of them were: **Zakir Hussein, Lai Bahadur Shastri, T.N.Singh, B.V.Keskar, Naba Krishna Chaudhary, Jayaprakash Narayan, Ganga Saran Sinha, Hare Krishna Mehtab, Pyarelal, J.N.Sahni, Lala Jagat Narain, Lala Feroze Chand and Chandra Shekhar Azad.** The boycott of schools and colleges was accompanied by the opening of national schools and colleges.

National Universities like the National **Muslim University (Jamia Millia) at Aligarh, the Gujarat Vidyapitha, the Gauriya Vidya Ayatan in Bengal, the Kashi Vidyapitha, the Bihar Vidya Pitha and Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapitha** were opened. In these universities the system of education was national and emphasis was laid on the freedom of the country. To inculcate the spirit of patriotism among the students, histories of Ireland and Italy were taught. Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution and Mills' on Liberty also found a place in the course of one of the universities, No wonder that these Universities produced young men who became soldiers in the fight for India's Freedom. On the one hand, they produced men like Lai Bahadur Shastri and on the other, they produced violent revolutionaries like Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, and Sukhdev. Another item of the Non-cooperation program was prohibition. Gandhi was opposed to drinking because he considered it the worst evil. He wrote: "**I told to drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both.**" Besides the "immorality" of drinking, he considered it ruinous physically, intellectually and economically.

But as far as the Non-cooperation movement was concerned prohibition had two aspects. It aimed at saving the addict from the deleterious effect of drinking and depriving the Government of the revenue it received from the sale of liquor. This program appealed to the mass of Indian people, the majority of whom were teetotallers. In certain parts of the country, public opinion became so strong against drinking that even the contractors of liquor shops did not bid for licenses to run toddy and arrack shops. The Government revenue from liquor shops fell considerably. The movement was such a success that people abstained not only from liquor but also from other intoxicants like opium, ganja etc. The British Government partly in order to honor the distinguished persons in the country, but largely to have powerful supporters, conferred titles and honors on leading public men. The recipients of honors from the Government were mainly big Zamindars, Jagirdars and moneyed people who were generally drawn from the conservative section of society. In return for the honors conferred on them, they were expected to give their allegiance to the Government. In most cases, these honors were conferred on persons without any personality or sense of honor, i.e., on those expected to be over ready to toe the line of the Government. So, it was not expected that money persons would surrender their titles and honors and thereby would be ready to incur the displeasure of the Government.

But these title-holders lost their prestige in their own localities. The titles, which were symbols of respectability, became the badge of insult, ridicule, and shame. Title-holders were "**reduced to the position of untouchables**". The boycott of foreign goods was also an item in the program of the Non-cooperation movement. Gandhi was originally opposed to the boycott of foreign goods. He considered it a form of violence, totally impracticable and vindictive. In spite of the clause demanding the boycott of foreign goods being a part of the resolution, Gandhi did not propagate it. He restricted the scope of the boycott of foreign goods to that of foreign cloth, which was the principal imported item of consumers' goods. He stood for Swadeshi pure and simple. And Swadeshi to him meant an increase in the production and use of Khadi. The quantum of imports from Britain as far as the cloth was concerned was considerably sliced. Trade in foreign cloth was going down almost in every province of India. In Sind, the foreign cloth trade dwindled by 50 percent. In other parts of India like the C.P., Bihar and the city of Bombay the position was the same. The impact of the movement was so powerful that some Indian business houses had to close down.

A firm hit by the boycott campaign wrote to Gandhi: "**With the present movement of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods, we have been brought to a very critical condition. Our Manchester office has had to be closed. Our stocks are all lying unsold and we have suffered unbearable losses and are threatened with more, unless things improve, which is not likely...It is almost unbearable.** So much so that there is no way for us but to go into liquidation to relieve ourselves from the unbearable liabilities and responsibilities that we owe to our different creditors, both English and Indian. At Manchester, the cotton manufacturing firms like **Graham and Company Limited, Ros Hewlett & Company and Thomas Dining & Company Limited**, went into liquidation for **770,000, and 283,77, and 186,666 pounds** respectively. A boycott of foreign cloth cut down the import of foreign cloth into India, particularly from England. It directly encouraged hand spinning and hand weaving which was the main rural industry in India. It had died soon after the British came to India. Its disappearance had been the main cause of rural poverty in India. Gandhi was the first Indian leader to make a serious effort to popularize the use of Khadi among Indians. It killed two birds with one stone. First, it saved the money that was drained out of India on account of the import of foreign cloth; secondly, it improved employment or partial to a large number of people suffering from unemployment, and, thus they could better their lot at least a little. In spite of the fact that khadi was costlier than the imported or Indian mill made cloth, its demand increased. A large number of spinning wheels began to hum in Indian homes; looms were started, and khadi worth lakhs of rupees was produced. It seriously affected the British commercial interests in India, and, to the same degree, brought India nearer freedom.

A group of Assamese students studying at Calcutta during this time was equally stirred by the boycott call. As instructed by Chandranath Sarroa, they left Calcutta and took up organization and propaganda work in the **Darrang district of Assam**. The boycott call had equally appealed to the students of

Surma valley. In the last part of January 1921, around 22 students came out from the **Murarichand College Sylhet**. Some students of Sylhet Madrassa also gave up studies and joined the Khilafat movement. The students resolved to boycott government educational institution with immediate effect. They decided that the students would continue their studies and would appear in the examinations from a national University. On 25 January 1921 in pursuance of their demand the students, Maulavis, and others took out a procession and paraded the main streets of Sylhet. Besides the college students, eighteen School students left the government **High School at Sylhet**. The striking students had a meeting where they declared that they would never return to Government educational institutions. It was also resolved that a national school was to be opened in a private residence. After some time when the initial enthusiasm petered out most of the students joined their parent institution except a few.

According to an official report, the boycott of schools and colleges in Assam attained a certain measure of success in January but the effect rapidly was off and at most institutions, the attendance was temporarily affected. In 1921-22 enrolment in schools fell by **6.93 percent during the peak period 9 to 10 percent students** of colleges and High Schools boycotted the institution's one-third of them rejoined within three weeks. The Government allowed students to rejoin their respective parent institutions by 15 February 1921. After the expiry of the date, **38 students found** continuing the strike.

Chapter-3

Students Role in Civil Disobedience Movement:-

At the Lahore Congress in December 1929 the Indian National Congress declared its aim as complete Independence for the nation and opened the way for Gandhi to inaugurate a civil disobedience campaign to force the colonial government to acquiesce. The decision to boycott the Legislative Councils resulted in a split in the Congress. In Bombay Jarnadas Mehta who had only recently supplanted Sarojini Naidu resigned as president of the Bombay Presidency Congress Committee and was replaced by a young Parsi, K.F. Nariman. Public meetings were held in the city to explain the decision of the Lahore Congress. In the meantime, the Congress Working Committee met in Ahmedabad and in the middle of February passed a resolution which gave Gandhi and other believers in non-violence a free hand to initiate civil disobedience. Although women were not permitted to join the Dandi march to the sea, Gandhi had long emphasized the importance of women's participation in the programme for the nation and he was now joined by Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel, as well as lesser Congress leaders who urged women's participation.

During the period from the inauguration of the salt satyagraha by Gandhi on 12th March 1930 until the final withdrawal of civil disobedience in May 1934 the support and participation of women was an essential element in the character of this anti-imperialist struggle. Through organization by the female nationalist leadership, women demonstrated their support for Gandhi and the Congress at the beginning of the movement. By its tail end, the tenacity and fierce loyalty of women to Gandhi was still exhibited by individual women prepared to court arrest at a time when other leaders took recourse in excuses to avoid offering themselves for arrest. Women were there at the beginning and until the end. Their activities provide a chronicle of the civil disobedience period.

Gandhi chose to initiate the civil disobedience campaign with a march through the rural Gujarat to culminate at Dandi, on the sea with the manufacture of salt. The illegal manufacture of salt was to dramatize an easily interpreted symbol of government economic oppression and prepare the people for further struggle. As Raj Gopalachari said in Bombay, Gandhi was manufacturing disobedience, not salt.

