

CHAPTER 5

- A. THE SIMON COMMISSION**
- B. THE NEHRU REPORT**

Simon Commission

The years following the end of the Non-Cooperation Movement formed a critical phase in the history of Indian national movement, mainly due to the emergence of various parties and groupism in the Congress, and the growing spirit of Commununalism. During the this period (1924-28), the torch of nationalism was kept alive by the Gandhi's constructive works. The constructive work was a major channel of recruitment of the soldiers of freedom and their political training. These workers had to act as the steelframe of the nationalist movement during the *Satyagraha* phase. For that, *Khadi bhandar* workers, students, teachers of the national schools and colleges, and inmates of Gandhian ashrams served as the backbone of the Civil Disobedience movement. During the years 1922-27, the Swarajists and Gandhian constructive workers were quite active in the political affairs of India in their own separate ways.

Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, in his speech on july 10, 1925, deelared the transfer of authority to the *Swarajist Party*. Accordingly, Gandhiji was asked to call a meeting of the All India Congress Committee which met at patna on September 22/23, 1925.¹ At this meeting, the transfer of Congress machinery to the hands of *Swarajists* was completed. It was also decided that the Council programme, which was continued by *Swaraj Party* under the banner of Congress, be Worked by the

1. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar* Vol. 1, p. 468.

Congress through Swaraj Party². At the annual session of the Congress at Kanpur under Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in 1925, Congress recorded the Swarajist political programme on the one hand and on the other many Swarajist leaders like M.R. Jayaker, Dr. Moonje and Kelkar resigned due to split in the Swarajist ranks and liberated themselves, starting their own cult of "responsive cooperation"³

The Muslim League held its session at Aligarh in 1925 under Abdur Rahim. The latter declared that the Hindus and Muslims were "distinct peoples" who had hardly contributed towards the formation of one nation. He condemned the Hindu revivalist movements and considered Shuddhi and Sangathan as a challenge to the Muslims. The main resolution was moved by Ali Imam in which he urged upon the appointment of a Royal Commission so that the Muslims and other minorities could get their due share in India. It was opposed by Muhammad Ali, but the majority approved it.⁴ The Kanpur declaration of Pandit Motilal Nehru that if the Government failed to respond to the "national demand", the Swarajist would withdraw from the Legislature. The Government failed to perceive the Swarajist demand which led the latter to walkout from Legislatures which was criticised by the saner section as "childish behaviour" as they missed the opportunity to

2. *Indian Year Book*, 1926, p. 728.

3. *Ibid*, 1927, p. 760.

4. *Ibid*, p. 730.

serve the nation when important measures were going to be considered in the Assembly⁵. The "Responsive" cooperators, in the meanwhile, strengthened their position and secured appreciable support, and the Swarajist became a special target of attack from the people. The two school of thought met under Gandhiji and their differences were resolved by the "Sabarmati Pact"⁶. Accordingly, the Swarajist were permitted to hold the post of Ministers with sufficient powers. But the Responsivists were shocked and they broke away when the All India Congress Committee refused to ratify the Sabarmati Pact which the Responsivists called "a breach of faith" by Pandit Nehru⁷.

Meanwhile, the liberals leaders like M.A. Jinmah, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others tried to win over the support of the country by propagating constitutional agitation for securing responsible self-government. They formed a new party, the "Indian National Party" which was supported by the Responsivish.⁸

During this time, Lala Lajpatrai, a Swarajist, returned from Geneva and declared his disagreement with the view point of Pandit Nehru and his supporters, and formed another party within the Congress and named it the "Independent Congress Party".⁹

5. *Indian Year Book*, 1927, pp. 760-61.

6. *Ibid*, p. 761.

7. *Indian Year Book*, 1927, p. 761.

8. *Ibid*.

9. *Ibid*.

When the country was passing through confusion and chaos, the general elections were fast approaching. Parties and personalities had lost their position. Gandhiji was still a silent spectator. The general elections were held in which the Swarajists were ousted from where their stronghold. The communal tensions were growing fast due to the ill-feeling brought by the assassination of Swami Sardhanand, a Hindu reformer, by a Muslim.¹⁰

In this tense atmosphere the Congress held its session in Assam in 1926 at which Lala Lajpatrai and Jayakar refrained from attending the Congress. Gandhi also took little part in the deliberations which affected the relation between the Swarajists and the Responsivists. In the meeting it was decided to impart political education to the masses, popularisation of the Spinning wheel, Khaddar and the promotion of communal harmony.¹¹

The Muslim League held its session in Delhi under Sheikh Abdul Qadir who suggested a Round Table Conference between selected representations of the Congress and the League to discuss the question of adequate representation of the Muslims in Assembly, the Council and other public bodies¹² and which he to be declared it the remedy for "communal ill-feeling". The main resolution was moved by M.A. Jinnah, for the appointment of a

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 763.

Statutory Commission for the formulation of a scheme to place Indian Constitution on a sound and permanent basis with a provision for automatic progress towards establishing a full responsible government in India.¹³

But the tension between the Hindu and Muslim Communities resulted in grave riots in Calcutta and similar disturbances at many places. This increase in Communal trouble was directly related with the propaganda of political leaders in connection with General Elections.¹⁴ This communal violence continued during 1927, which was marked by violence at many places. The Viceroy in his pronouncement offered to preside over a conference if the leader of the two communities felt any good purpose could be served. Finally an agreement was arrived that the cow-killing and music before Mosques should be strictly prohibited.¹⁵

According to one of the provisions of the Reforms Act of 1919, the Parliament was to appoint a Commission after ten years to investigate and report on the functioning of the Constitution and to make recommendation for further reforms.¹⁶ The Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly, instead of reforms and appointment of Commission, passed a resolution that the British

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

15. *Ibid.*

16. B.N. Pande (ed.) *A Centenary History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, (New Delhi, 1985), p.146, (hereafter History of Congress).

Government should hold a Round Table conference of their own representatives and representatives of India to hammer out an agreed Constitution.¹⁷ The Congress Session at Madras under M.A. Ansari in 1927 appointed a Committee to prepare a draft constitution in consultation with all the parties holding different views. This Committee, under Motilal Nehru, with the consultation of different parties drafted a Constitution known as Nehru Committee Report¹⁸. In the meantime, Birkenhead announced in the Parliament for the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission or Royal Commission or Statutory Commission popularly known as the Simon Commission on November 8, 1927, with Sir John Simon as its chairman.¹⁹ This "all-white Commission" had to report about the functioning of the Constitution and recommend further reforms.²⁰ Lord Bikenhead, the Secretary of State for India, declared that no Indian was found suitable to represent India.²¹ A wave of resentment swept among the people, as no Indian was taken up as a member of the Commission. The Indian National Congress decided to boycott the Commission at every stage and in every form.²² The Indian National Congress protested against the Simon Commission on the ground that the Parliament

17. Rajendra Prasad, *At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 154.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Pande (ed.), *History of Congress*, p. 146.

20. Bipin Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, pp.260-61.

21. K.M. Munshi, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol.1, p. 24.

had no right to determine what should be the future form of Government in India.²³ Other political parties such as the Liberals, the National Party, the Independent Party the Khilafat Committee, the Hindu Mahasabha and the All India Muslim League under M.A. Jinnah joined together in denouncing the Simon Commission²⁴ But a section of the Muslim League headed by Muhammad Shafi stood for cooperating with the Simon Commission.²⁵ The tension between the Hindus and Muslims continued. It was a fact that every Hindu procession in North India, and every Muslim festival became a "head-line event", and it was with much relief that one read "... passed off quietly". The first move in this direction of communal harmony was taken by S.Srinivasa Iyengar, the President of Indian National Congress in 1927. He issued an appeal to the people of India in March, 1927 to forget their communal differences and to promote both political and communal unity. The Muslims were also eager to create a united front against the Government.²⁶ On March 20, 1927, the Muslim leaders met in a conference at Delhi presided over by Jinnah. After a prolonged discussion, the Muslims, according to the Delhi

22. *Indian Year Book*, 1929, p. 65.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Indian Quarterly Register*, 1927, Vol. II, p. 443. see also Pande (ed.), *History of Congress*, p. 146., Rajendra Prasad, *At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi*, p.155.

25. *Ibid.* Prasad, p.155.

26. Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims*, pp. 181-82.

proposals, agreed to joint electorates with reservation of seats on the condition that Sindh should be a separate province and the reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province [N.W.F.P] and Blueristan on the same footing as in other provinces²⁷. The Muslims of Bihar responded to this initiative and a special meeting was convened in Anjuman Islamia Hall, Patna, on May 8, 1927, to consider the Delhi proposal of joint electorates. On this occasion Ali Imam expressed that in order to win over the Hindu friendship joint electorates ought to be accepted.²⁸ He further explained that the communal antagonism was the by-product of separate electorates, and appealed for its acceptance.²⁹

The appointment of Simon Commission brought the rapprochement between the Hindus and Muslims. The leader of both the communities were annoyed with this Commission as no Indian was taken on the Commission. In Bihar, Ali Imam, Sachchidanand Sinha and Ismail Khan were the signatories to the manifesto issued on November 16, 1927: "... Unless a Commission on which the British and Indian statesmen are invited to sit on equal terms is setup, we cannot conscientiously take part or share in the

27. *Indian Year Book*, 1929, p. 813. See also Lady Minto, *India Morely and Minto*, p. 47.

28. *The Bihar Herald*, May 14, 1927, cited in Imam, *Role of Muslims*, p. 189.

29. *Ibid.*

work of the Commission as at present constituted".³⁰ In this connection, a poem was written by Indu Bisharad which was published in Hindi' *Punch*', Calcutta, five days before the arrival of Commission in India:

"Those who have never seen India with their own eyes,
The judgement of life rests in their hands,
They Won't pay attention to painful poverty,
And will do as they like by throttling justice.
`Indu' Urges that there is still time left to be alert,
My brethren to give clarion call to get united,
And carrying a fig for life, go on strike,
And boycott this Simon Commission".³¹

Almost all political parties declared in favour of the boycott of Simon Commission. The journals and newspapers all over India pleaded for the boycott of the Commission. The only cry of the moment was boycott. In such a situation, the Indian National Congress held its session at Madras in December, 1927, and gave a call to the nation that "the only self-respecting course for India to adopt is to boycott the Commission at every stage and in every form".³¹. M.A. Ansari convened a conference of eminent leaders of different political parties at Benaras on January 15, 1928 in which Sachachidanand Sinha from Bihar participated. This Conference" appeal to the people to observe hartal all over India

30. *Indian Quarterly Register*, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 98-99.

31. Ojha (ed.), *History of Indian National Congress*, p. 323.

32. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II, p. 5.

on February 3, the day the Simon Commission lands at Bombay".³³

When the Simon Commission landed at Bombay on February 3, 1928 it was greeeted with black flags, hartal, banners inscribed 'Simon, go back!', all its proceedings were rigidly boycotted.³⁴ The meetings and procession of protests were held all over India. The *Tribune* in its caption reported thus:"No Representation: No Commission; Sir John and Co. in Bombay; Demonstration. With Black Flags; Constables Posted at Every Few Yards," Newspapermen Assail Commissioners and Ask Major Attlee "If Labourities Are Not Traitors".³⁵

When Simon Commission renched Patna on December 12, 1928, Bihar, in response to the call of the Indian National Congress, the Simon Commission was boycotted. Most of them who participated in the demonstration against "all-white Commission" came to attend Bihar Provincial Conference held at Patna on December 9, 1928. They cried 'Go back Simon' and black flags were shown to them.³⁶ The people of Bihar, by and large, boycotted the Commission A general meeting of the Muslims was held a Patna

33. Ojha (ed.), *History of Indian National Congress*, p.326. The author has cited Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II, p.5, on this page, whether Sachchidanand Sinha participated in the Conference or not nothing has been mentioned.

34. Coupland, *The Indian Problem: 1835-1935*,(OUP, London, 1945) p.99.

35. *The Tribune*, February 9, 1928, cited in Bakshi, *Swaraj Party*, p. 152.

36. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II, pp. 6-7.

under the presidentship of Fakhruddin to discuss about the role of the Muslims towards this Commission. Some Muslims were against the boycott of Simon Commission³⁷. But Ali Imam was in favour of boycott. The Provincial Muslim League also passed a resolution to boycott the Commission.³⁸ At Ranchi, a meeting was held under the presidentship of S.K. Sahay on December 18, 1928, and a resolution was passed to boycott the Commission. But some Muslims held another meeting on December 23, and expressed their view to cooperate with the Commission.³⁹.