Gandhi's march had a bigger impact in Bombay city than in the rest of the Presidency. In the city the agitational initiative was taken by members of the Bombay Youth League and the younger members of the National Volunteer Corps who went in batches to different localities in the city, addressing people at street corners and urging them to support Gandhi, use khaddar and enlist as volunteers. During the period of Gandhi's salt march which lasted twenty-four days from the twelfth of March until the fifth of April, the nationalist women of Bombay prepared themselves for civil disobedience by training as satyagraha volunteers, setting up volunteer organizations and commencing the process

of mobilization. When Gandhi declared that all were free to start mass civil disobedience from the 6th of April the women eagerly participated in the salt satyagraha. The salt satyagraha continued through April but meanwhile, women prepared to undertake the task of picketing liquor shops and foreign cloth shops. It was not until after Gandhi's arrest on May 7 that the women commenced picketing, an activity they continued sporadically for the duration of civil disobedience.

From the middle of May civil disobedience was intensified. Women played their part in satyagraha raids on salt works and in the intensification of picketing. At this stage, picketing was still a legal activity but the first women had been arrested during the course of the. During this time the government attempted to control civil disobedience. The Bombay Congress Bulletin was banned in the middle of May and the police recommended the raids on Congress House that they had started during the salt satyagraha. At the beginning of June, an Ordinance was promulgated by the Viceroy prohibiting the picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops. At the end of June, the Working Committee of the Congress was declared illegal, Motilal Nehru was arrested and Vallabhbhai Patel became the new President of the Congress. July marked a turning point in women's participation. It saw the first arrest and sentencing of women who held office on the Bombay War Council, the body of the B.P.C.C. that was directing civil disobedience, a further intensification of picketing, the first arrests but not yet sentencing of women picketers and the first mass arrest of women following a procession to celebrate Tilak's anniversary.

At the end of July, the Working Committee met in Bombay. Although a number wanted peace it was decided to stiffen the civil disobedience. The government responded with increased oppression. A new Commissioner of Police was appointed and the number of arrested increased. During August the enthusiasm for civil disobedience waned and few women picketed. At the end of August unsuccessful negotiations were conducted to resolve civil disobedience and bring Gandhi to the Round Table Conference. On October 15, following the government's inability to prevent the merchants from supporting civil disobedience by 274 keeping their shops closed, it declared the B.P.C.C. and other organizations associated with the Congress including the Rashtriya Stree Sabha illegal. However, the women continued picketing and on November 4 the police commenced the wholesale arrest of women pickets. This did not deter the women who continued to picket.

From November to January the Round Table Conference met in London to discuss the constitutional future of India. The Working Committee reiterated its rejection of such negotiations. Yet to facilitate discussion of the issues raised on the 25th of January the Viceroy announced that the ban on the Working Committee was lifted and members of the Working Committee including Gandhi were released from jail. In the second half of February Gandhi entered into negotiations with the Viceroy. During this time civil disobedience was not withdrawn and women continued sporadic salt manufacturing and picketing. On the 5th of March 1931 as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin talks the

Delhi Truce was signed and civil disobedience suspended. The Karachi Congress in March ratified the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and agreed to Congress representation at the Round Table Conference. It passed also a resolution affirming equal rights for women acknowledging their contribution to Civil Disobedience movement.

During the interregnum, the ban on Congress organizations was lifted and the women of Bombay set about reorganizing they're activated in both women's organizations and the B.P.C.C. The Congress and government continued their negotiations which turned largely on breaches of the Pact. Eventually, in August, Gandhi set out for the second Round Table Conference in London. By the end of 1931 the Congress as preparing to recommence civil disobedience. Even at the time of the Truce, it was clear that Congress had not abandoned civil disobedience. Vallabhbhai Patel had declared that the weapon should be sheathed but it should be seen to that it was not rusted. Women leaders such as Lilavati Munshi also explained to Congress adherents that even if they did not get sufficient rest during the Truce, they should be ready to join the struggle. On the last day of November, the B.P.C.C. passed a resolution declaring that through its repressive policy the government was breaking the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement. "The Committee, therefore, calls upon the citizens of Bombay to keep themselves in readiness for any political emergency in case the Working Committee is compelled to declare the truce to be at an end." Towards the end of December, it was expected that civil disobedience might be resumed by using the agrarian situation in the united province all India issue. On his return from London Gandhi stemmed the presumption by arguing that despite the promulgation of the Ordinances in the U.P. and the N.W.F.P. the truce was not officially broken, and again tried to negotiate with the Viceroy. Consequently, as advised by Gandhi the B.P.C.C. made no arrangements for demonstrations in connection with the celebration of "Independence Day" in January 1932. The government decided to take pre-emptive action. On January 4th it promulgated four new Ordinances, banned and seized the Congress offices and associated National institutions, and commenced the arrests of nationalist leaders. On the morning of January 6th, 1932, the government arrested the Bombay leaders including women. Nevertheless, civil disobedience continued and women continued to come forward to picket and be arrested and jailed.

In May 1932 the Emergency Council of the B.P.C.C. called a halt to law breaking activities until peace was restored following Hindu-Muslim rioting but in the next month, civil disobedience activities including picketing by women resumed. By June the government had succeeded in arresting even the secret leaders of the Congress campaign in Bombay but still believed it necessary to renew the Ordinances to firmly scotch rumors that it was prepared to negotiate peace terms. In September 1932 as a result of the Communal Award which gave the depressed classes separate electorates, Gandhi decided to fast. The diversion of the campaign from civil disobedience to constitutional questions provided the opportunity for many women to withdraw from civil disobedience yet participate in constructive work for untouchables. Nevertheless, although in the turn of the year the

formal organization of the Congress in Bombay was disintegrating under government repression despite unsuccessful attempts to reinvigorate the movement, satyagrahis including women still offered themselves for arrest.

In May 1933 Gandhi was released while fasting and Congress activity in the city suspended for 6 weeks. In July 1933 when the Congress leaders met the abandonment of civil disobedience was discussed but Gandhi was opposed to unconditional withdrawal. He was again deputed to negotiate with the Viceroy in consultation with the working committee and civil disobedience was further suspended. However, the Viceroy refused to negotiate, mass civil disobedience was called off, and on the 1st of August Gandhi and others were rearrested. Civil disobedience was resumed after a break of three months by people including women offering individual satyagraha. By the celebration of Independence Day in January 1934, several students were prepared to offer themselves for arrest. From the end of 1933 moves within the Congress to call off civil disobedience and substitute some new national program were made public. In May 1934 a conference was held to discuss a possible future program for Congress. In the same month, civil disobedience was formally withdrawn by a Working Committee resolution. During all this time from 1930 until 1934, the nature of students participation fluctuated with the needs of the movement yet remained crucial to its continued viability.

A conspicuous feature of the campaign in this region was the awakening of the youths and students and establishment of youth and students leagues in many parts of the province. A number of young boys participated enthusiastically in the movement and registered themselves as agitators. The work assigned to the young school going boys was chiefly picketing before the liquor shops, hoisting the national flag on school buildings, singing patriotic songs and shouting slogans. Youth is the strength of a nation. Inspired by the popular national leaders of the time and more so by their teachers, these young boys jumped into the blaze of national struggle without the fear that the blazing fire would scorch their bodies-- rather they came out of it as purer gold. In November 1929 the Central Provinces Youth Conference held at Nagpur with Subhas Chandra Bose as its President gave impetus to the youth movement. The Civil Disobedience had a special appeal to the students of schools and colleges. Soon after the summer vacation of 1930, the educational institutions became the strongholds of youth agitation.

The **C.P. Marathi War Council** issued four leaflets appealing to the students to leave their institutions and devote themselves wholeheartedly to the national movement, and to their parents and guardians to persuade them to do so. The signatories of these leaflets were **Dr.N.B.Khare, Nilkanthrao Deshmukh, and M.G.Datar**. In July 1930 the student's agitations increased in the areas most affected by the movement for freedom. The situation in Nagpur city deteriorated considerably following the return of a large number of students on the opening of the local schools and colleges. On 14th July a procession of students entered **Hislop College, Nagpur** and hoisted the

national flag on the building. This naturally provoked the provincial government, particularly because the college was a Christian Missionary institution. A warning was issued by the Education Department that if picketing and boycott were continued by students the government would be compelled to close down the educational institutions. This warning did not serve to subdue the students' spirits. Therefore, by 4th August all colleges in Nagpur including the Medical and Engineering schools and the government colleges at Amravati and Jabalpur were closed and it was not until nearly the end of the year that some of them were reopened.