According to the Government report, the prominent Muslim leaders like Ali Imam and hasqan Imam were very active in organizing boycott of the Commission when it visited Patna.⁴⁰ On the arrival of Simon Commission in Bihar, it has been reported, in many districts, such as Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Muzaffarpur and Hajipur, *hartal* was completely successful.⁴¹ But in Bhagalpur, the report was completely adverse as Maulvi Rafiuddin Rizvi, a signatory on the printed appeal made for *hartal*, pointed out that he would not support *hartal*.⁴² The District Muslim

37. Chaubey, *Muslims and Freedom Movement*, p.192.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II, pp. 7-8.

40. B.B. Mishra (ed.), *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, 1917-18*, p. 565.

41. *Pol. Deptt. SpI. Section File No. 27(1928).*

42. *Ibid.*

League, in its meeting held on February 1, 1928, also decided to cooperate with the Royal Commission.⁴³ Not only the Muslims who were in favour of the Royal Commission but the Hindus, too. A small meeting was held at the house of Dalip Narayan Singh in connection with the Commission and on February 3, 1928, a large Sankritan Party was sent to Munger town by Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh, shouting "Royal Commission ki jai",⁴⁴ etc. Srikrishna Prasad, the Vice-Chairman of the Municipality, signed a notice as President of the Hindu Sabha calling for a hartal, but, on the other hand he gave a secret instruction to Municipal employees not to observe hartal He deputed his sanitary inspector to assist Shah Muhammad Yahya to prevent hartal.⁴⁵

Another meeting of the Congress Committee was held at Durga Asthan, Monghyr [Munger] on November 7, 1928, to decide the line of action on the arrival of the Simon Commission at Patna where Nehru Committee Report was also discussed.⁴⁶ The meeting was presided over by Tajeshwar Prasad and Mangal Deo of Meerut, Nand Kumar of Kharagpur Sri Krishna Singh, M.L.C. addressed the meeting. Sri Krishna Singh proposed to boycott the British goods and suggested that atleast 50 thousand "black flaggers" should

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. Extract from the Confidential Diary of the S.P. Monghyr, November 9, 1928, Memo No.6866, S.B., Pol. Dept. Spi. Section File. No.230(1928).

receive the Simmission. Simon Commission.⁴⁷

While the Simon Commission was boycotted all over India, a particular group in Bihar was in favour of the Commission. It was the Kayastha Sabha, which submitted a memorandum to the Commission on behalf of the Kayastha Sabha and of the people of Ranchi in which they welcomed the Commission in the following words: "My cordial, loyal and hearty welcome to the Statutory Commission".⁴⁸

In the memorandum, the Sabha had pointed out the following facts: The Chota-Nagpur Plateau Consists of Ranchi, Palamau, hazaribagh, Monbhumi and Singhbhum in Chota-Nagpur Division. Santhal Parganas in Bhagalpur Division, Angul and Sambalpur in Orissa Division. Besides Seraikela and Kharsawan feditary status of Chota-Nagpur, there were twenty-four other feditary states known as Orissa fundatories states.⁴⁹

The inhabitants of this area was devided into two categories: (i) Aborigines such as the Bihor, the kormas, karmali, Juang, Lodh, Mahali, or Puri, Banwar, Bhumij, Chero, Ghatwar, Ho, Santhal, Kherwar, Munda, and the Uraon, etc., and (ii) Semi-aboriginal tribes like the Bauri, Bhogta, Dhanua, Dhekaru, Ghansi, Gulgulia, Jhora, Kela, Khandait, Kurmi, Barai,

47. *Ibid.*

48. See Memorandum to the Simon Commission from Kayastha Sabha Lower Bazar, Ranchi, December, 1928. Pol. Deptt. Spi. Section File No. 230(1928).

49. *Ibid.*

or Lohra, and so on.⁵⁰

The Commission was informed that these tribes were facing a great trouble as their population was decreasing day by due to the deforestation of the country and consequently decrease in the supply of forest product, and also by the oppression of Zamindars.⁵¹ It was also informed that in this political atmosphere some "irresponsible men" were trying to "pollute their innocent minds".⁵²

Finally, the Kayastha Sabha pleaded that the Kayasthas of Ranchi had ever been loyal to the Government and show remain loyal in future, to. In their opinion, the Swaraj for India was "a reign of loot and dissatisfaction, danger and anxiety".⁵³

Like the Hindus, the Muslims were also devided into two groups. One group of Muslims such as Hasan Imam, Ali Imam, Mazharul Haq and others were attached to the national mainstream, while other groups of Muslims were supporting their own cause. They were Fakhruddin, Abdul Rahim, Syed Mabark Ali, Md. Wasi, Muhammad Yunus, Najmul Hoda and Ali Hussain.⁵⁴ Fakhruddin was busy with the work of presenting a memorandum on behalf of the

50. *Ibid.*

51.. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. Extract from the report of special Branch Sub-Inspector, May 7, Pol. Spl. Dept. File No. 78(1928).