The King Edward Memorial College at Amravati was closed indefinitely. The students in the hostel were asked to sign a pledge that they would not participate in the movement. They refused to do so. At Hoshangabad, when students of the Government High School hoisted the national flag on the school building, the headmaster sought the help of District Magistrate. The police arrived there and arrested Shambhu Dayal Mishra, an ex-M.L.A. and Secretary of the Congress. He was convicted for six months. The students of Bilaspur had organized themselves in a youth league popularly known as Vanar Sena, under the leadership of Vasudeo Deoras in 1928. The object of the league was to enthuse national spirit among the students and to prepare them for the national struggle.

In 1930, the Bilaspur Vanar Sena became very active. A movement had already been started there against the use of liquor and foreign cloth. Under the leadership of Diwakar Kardikar, students led an agitation against the use of Taree and looted a Taree shop, spilling the liquor on the floor. Diwakar was arrested but his arrest only enhanced his popularity as is seen in the verse his associates sang:

"Jail Gaya Hai Hamara Diwakar

Bhagat Ki Ankhon -Ka- Tara Diwarkar "

The Vanar Sena took an active interest in hosting the national flag on government and public buildings. In a Congress party meeting at Bilaspur, it was decided that the town hall building of Bilaspur would have the national flag hoisted on it. Kranti Kumar Bhartiya was chosen for this task. The procession marched towards the town hall and in spite of the police intervention the flag was hoisted. Students of the Government High School, Bilaspur actively participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement and the school was closed down. Their agitation mounted and on 4th August 1930, Diwakar, Vishwanath Pandey and a few other boys met Kranti Kumar Bhartiya and decided to hoist the national flag on the school building. The school building had the flag hoisted on it for three days which disturbed the Head-Master of the school who feared that the government wrath would fall on him and informed Mr. Collins, the Deputy Superintendent of Police of the entire happenings and requested him to help him in hauling down the flag. According to the government records the police helped the Head Master to haul down the flag. But when they returned to the police

lines, the excited crowd hit the constables and threw stones on the police lorry. About half a dozen students managed to break into the lorry and assaulted the driver and two policemen.

The above record differs from that of freedom fighter. According to Kranti Kumar Bhartiya, the flag which was hoisted on the Government School remained, therefore, three days. On the fourth day i.e. on 7th August it was hauled down and was kept at the feet of the police in the lorry-- an act which infuriated the crowd. When the lorry started Kranti jumped into it, snatched the flag from the police and jumped out. Later for this 'crime' he was arrested and was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment under section 353. Two of his associates, Kalicharan Tiwari and Ram Kishore were also arrested.

After the arrest of Kranti Kumar, Bhushan Bhaskar Singh kept the torch lightened and took a lead in hoisting the national flag in a government office, schools, and public buildings. He hoisted the flag on a school building and was sentenced to one month jail under section 447 on 22nd August. After these incidents, the younger group grew all the more enthusiastic and led the agitation with renewed vigor and zeal. At the same time, a great upheaval took place in Bilaspur. The students and youth of the town formed a "Shanti Youth League". The Town Congress Committee appealed the residents to boycott the foreign cloth and appealed the merchants to sell off all the foreign cloth which they were selling. But due to the shortage of Congress workers, no feasible progress could be achieved in this direction. Realising this the young men of the Youth League took this program in their hands. They started picketing in groups before the shops of the foreign cloth dealers. The initiated program as being successfully executed under the guidance of the President of the Youth League- Vaidya Ravindra Natha and his associates. The programs of the youth were so much impressive and so hard that the merchants had to yield before the agitation. They sealed off all the foreign cloth. This was a great victory for the youth to bring the program of the Congress to a successful end. This action of the Youth was also praised by the then Secretary of the Mahakoshal Congress Committee, Dr. D.P. Mishra, in his speeches in the various public meetings.

In School, students movement was inaugurated by Ganesh Kunjbihari Lal Khare. The students boycotted their school and a new school after the name of Gandhiji, "Gandhi National School" was started. The students also picketed the liquor and foreign cloth 17 shops. At Sagar, Raipur, Jabalpur, Betul, Chhindwara and Hoshangabad 'Vanar Sena' and 'Bal Sabhas' were formed. At Sagar, the teen girls formed a Sabha known as 'Durga Sena' which was named after Rani Durga was. On 10 November 1930 boycott of Council Day was observed. On the same day 400 volunteers, 200 female volunteers, and 500 children formed a huge Vanar Sena and picketed at various centers. The police resorted to caning at few centers and arrests were also made.

In the movement of 1930 in Central Provinces, a majority of youth had courted arrest and their number was very large. On 15 November 1930, the number of arrested persons was 2573, out of which 1014 were youth below the age of 21 years and out of this were under the age of 15 years.

The Gandhi--Irwin pact signed with the purpose of creating an atmosphere of peace and harmony received a generous interpretation to all points of the doubt by the government of 'Central provinces. So much so that in the Statement issued by Gandhiji and released for publication on 19 August 1931 no breach was alleged against the government. None the less from the outset the followers of Congress in this province laid themselves out to keep alive a war mentality, to misinterpret the generosity of government as a defeat, and to treat the settlement as a truce and not as a peace. At the Mahakoshal Conference held at Sagar on 13 June 1931 Lal Shankarlal, president, stated that the Seva Dal organization should not concern itself with the present truce. He had no faith in the truce. There was a great possibility of a fight being resumed for which it was necessary to organize. Shri Krishna Selat, Chairman of the Reception Committee said that the youth should organize the peasants and workers by establishing youth centres at every village, and an army of men should be kept ready for the future fight. The present opportunity of the truce should be utilized for preparation, and success would be theirs. At a session of the Mahakoshal Naujaven Bharat Sabha held on the same day at Sagar Mr. Mehar Ali said that the only message he could give to the audience was that of war." It is our constant prayer that the battle should again be resumed and with double force, so that the government may run away with bag and baggage. War mentality should be maintained, and therefore, you should sharpen your swords so that as soon as you unsheathe them the eyes of our enemies would be dazzled."

It was deeply felt that the students could lead the movement to a successful end, They were an enthusiastic lot who were inspired by Gandhiji and local leaders. In Nagpur, Abhyankar addressed a highly emotional meeting calling youth to make sacrifices for freedom. This appeal did not prove futile. The youth and students of Nagpur took an active part in the movement. It was essential that a large number of youth should enrol themselves as volunteers. Dr. Hardikar and Mrs .B. Chattopadhyaya visited Jabalpur where they exhorted the youth to join the coming Congress struggle. Ganpati festival was made an occasion of many students meetings addressed by well-known Congress leaders who persuaded students to do national work. Owing to the long established contact which Gandhian Congressmen had with students, the latter strongly supported the Civil Disobedience campaign. They did so also because leaders such as Abhyankar, Gole and Biyani, teachers and workers in the National schools and ashrams and lawyer leaders of the newly formed Youth Leagues urged students in 1930 to participate in the agitation.

Among the local leaders Pt. Ravi Shankar Shukla was also very popular among the middle-class students in the towns and peasant groups in the villages. It is because he had a long-standing interest

in education, had addressed student conference, and maintained an office of the Students Federation in his house in Raipur. 2 Moreover, through his younger sons also Pt. Ravi Shankar Shukla and links with the Vanar Sena. Students also 'supported him because of the influence he had over the teachers in Municipal and District Council Schools. As a result, many students mustered joined at Independence Day function, while some joined Youth League formed by Ravi Shankar Shukla or the Hindustan Seva Dal, a volunteer organization which he controlled.