Muslims of Bihar to the Simon Commission. He appointed Abdul Rahim, the ex-development officer, cooperative Department Bihar and Orissa, to collect materials and draft out the proposals and grievances of the Muslims. Ali Hussain assisted him in this respect. The draft was presented before the "Muslim Association"⁵⁵ and discussed⁵⁶. The majority of the Muslims were not in favour of any reform unless the rights of the minorities were duly protected. In their opinion, the reforms without any special provision for the minorities meant "a pure and simple Hindu Raj" which would be a "death warrant for the minorities".⁵⁷

The leading landowners of India such as Raja Bahadur Harihar Prasad of Amawan, Sir Sultan, Syed Akbar Ali Khan and others founded an organization named "All India Country League" with the following aims and objectives:

- " 1. The progressive realisation of responsible Government in India.
- 2. The establishment of second chamber in the provinces.
- 3. The establishment of some single form of Government in the province.
- 4. Communal representation.
- 5. Increased representation for commercial, lander, agricultural, ex-military and labour interests and the diffrent classes.
- 6. The support of suitable candidates for election to the variou legislatures.

55. The Muslim Association, B & O, seems to be a new formation to look after the interest of Minorities in general and Muslim in particular

56. Pol. Spl. Dept., File No. 78(1928).

57. *Ibid.*

7. The supporting in power of administration, sympathetic to commercial developments agricultural prosperity.
8. Adequate safeguard for minorities.
9. The Formation of the All India Organisation to take effective political action on behalf of the stable elements of the country.
10. The stimulation and coordination of existing organisations which may lend themselves to the objects in view.
11. The expression of opinion by the League on the more important public question that arise from time to time.
12. And in particular, the formulation of the views of the members of the League for submission to the Statutory Commission".⁵⁸

According to the provision of the Constitution of the All India country League, its branches were opened in many provinces. In Bihar, the Provincial League was established with 12 members of whom 2 were Europeans. They were the founders and permanent members of the All India Controlling Council. The main objectives of this League were to put their legitimate interest before the Simon Commission and to seek a proper share in the government according to their proportion.⁵⁹ The other purpose of this League was to demand "progressive realisation of responsible Government and to press for all responsibility in the provinces and ... adequate protection of minorities".⁶⁰

Ali Hasan Khan, the joint-Secretary of the Muslim Association presented a memorandum to the Simon Commission on May

58. Extract from report of the special Branch Officer patna, 27 May 1928. Memo No. 3199 S.B, Pol. Dept. Spi. Section File No. 78(1928).

59. *Ibid.*

^{*} 60. *Ibid.*

27, 1928 in which he demanded a "Responsible Government for India on the lines of British Constitution".⁶¹ In this memorandum, many evidences related to the position of the untouchables, backward classes and women were discussed properly. Babu Rama charan addressed the Aborigines conference at Allahbad on February 3, 1928, in which he narrated the conflict between Aryas and Dasas during the Rigvedic time. In his opinion, the depressed and backward classes should get separate representation in the provincial and Indian Legislature.⁶²

A Hindu lady, while describing the position of women in Indian society in the *Englishman* writes thus: "The natural rights and claims of women have been totally denied in Hindu religion and law... Swaraj cannot be attained without giving the Hindu woman her rights".⁶³ The cow sacrifice, music before the Mosque, and Shuddhi had been a constant source of tension between the Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims in their defence, on the cow question, cited the statement of Bipin Chandra Pal, a reputed Hindu journalist who wrote in the *Englishman*, on May 6, 1927: "Thousands of Cattle are slaughtered everyday in every Indian Province but this does not offend the religious susceptibility of the Hindu agitator. Beef is exposed for sale in every town all

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*

over India... The Hindus in their outgoing and incoming throughout the day have to pass by these beef stalls. But it does not offend religious susceptibilities... In many places there are Hindu shops opposite to or in the immediate proximity of these beef stalls and this does not wound their dharma. i.e., religion".⁶⁴ Pal in support of his argument quoted the Rigveda in which "the horse-sacrifice and cow-sacrifice" has been mentioned. Accordingly to be In Hindu Laws, there are undeniable evidence of the use of beef by the holiest of holy Brahmins. It is distinctly enjoined that fresh beef must be offered to the king whenever he visited any of the subjects.⁶⁵