In the second phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement youth of East Nimar played a very important role. Under the Unlawful Association Ordinance of 1932, the government had declared the District Congress Committee and Tarun Sangh as unlawful. As such the entire responsibility of carrying the program further came on the shoulder of the youth themselves. Under the inspiring guidance and guide 1 is of Makhanlalchaturvedi, the youth could find the right path to lead the movement. There is no doubt that youth have a .immense power and enthusiasm but they always need an inspiring leadership Makhanlal Chaturvedi was one such leader who inspired youth through his nationalistic poems. A meeting of the youth was organized at Khandwa in which Makhanlal Chatuvedi made a speech in which he said that bloodshed of the English people in Ireland only paved the way for further negotiations and opened the door in this direction.

During civil Disobedience Movement, the Punjab Mail Murder case attracted the attention of the entire country towards East Nimar. On 23 July 1931 between Khandwa and Burhanpur Railway Stations near the dense forests of Dogargaon Lt .G.R.Hect of 218 Punjab Battalion was stabbed to death while traveling in Punjab Mail. In the same compartment, his companion Lt. Shaheen was brutally beaten. Yashwant Singh Thakur, Deo Narayan Tiwari along with one companion, who were in the service of the Rail Department at Bhusaval were arrested as suspects in this case. Later, it was revealed in the inquiry that these young men were associated with Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries and were trying to collect money for the purchase of revolvers and other weapons which could be utilized by the revolutionary organizations for the cause of the national movement, Their trial was held in the Session Court at Khandwa. Yashwant Singh Thakur and Dev Narayan Tiwari were sentenced to death after the case was proved. Their third companion was punished with life imprisonment. Both, Yashwant Singh Thakur and Deo Narayan Tiwari were hanged till death in the Jabalpur prison on 11 December 1931.

This incident inspired the youth of East Nimar for them. revolutionary movements and they were filled with great pride and enthusiasm. The tale of sacrifices of the East Nimar youth spread in the nook and corner of the country. In the Legislative Council, the Central Provinces K.M.Syed Muzaffar Hussain raised this question and asked for clarification from the government. Although this case was not connected with the Civil Disobedience, Movement, it reveals the developing nationalistic feelings among the young men of the Central Provinces.

Thus, even in the second phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement students and young boys took an active part. In Raipur, Balbhadra Azad formed the Vanar Sena. The young members proudly called themselves soldiers. They led Prabhat Pheris and took out processions. They also worked as messengers, distributed literature and pasted posters on walls. Brahmanpara was their center. On 13 March 1932, a procession led by Baliram marched for Gandhi Chowk shouting slogans. When they reached the square and Baliram started his speech, the police attacked the mob and snatched the national flag from Baliram's hands and started flogging him. The police charged the crowd with lathis in order to disassemble them. In spite of this in the evening they met at the Anand Samaj Library and Baliram delivered a fiery speech. While he was speaking the Head Constable started beating him with a cane till he fell on the floor--after fifteen minutes of continuous flogging. Baliram was only eighteen years old and was arrested thrice within a short span of six months. The procession taken out by Baliram was also accompanied by Thakur Ram Kishore Singh, Hanuman Prasad Dubey, and Lakhan Lal Tiwari.

By 1932 Congress activities had been almost at a standstill. In Jabalpur a few boys continued to indulge in such pranks as pulling the communication cords of trains or attempting to hoist the Congress flag in the district office compound, thus obtaining the "martyrdom" to which they were taught to aspire. Elsewhere there was nothing reported. The picketing by a few boys of a cracker shop in Nagpur in 1932, when the offenders were let off after a short detention, appears to have been an attempt to revive the activities of the "Vanar Sena".

The unabated zeal and enthusiasm of the youth made the movement successful in the Central Provinces and Berar like the rest of India. In spite of the strict reactionary measures of the government and arrest of their local leaders the movement of the youth continued. It died down only with the calling off of the Civil Disobedience Movement but reawakened when Gandhiji made another call "Quit India".

Large number of students supported Gandhi and Indian National Congress demand and stood with them. Students from a different part of India led many violent protests, organized strikes, hartals and for the first time, big number of students were arrested in Punjab, Bengal, UP, and Bombay. This can be considered as a most active phase of student activities in the freedom struggle in India. Student's organization wings spread all over the country and reached to a greater extent. Students not only participated in freedom issues, they also participated in programs like the removal of untouchability, casteism, encourages the use of Khadi, encourages religious harmony in the nation. All the issues related to nation's welfare students participated enthusiastically. Indian National Congress became most popular and influential organization of India in 1930's. INC acted as a platform all class people of society to raise voice against British rule and demand for independence. Students were given additional importance under INC. Under the ideology of non-violence INC tried to lead student's

agitation. To follow the ideology of non-violence there was need of patience and calmness but students were mostly young and their blood was warm. Youth people easily attracted to violence and try to get immediate results and effect. This was a major hurdle for Gandhi and INC to keep students under the policy of non-violence and lead them in a peaceful way to fight against British. On the other hand, some revolutionary activists like Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru, and Sukhdev followed the ideology of violence and immediate action. So it was easy for these violent activists to attract youth generation and they got mass popularity among youths. It was INC and Gandhi's objective to prevent youth generation and students to join these violent activities. But the ideology of violence faded away in 1931, 23rd March when Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Raj Guru were executed by the British government in Lahore Jail. This incident affected Indian people emotionally and they lost faith on any other ideology except non-violence. It can be regarded as people of India that left with no other choice than following INC and Gandhiji's ideology of non-violence. It was a good opportunity for INC to spread non-violence policy and attract a mass number of people. Even the followers of violent police joined hands with INC and started working together under the same platform. Now entire country whether its student class or poor class or revolutionary people all came under Indian National Congress and represented same aims and objective through a common ideology that was non-violence. The policy of non-violence was easy to follow for any class of people and common people found it easy to follow. Thus the policy of non-violence slowly covered the entire country.

In 1936 All India Students Federation was established under guidance Indian National Congress. INC realized that was time student need a separate wing to organize and work under a separate independent wing. Now for the first time in India student had a recognized independent organization and it encouraged lots of students to participate in the freedom struggle. Later on, in 1938, All India Student Federation was split into two parts one was All India Youth Congress and another one was All India Students Federation. Where All India Youth Congress worked under the INC directly and All India Students Federation acted as an independent organization. The first All India Student Conference was held in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh in 1936. It witnessed the largest student gathering in Indian History. Students from each and every corner of India came with a huge number. Around 986 student delegates from nearly 210 local, and 11 provincial organizations from Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa attended the conference. This huge number of students from each corner of the nation showed the growth of student's activities in the country and success of Indian National Congress in the objective of bringing students in the freedom struggle. It was a milestone for INC to gain such a huge support from students. This helped Indian National Congress a lot to carry on their freedom struggle and demonstration against British in various ways.

Chapter-4

Students Role in Quit India Movement:-

Another important event which brought the participation of students in freedom struggle to another level was Quit India Movement. In 1942 Indian National Congress announced Quit India Movement and issued an ultimatum to British to leave India. In 1942 Bombay session Indian National Congress, Gandhi declared this movement and delivered his famous speech 'Do or Die'. This motivational speech of Gandhi attracted a huge number of students from different part of the country. Irrespective to any organization in this movement student directly joined the movement and supported Gandhi. When Gandhi was arrested in 1942 by the British government.

The Quit India Movement was Gandhi's last all-India Satyagraha on the Indian soil. 'Quit India', a simple but authoritative slogan was given during the Second World War. This movement is different from the preceding two movements in the sense that it was offered under unfavorable circumstances, that is, during a war when any government would arm itself with absolute powers. Under such condition, the common people of the country demonstrated a unique gallantry and faced the atrocious repression that has ever been used against a national movement. It is also very important to take an account of the timing of the movement. Though Gandhi had categorically stated that he did not want to turn Britain's difficulty into India's opportunity, still the circumstances forced him to call for a Quit India movement. Perhaps the movement can also be called as a by-product of the war situation. The alarming threats from the Eastern regions accelerated the launching of the movement. The movement was honestly multi-dimensional, all-embracing and broad-based; it cut across the blockades of caste, creed, community, religion, and sex, produced mass struggle overwhelming the entire country. The elites, the intelligentsia, the middle and lower classes, lawyers, women's, students, workers, artisans, craftsmen, and peasants, all participated in the movement.

The most significant political happening during 1935 was the passing of a new constitution for India by the British Parliament, called the Government of India Act, 1935. It was unanimously rejected by Indian public opinion and in particular by the Congress, because it was a plan not for self-government but for maintaining British rule in the new political conditions through the help of the Indian Princes as well as sectarian, reactionary and pro-British forces. The provisions of the Act of 1935 consisted of two parts, the Federal and provincial. The proposed "Federation" was a new approach in that it provided for an all-India Central Government uniting both the British India and the Indian States. The Federal Chamber was to consist of two houses, in which the Princes were to nominate two-fifths and one-third of the members respectively. Elaborate weighting governed the choice of the elected members. Seats were allocated to prescribed groups, like Muslims, Sikhs, Scheduled Castes, Women, Anglo-Indians, Labour etc. In the Upper House, only 75 out of 260 seats and in the Lower House,

only 86 out of 375 were open to general election. In the Upper House, the electorate was restricted to about 0.05% of the population of British India; in the Lower, it was about one-ninth. The powers of these legislatures were exceptionally limited. Defence and external affairs were reserved for the Viceroy; financial policy and control of bureaucracy and police were also excluded from the competence of the Assemblies. No legislation could be passed on certain prescribed topics. The Viceroy had wide unrestricted powers including the right to veto any legislation, dismiss ministers, authenticate bills after their rejection by the legislatures, dissolve the legislatures and even suspend the Constitution. The provincial part of the Act of 1935, applicable only to the eleven provinces of British India, was somewhat less ruthless. There were no appointees of the Princes. The legislatures were wholly elected, though the franchise for the Upper House was restricted. There were no reserved topics except that the secret Police was under the control of the Governor who also had full emergency powers, if he thought that the harmony of the province was endangered. The provinces thus offered some limited possibilities for popular government. Elections to the provincial legislature under the Government of India Act of 1935 occupied the attention of all political parties in 1936. An electorate of some 36 million, as compared to an electorate of 7 million in 1920, and representing 30 percent of the adult population, would elect 1,585 representatives to provincial legislatures. The Act of 1935 was the first constitutional measure introduced by the British in India, which envisaged that the parties winning a majority of seats in the legislatures would form ministers, which would function on the basis of joint and collective responsibility. Both the Congress and the League were discontented with the Act and held that it did not go distant enough to satisfy the political aspirations of Indians. Nehru had described the Act as 'a charter of bondage'. In spite of their opposition to the Act, both Congress and the League decided to contest the provincial elections, if only to make use of the election campaign to spread their respective messages to the electorate. The election manifestoes of the Congress and the League further reflected the differences in their objectives and ideas. The manifesto of the league was unclearly worded, and was characterized by an absence of commitment on any issue. It made a show of concern for the religious rights of Muslims, which it professed to protect. It asked for the repeal of all repressive laws, reduction in the cost of administration and military expenditure, and called for the social, educational and economic upliftment of the rural population. The Congress manifesto drafted by Nehru, rejected the new constitution 'in its entirety', while the Muslim League manifesto made no mention of it. The manifesto of the League also made no reference to the future political development of India. Independence was not demanded, and, it was clear that the Muslim League did not desire the separation of the British connection. The Congress manifesto reflected the growing mass support for the organization, and stressed the decisive role to be played by the masses in the 'l struggle for freedom. As the provincial elections approached, Nehru reiterated in his presidential address to the Faizpur Congress in December 1936 the struggle against imperialism, the issues of social and economic freedom, the demand for a Constituent Assembly, his hostility to the Indian States system, and the need for greater mass participation in the Congress. The

address emphasized his belief that the contest in India was 'between two forces, the Congress as representing the will to freedom of the nation, and the British Government of India and its supporters who oppose this urge and try to suppress it. Jinnah did not agree. There was a third party in India, he sharply informed Nehru, and that was the Muslims' Party, revealing a vital difference in his attitude to political questions from Nehru's. The British had the most curiosity in the electoral fortunes of the Congress, which they regarded as a test of its strength against them. Even as they predicted a Congress victory in most provinces, British officials discussed the possibility of an opposition to it, especially in view of the emphasis on independence and economic reform in its election manifesto. The elections exposed the strength of the Congress as an all India force. Out of a total of 1,585 seats, of which only 657 were open to general and not sectional competition, the Congress secured 711, a particularly striking success, since it had contested only 1,161 seats. To its regret in later years, it had run candidates in only 58 of the 482 separate Muslim Constituencies. It gained an absolute majority in five provinces - Madras the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. In Bombay it won nearly half the seats, but with the support of other nationalist groups it was able to constitute a majority. In Assam it emerged as the strongest party, securing 35 seats out of 108, and here again it was in a position, with superfluous support, to form later a coalition ministry. In the chiefly Muslim North-West Frontier Province the Congress won 19 seats out of 50, of which 15 seats were from Muslim Constituencies, and with the help of some Muslim nationalists it was successful in forming a ministry. Thus, the Congress controlled eight of eleven provinces. By contrast, the Muslim League could secure 4.8 percent of the total Muslim vote. It could not win a sizable number of seats even in the Muslim-Majority provinces. The credit for this is attributed to the election manifesto of the Congress drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru. The crucial question that confronted the Congress after the elections was whether, or not, it should accept ministerial offices. It was crucial to take a decision because the provincial part of the Act of 1935 was due to go into effect on April 1, 1937. At first the Congress refused to form ministries unless the Government made it clear that there would be no interference by the Governor or the Viceroy in the sphere of provincial autonomy. The majority party having refused office, a deadlock ensued in all the six provinces in which the Congress was in clear majority. Both the Congress Party and the British Government seemed to be worried about the situation. As the controversy proceeded, there was a slight toning down by interpretations of the original demand for assurances on behalf of the Congress. The British Government also changed its ground by slow degrees, and the deadlock was finally removed by a vague assurance given by the Viceroy who issued a statement to the effect that "the essence of provincial autonomy, as envisaged in the new Constitution was the co-operation of the Governor with his Ministers". Shortly afterwards, the Congress Ministries were formed in six provinces (Bombay, Madras, U.P, Bihar, C.P, and Orissa) and later the Congress rule was extended to Assam and North-West Frontier Province. Congress now pleaded that it was willing to invite Muslim representatives, including members of the League; to join its provincial ministries provided they became members of the Congress Party. Jinnah smartly

interpreted this as an attempt by the "Hindu Congress" to wean Muslims away from their League loyalties with the attraction of office. Further, the League under Jinnah's leadership was more interested in claiming special privileges for the Muslims than in pressing for the country's independence. Jinnah's leadership was more involved in claiming, special privileges for the Muslims than in pressing for the country's independence. Jinnah reiterated his "Fourteen Points" (a series of League demands first raised in 1929) along with some recent claims he had put forward in the press.

The participation by students in these processions and meetings was a remarkable happening in this regard. Schools and Colleges were closed and students organized mass demonstrations with patriotic zeal. As a result of these activities, numerous students suffered massively in terms of loss in their educational career. The zeal and enthusiasm shown by the industrial workers was unparalleled in the chronicles of our country. They struck work and came out of their mills and factories in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Madras, Delhi, Jamshedpur, Kanpur, Nagpur and other towns. They organized mass meetings, arranged demonstrations and educated their brethren about the fundamentals of independence. The crowds of people carried national flags and shouted national slogans in cities and towns. Their purpose was to hold these flags at several public places and government buildings. Many of them succeeded in hoisting national flags on the buildings of schools, colleges, municipal boards, district courts and government secretariats. The task indeed was risky, but the challenge the Satyagrahis posed to the British Government was full of complexities, which created difficulties for the police to control and maintain law and order. The Quit India Movement clearly reflected the frame of mind of the nation and clarified the fact that the awakening amongst them for a common cause i.e., to free India from the bondage of the British Government was a reality and its practicality was to be realized with a deep sense of patriotism tinged with mass action in all the regions of the country. It indeed was a serious challenge to the British Government, which had deep influence on the functioning of the administration. Although well-formed on the soil of India, it gave it the realization of the fact that it was, at this point of time, was somewhat difficult to ignore a great spontaneous national upsurge which was found to be uncontrolled on account of a huge mass support. This kind of mass support to a common political aim i.e. to attain independence had frightening effect on the day-to-day functioning of the machinery of the government in India and this fact was seriously realized by the Viceroy and the Home Government in England. Under these circumstances, 'The British, Moreover, were moved by the challenge to strengthen their rule, responding) with renewed determination to remove the conditions which made the rising possible'.¹⁷ The demands on both sides by the Congress and the British Government were indeed very clear. At this point of time, the leadership of the Congress showed willingness to the cause of the Allies if its demand for India's independence was approved without any kind of pre-condition. On the other hand, the global commitments of the Government had tightened its hands that it simply showed willingness to broaden its area of responsible government in India but any kind of demand for independence was to be taken

up after the war was over. These contradictory political gestures did not satisfy the aspirations of the national leaders. The courting of arrests and acceptance of convictions for a few years were the common trend amongst the Satyagrahis. They bore all kinds of repressions by police with a sense of sacrifice for the country and its people. The economic and physical losses were immense: casualties-fatal and non-fatal, defections from police and other government departments, imposition of collective fines, sufferings caused to women and children and firing from air were the glaring phenomenon during the movement. The damage to government property was immense. The government buildings, police stations, municipal schools, hospitals and private buildings were severely damaged. The cases of bomb explosions were also evident in various regions. Special courts were set up to deal with criminal cases. The Government records stated that ordinary courts convicted 23,358 persons, 313 by military courts and 41 death sentences were confirmed out of 67 persons who were sentenced to death.¹⁸ The Congress propaganda with the media of cyclostyled literature was a forceful device among the masses of India. These machines operated by small and big shopkeepers proved instrumental in circulating handbills and sheets, which came secretly in hands of numerous Satyagrahis. This kind of style was a glaring phenomenon in cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Lahore, Patna, Allahabad and elsewhere, such persons were actively hunted of houses led to the arrests and convictions of numerous inmates. Thus official efforts were made to stop all possible sources of publicity and propaganda. The nationalist press was an eyesore for the British Government. It was brought under strict government regulations. The prominent newspapers which stopped publications as a result of government's restrictions on them were the Amrita Bazaar Patrika, Hindustan Standard, Hindustan Times, Basmati, Jugantar, Matrubhoomi, Telegraph, Lokamanya, Jagrati, Daily Krishik, Bharat, Andhra Times, Dinamani, Hindustan and others. In all 69 Newspapers closed down. Devadas Gandhi, editor of the Hindustan Times was arrested for breach of the order of the government that not more than three columns be devoted to news about the national movement. The part played by the Praja Mandal in states like Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Travancore and Udaipur afforded much support to the movement. They informed the rulers to realize the fact that the time was fast changing and they must value the sentiments and political demands of the people of their states. In some smaller states, people were in total rebellion. In some states, the rulers were reluctant to adopt repressive measures against Satyagrahis but the British residents stationed in their states did not approve of their policy, and they recommended repressive measures against the Satyagrahis. As a result of this policy, there were numerous arrests, convictions, beating, flogging, firing, suspension and dismissals from services. Prominent leaders along with numerous volunteers and Satyagrahis were put behind the bars under inhuman conditions. This kind of repression, however, did not tire out their zeal and enthusiasm. They moved from village to spread the message of Congress by issuing handbills, posters and news bulletins for wider circulation in towns and villages. This mode of publicity was a counter-move to the sensor on news imposed by the order of the government. The prominent political parties like Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, the

Communists and the Akalis and the pressure groups having linkage with prices, depressed classes, Europeans in India, women organizations, the Khakasars and others reacted in accordance with the ideology of their organizations. In this regard, the Muslim League reacted at once and called a meeting of its Working Committee, which had its sessions from 16-20 August 1942. It passed along resolution condemning the action of the Indian National Congress by launching the Quit India Movement. 'The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League...deplores...the decision of the AICC to launch "open rebellion" by restoring to a mass Civil Disobedience Movement in pursuance of their establishing Congress Hindu Domination which has resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property...' The Working Committee resolution also made it clear that the League was will being to consider proposals for setting up a provisional government on the basis of equality. It asked the Muslims to keep aloof from the movement and appealed to the British Government to comply with the demand of Pakistan. The mobs of people showed their resentment by attacking police stations, post offices and all means of communications to disjoint the district authorities and wire-cutting and pulling down polls were the common features of mob ferocity. Thus for three days, the district administrative machinery was completely paralyzed. The wearers of Gandhi caps were hunted out of various places and they fell prey to indiscriminate firing. So for so, the police used excessive powers to arrest anybody found on the roadside, beat him and deprived him of his personal belongings. In some areas policemen were very much affected by the movement. They refused to open fire on the people. In such cases, British sergeants were commissioned to do the job, but they were too few to suppress the movement, which had engulfed the larger areas. The new recruits failed to cope with the situation, which had taken a serious turn. Their lathi charges, plundering and other kinds of barbarities did not prove effective to curtail the movement from its roots. The participant of students in the movement was a glaring phenomenon. They came out of their institutions both schools and colleges in a large number. The situation became worse when many of them offered themselves for arrest and convictions. The government, however, dealt with them very severely. It sought help of heads of institutions and press in sending them warning of a grave nature. The strikes, however, continued up to 1st September. A few hundreds of them were rusticated and many of them were debarred from appearing for their examination for at least one year. They however, did not lose fervour for the movement, as some of them did not prefer to go back to their institutions. Instead they remained in jails along with other political leaders for a long time. By this kind of political style, the British Government did sense the height of excitement in the hearts of the youths of India inspired by Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders. The calculated plan of the people was to bring about the maximum physical damage to the smooth functioning of the machinery of the government. To achieve this aim, mass sabotage was practiced by their intense marches from one villages to the other, coupled with the anti-British Government propaganda, removal of rails and fishplates, derailment of goods trains, raids on the police stations, destruction of railway stations, government godowns, post offices, damage to roads, bridges and even aerodromes. They thus resorted

to all such activities as were to weaken the position of the government. The retaliatory action by the police, army and bureaucracy in all the regions of India was well known in content. In the name of the maintenance of law and order, every standard of morality, civility and law was violated. The dispersal of mobs were at the point of rifle, pistol, and machine-guns. The beating and flogging to political prisoners were combined with all types of insults unheard of.

The role students in Assam was remarkable in the Quit India movement which was chalked out by the Indian National Congress to fight against the British with the aim to throw out the British Raj from India. The failure of the Cripps Mission had nipped all the hopes of the Indians in the bud and finally the AICC in its Bombay session had adopted the historic Quit India movement resolution on 8 August 1942 which said, "immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity". Gandhiji was arrested on 9 August. When the news of the arrest of Gandhiji and other top leaders of the Congress spread throughout India like wildfire, the people of India come out from their homes to fight against the British the battle with utmost determination 'Do or Die' The top leaders of APCC were also arrested on the same day of Gandhiji's arrest. Among student leaders, Gauri Shanji Bhattacharya and Rameswar Talukdar were arrested and kept in Guwahati jail and after some screening were released.

By another resolution, the working committee called upon the students of Assam to resort to an indefinite strike in the schools and colleges and join the movement under the leadership of the Congress, which strengthened the student's power in Assam in the Quit India movement.

Gradually, the students of Assam came out to the streets forgetting their ideological differences to fight the last battle of freedom movement against the British government. The students of Darrang district, along with the rest of the Province played a heroic role with unflinching and unbending determination to free their country from the foreign yoke. It was observed that the district could be regarded as the only district where several organized attacks were made to hoist national tri-colour in the government offices such as police station, Railway stations and court buildings. The hoisting of Tri-colour at Dhekiajuli and Gohpur police station by unarmed people, mostly students, with utmost determination and with following the non-violent principle of Gandhiji taking bullets into their hearts and bearing atrocities and brutality of the colonial force can be cited as tie notable example in the history of Quit-India movement. Flags were hoisted in the Behali and Sootea police stations. Golok Saikia, a fifteen-year student of Sootea High school and Golok. Ch. Dakota hoisted the Congress flag in the compound of Sootea police station at 5 A.M. in spite of the presence of armed police. It is to be noted that after the arrest of senior leaders in Darrang district, the movement was conducted by the young leaders like Jyoti Prasad Agarwalla, Gohan Ch. Goswami and others, who organised resistance movement throughout the district The Quit-India movement was intensified in all the places of Darrang district such as Kalahari, Barangabari, Gohpur, Bali, Chariali, Soothe and Jamuguri besides the town of Tezpur. Participating in the Quit-India movement actively, the leaders mostly students

organized peaceful processions and demonstrations throughout the district to avoid unnecessary clashes with the authorities but atrocities on the masses through provocation was made in different times, from different sections of people. On 9 September 1942, a procession of about two hundred people, including school boys marched through the streets of Mangaldoi town raising congress slogans and distributing a congress leaflet entitled “Nikhil Bharat Congress Committee Nirdeshawali” (Directives of the APCC). Though the congress leaders followed the principle of Gandhiji while organizing processions and picketing but they faced tremendous atrocities of the armed police of the colonial administration. At Dhekiajuli on 20 September, about 5000 people led by Kamala Kanta Das proceeded to hoist the national Tricolour in the Dhekiajuli police station were meted with the severe brutality of the armed police. This incident deserves to be written in gold in the history of Freedom movement of India. A total eight innocent and unarmed people proceeding to the Thana with Gandhiji’s non-violence mantra killed on the spot, including three women. Though it was mentioned in the government report that only 8 people had been killed in the incident but according to another source a total twenty people had died and hundreds were injured at Dhekiajuli. Similar incident was occurred at Gohpur when police opened fire on an unarmed procession at about 5000 people who tried to hoist the national flag in the Gohpur police station. Kanaklata Baruah, a sixteen-year-old girl who led the procession was gunned down. Mukunda Dakota and Hemakanta Baruah also met the same fate.

The movement touched the heart of the people of North Lakhimpur district where picketings and procession were the main tools of the Quit-India movement On August 9, a bandh was observed protesting the arrest of the leaders of the country. A fund was raised up by the students to conduct the movement.¹⁰⁷ Special examples can be cited in this regard mentioning the incident that took place on 10 September, the day on which Lakshmi Sarma, a young student, lay down in front of the school requesting the teachers and the students not to attend the school. The officer-in-charge of the local police station beat him brutally till he started bleeding from his mouth. The other students such as Tilak Dutta, Khargeswar Sarma, and Hari also met with similar atrocities for picketing in front of the court.

It is also to be noted that during the period Quit-India movement the student community of Assam played another important role in the critical situation of war volunteer corps known as Shanti-Sena. The Shanti-Sena were organized in Assam for maintaining the peace and order. The purpose of this volunteer corps was not to come into the conflict with any other authority but to render all possible services to the people They also undertook relief operation volunteers of Shanti Sena could be sent at almost all important railway station in Assam distributing food and medicine to the distress evacuees and disposing of the dead. Again defense parties were organized Shanti-Sena throughout the country and regular vigilance; were maintained throughout hundreds of villages in the province resulting in an appreciable fall in crimes in the villages Towns were linked with villages by a system of daily dak-

runners. Medicine units were organized in every nook and corner of the province and training centers were opened from May 1942, not only for physical training but also for training in first aid, spinning, and agriculture.

Though the members of the Sena were the students but they had done notable work in the districts in Assam. The Sena unit of Sibsagar by keeping a close watch on all illegal transactions of basic commodities done by the local traders and the mill-owners to create a scarcity in the local market. When a few cases were detected by the Senas and handed over to the police, it is interesting that the S P passed an order to the effect stoppage of any cart or lorry or any other loads by the Shanti Sena would be considered a violation of the govt, rules. A leading role played by Parag Chaliha, a college student, and captain of the unit of Shanti Sena who apprehended black marketeers in mustard oil. Due to the raid was done in a few godowns a large quantity of hoarded salt, sugar and cloth were seized. The commodities were later sold to the public at a fair price at the Kaliprasad Memorial Mandir. At Tezpur, Shanti-Sena, Mitru Bahini and student volunteers were organized by Biswa Sarma. In the Nagaon district, over 2000 volunteers were in a state of preparedness to answer the call of the nation. At Golaghat, Congress Seva Dal was transferred into Shanti Sena organization to organize provincial camp at Golaghat for the training of Shanti Sena units.

The organization of Shanti Sena was so disciplined that once Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who attended Sena's rally at Boko during his visit to Assam in 1941, had commented, 'It would not forget easily the sight I have seen here.'

It is worth mentioning that a group of students and youths also participated in the Quit-India movement following the path of violence and revolution were known as 'Agusteers'. The contribution of the August's was also remarkable which would be discussed in a separate sub-chapter later.

The Quit- India movement in Assam was a predominantly student's movement, joined by the middle-class men and women in the city and the peasants in the villages. By January 1943, the August movement had subsided and the students started returning to their educational institution. But some of them did not go back at all. Other students could not appear in the selection examination as they were just out of the jail. These students were also debarred from joining any government post because of their participation in the political movement.¹¹⁸ In the year 1943, not a single student of Nadar High School was allowed to appear in the matriculation examination of the University. The great student uprising in Assam left behind a galaxy of student martyrs who similarly laid down their lives for the cause of an independent India. They had tried their utmost to carry out Gandhiji's command 'Do or die'. Students of all ages ranging from little school children to the college students participated in a massive display of solidarity. The number of girls was not less and often young Assamese girls displayed more heroism, courage, and capacity for suffering and sacrifice - than students and shown by the shining example of Kanaklata Baruah. The sacrifice of all young girls in Assam proves the

truth of remark made by a sympathetic English observer who had commented, 'Give Indian women a cause to fight for and see how she responds. In December 1944, the AISF held its Annual Conference at Calcutta, in which 68 delegates from Assam headed by Charu Goswami of Jorhat, President of Jorhat A.S F., attended. At this conference also, Assam has been described as 'the stronghold of the student movement for the last 15 years. The heroic role played by the students was accepted, acknowledged even by the Prime Minister who told the House of Commons very grudgingly that it was a children's uprising. Though, the Quit-India movement was totally suspended in the first week of 1943, but the role played by the students of Assam continued till India achieved her supreme desired goal 'Independence or Swaraj' on 15 August 1947 and beyond.

The movement became violent as people reacted aggressively to this British action over on Gandhi. Especially students acted violently and led various anti-British government rally, strikes, public demonstration and indulged in various violent activities with British force in different part of the country. The whole country became angry over the decision of British to arrest Gandhi and another prominent leader of Indian National Congress. Youth people and students started cutting telephone wires, railway line, post offices, destroying banking buildings, police stations, destroying public properties, rejecting government school and colleges and forced them to close down. These actions by students paralyzed the British administration in India. British were helpless in front of such a huge violent students and youth people. Several students were arrested and imprisoned by British officers. They were also cruelly tortured in prison. But this could not de-motivate the students and they continued their violent activity. Eventually British were forced to release Gandhi unwontedly. Later on when Gandhi requested all Indians to stop violence then the situation became under control. Quite India Movement was like the climax of Indian freedom struggle and where a student played a very vital role. Without the contribution of student 'Quit India' movement would not be so success. Afterward students stood with Gandhi and INC until 1947, India got Independence. Students played very effective and vital role in the overall freedom struggle of India and without their contribution it would very difficult to get independence from British.

Chapter-5

Conclusion:-

In the history of India, student activities traced back to 19th century. During the 19th century anti-British movement gained momentum. British exploitative and suppressive policy exploited Indians very much and made the condition of Indians miserable. Various British policies like Zamindari system, Ryotwari system etc exploited Indians to greater extend and especially middle class and poor class people suffered a lot. British were ruling in India for centuries with these kinds of exploitative policy. Indian people were raising voice against British time to time but they were suppressed by use of force. But scenario changed in the 19th century when Indians started coming out from all over the under common organizations. The various organization established by a different class of the society. Importance student's participation in freedom struggle was very much essential. Because students are a learner and they had knowledge so that student can easily understand the British exploitative policies. Indian freedom struggle leaders realized the potentiality and need of Indian students in the movement. For the first time, V.D. Savarkar established Abhinav Bharat Society in 1903 A.D. a student organization in India. V.D. Savarkar himself was a student and he knew the importance of student's participation. A Huge number of students from all over the India joined Abhinav Bharat Society. The first time India witnessed a proper organization for a student under a common platform. With time freedom struggle gained more swing and participation of people from all over the country increased day by day. In 1905 for the first time, Indian students came out with large to protest against British governor Lord Curzon to divide Bengal. Partition of Bengal hurt the feelings of local people of Bengal region. A Large number of people from every class of society came out to protest against British. It was the first instance where students came out in large number in Bengal Region of British India with feelings of nationalism. The youth generation of India initially was under the Indian National Congress Party at that time. Indian National Congress realized the importance of the nation's future building. At that time Indian people were mostly illiterate but there were a few numbers of students or scholars were emerging. Leaders of Indian National Congress gave them a [platform to come out and spread awareness all over the India. Another important event which strengthens the ground of students in the Lahore session of Congress in 1907. Congress tried to make a proper students organization by dividing students into many groups. Bal Gangadhar Tilak took the initiative to guide and he is regarded as the first student leader of Indian National Congress. Although Bal Gangadhar Tilak was an extremist leader and wanted students to participate in the freedom struggle. Though extreme activities like protests, campaigns, rally etc against British India Government. After Lahore session of Congress student's presence in every major event in Indian freedom struggle can be

traced and actively participated. Students participated more dynamically as they understood the cruel and exploitative rule of British in India.

The second phase of Indian student's growth in freedom struggle can consider when Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership of Indian National Congress. Gandhi himself was very highly educated and wise person. He knew the importance of students for the future of the country. Gandhi organized students under Indian National Congress through the policy of non-Violence. Gandhi wanted next generation of India should be able to contribute to the country's growth. In 1919 famous Jallianwala Bhag incident where Gandhi organized a huge public gathering. A Large number of students came out to support Gandhi in his freedom struggle. It was the evidence of the success of Indian National Congress in the organization of students in India. Gandhi called upon all the students and scholars to reject British government institutions, schools, colleges etc. Gandhi knew that by this they can effect British government and administration and unbalanced the system. A large of number students from all over India followed Gandhi's path and left their schools, colleges, Institutions and joined Indian National Congress under the leadership of Gandhi.

A revolution in Indian student's organization came in 1920 when the first All India Students Conference was held in Nagpur under the president of Lala Lajpat Rai. He was an eminent dynamic national leader and revolutionary thinker. In this conference, students participated from all over India and represented their various problems. After this conference students also started gaining support various prominent leaders of the freedom struggle. After 1920 students organization and activists gained full swing with the rising activities of Indian National Congress. In various events which occurred between 1920 to 1930, a mass number of students participated. The motivation of Indian students to get rid of British rule, united by leaders like Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, Ambedkar etc. In non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi in 1919 students came in large number with enthusiastically and supported the movement from all over the country. Participation of students in the non-tax payment campaign launched by Gandhi in 1921 helped a lot to gain popularity among mass and spread the message of tax exploitation by the British government. Gandhi tried to aware common people of India how British government in India exploiting Indian by imposing a higher rate of tax. Mostly Indians were illiterate at that time and did not know about what British exploitative policies. Gandhi used students in this movement as a messenger to mass people it was easy to attract people by demonstrating by students or youth people. In 1923 Gandhi introduced a journal namely 'Young India' which one of the main objectives was too aware students about various national issues to all over the India. Through this journal, Gandhi wanted to create a national forum for students to put forward their views and ideas. This initiative of Gandhi was very effective because it attracted students intellectually. Through this journal, Gandhi could spread his message among a large number of mass.

The third phase of student's participation in Indian freedom struggle started from 1930. During 1930's freedom struggle gained new momentum under the strong leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose, Baba Sahib Ambedkar, Jawaharlal Nehru etc. Almost each and every people in India involved in the movement. Students also contribute a lot during this period of struggle. In 1930 Gandhi announced civil disobedience movement and requested all the people of to reject British rule. In this Lahore session of congress for the first time, Indian National Congress demanded 'Purna Swaraj' or complete independence. Large number student supported Gandhi and Indian National Congress demand and stood with them. Students from a different part of India led many violent protests, organized strikes, hartals and for the first time, big number of students were arrested in Punjab, Bengal, UP, and Bombay. This can be considered as a most active phase of student activities in the freedom struggle in India. Student's organization wings spread all over the country and reached to a greater extent. Students not only participated in freedom issues, they also participated in programs like the removal of untouchability, casteism, encourages the use of Khadi, encourages religious harmony in the nation. All the issues related to nations welfare student participated enthusiastically. Indian National Congress became most popular and influential organization of India in 1930's. INC acted as a platform all class people of society to raise voice against British rule and demand for independence. Students were given additional importance under INC. Under the ideology of non-violence INC tried to lead student's agitation. To follow the ideology of non-violence there was need of patients and calmness but students were mostly young and their blood was warm. Youth people easily attracted to violence and try to get immediate results and effect. This was a major hurdle for Gandhi and INC to keep students under the policy of non-violence and lead them in a peaceful way to fight against British. On the other hand, some revolutionary activists like Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru, and Sukhdev followed the ideology of violence and immediate action. So it was easy for these violent activists to attract youth generation and they got mass popularity among youths. It was INC and Gandhi's objective to prevent youth generation and students to join these violent activities. But the ideology of violence faded away in 1931, 23rd March when Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Raj Guru were executed by the British government in Lahore Jail. This incident affected Indian people emotionally and they lost faith on any other ideology except non-violence. It can be regarded as people of India that left with no other choice than following INC and Gandhiji's ideology of non-violence. It was a good opportunity for INC to spread non-violence policy and attract a mass number of people. Even the followers of violent policy joined hands with INC and started working together under the same platform. Now entire country whether its student class or poor class or revolutionary people all came under Indian National Congress and represented same aims and objective through a common ideology that was non-violence. The policy of non-violence was easy to follow for any class of people and common people found it easy to follow. Thus the policy of non-violence slowly covered the entire country.

In 1936 All India Students Federation was established under guidance Indian National Congress. INC realized that was time student need a separate wing to organize and work under a separate independent wing. Now for the first time in India student had a recognized independent organization and it encouraged lots of students to participate in the freedom struggle. Later on, in 1938, All India Student Federation was split into two parts one was All India Youth Congress and another one was All India Students Federation. Where All India Youth Congress worked under the INC directly and All India Students Federation acted as an independent organization. The first All India Student Conference was held in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh in 1936. It witnessed the largest student gathering in Indian History. Students from each and every corner of India came with a huge number. Around 986 student delegates from nearly 210 local, and 11 provincial organizations from Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa attended the conference. This huge number of students from each corner of the nation showed the growth of student's activities in the country and success of Indian National Congress in the objective of bringing students in the freedom struggle. It was a milestone for INC to gain such a huge support from students. This helped Indian National Congress a lot to carry on their freedom struggle and demonstration against British in various ways. Another important event which brought the participation of students in freedom struggle to another level was Quit India Movement. In 1942 Indian National Congress announced Quit India Movement and issued an ultimatum to British to leave India. In 1942 Bombay session Indian National Congress, Gandhi declared this movement and delivered his famous speech 'Do or Die'. This motivational speech of Gandhi attracted a huge number of students from different part of the country. Irrespective to any organization in this movement student directly joined the movement and supported Gandhi. When Gandhi was arrested in 1942 by the British government. The movement became violent as people reacted aggressively to this British action over on Gandhi. Especially students acted violently and led various anti-British government rally, strikes, public demonstration and indulged in various violent activities with British force in different part of the country. The whole country became angry over the decision of British to arrest Gandhi and another prominent leader of Indian National Congress. Youth people and students started cutting telephone wires, railway line, post offices, destroying banking buildings, police stations, destroying public properties, rejecting government school and colleges and forced them to close down. These actions by students paralyzed the British administration in India. British were helpless in front of such a huge violent students and youth people. Several students were arrested and imprisoned by British officers. They were also cruelly tortured in prison. But this could not de-motivate the students and they continued their violent activity. Eventually British were forced to release Gandhi unwontedly. Later on when Gandhi requested all Indians to stop violence then the situation became under control. Quit India Movement was like the climax of Indian freedom struggle and where a student played a very vital role. Without the contribution of student 'Quit India' movement would not be so success. Afterward students stood with Gandhi and INC until 1947, India

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