The Muslims in their representation demanded that the position of India should be raised to the status of "self-Governing Dominion", and requested the British Government to constitute Indian legislatures, local, Provincial and Imperial, in such a way that the Muslims and the Hindus should be equally represented.⁶⁶ In this connection Sir C.V. Kumarswami Sastri, a judge of the Madras High Court says: "The communal electoral system is the greatest political blunder which inevitably leads to communal tension. There is no insuperable difficulties in working the system of joint electorate in practice, for supposing there were four seats in a body these should be distributed in

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

the proportion of two seats for Hindus and two seats for Mohammadans".⁶⁷

They further demanded that Dyarchy must be scrapped and a panel system for electing executive councillors from among elected members be introduced. And for proper and sound functioning of the Constitution, party system must not be communal but of national outlook. The main problem in this connection was the Hindu-Muslim differences. Another question was of the Untouchables and Europeans. But the most important question was related to Indian economy in which a costly system of Government was not possible.

They were in favour of "a uniform system of representation" in all provinces, and suggested that the Commission should disregard all proposals and should workup a new scheme which may suit the Indians.⁷⁰ The Muslim demanded that they should be equally represented in all public services, education, legislatures, etc. According to Gandhi, "Mussalmans are equal to Hindus in administrative abilities. Therefore, it seems to me that Muslim demands are not very extravagant".⁷¹

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Ibid.*

Motilal Nehru in his presidential address at the Calcutta Congress in 1928, was much critical of the Simon Commission. He said "... It is portent of evil, but not without the good which comes out of all evil. It has shown us the fine courage of our men". The same Congress passed a resolution in connection with *hartal* which was to be observed by Indians against the Commission. The Working Committee of the Congress congratulated the Indians as a whole on successful *hartal* and demonstrations against the Commission on its arrival in India. Besides, it condemned the action of the government as, a vindictive. The government, at several places, pressurized the people not to observe *hartal*. It also condemned the orders of the Madras Government prohibiting meetings, demonstrations, processions and propaganda for *hartal* issued under Section 144 CPC, which were served to the members of the boycott and propaganda Committee, as arbitrary and unwarrented.

The report of the Commission, published in June, 1930 confirmed the doubts of the nationalists. The Commission deliberately omitted the word "Dominion Status" as the distant goal of India's political and constitutional progress. The Commission made no recommendation for the transfer of power. The Commission, instead of rejecting the vicious principle of separate electorates, offered an additional "communal intransigence".⁷²

72. See Bakshi, *Swaraj Party*, pp. 154-5.

Nehru Report

With the announcement of the appointment of the Statutory Commission in November 1927, the movement for the future Constitutional set-up gained momentum. In this year Congress held its session at Madras (December, 1927). Presiding over the Congress session M.A.Anvari urged upon the delegates the need for a Constitution as the constitutional framework for All India had been a vital matter which had exercised the mind of national leaders. It was debated for long and the time had come for its formulation and fruition. It must give due consideration to religious, ethnic linguistic and regional minorities.¹ At this session the All India Congress Committee (AICC), authorized the working Committee to draft a *Swaraj* Constitution for India with the consultation of other political organisation of the Country.²

The Committee in consultation with various leaders in the country and after a continuous hard work for two to three months, produced a document which, however, instead of being an all party report the controversies arose regarding the future of India. According to the decision of the Congress, more than 24 political organization and groups were invited at the All Parties Conference in Delhi.³

1. A.M.Zaidi (ed),*The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, vol.IX, (New Delhi, 1979),PP.222-63.

2. *The Indian year Book*, 1929,P.815.

3. Ibid.

On February 12 ,1928 to discuss the prepared report.⁴ This Conference was attended by M.M. Malaviya, Lajpat Rai, Mohammed Ali, M.A.Anvari, M.A. Jinnah, T.B. Sapru, Hasrat Mohani , B.S. Moonje, H.N. Kunzru and the Raja of Mahmudabad. The Conference once again met in Delhi on March 8,1928 to Consider the All Parties Conferences resolution but the Muslim League disapproved it as it have been placed should be pressed before the representatives of various organizations to accept the proposals ⁵ In the words of all parties report itself:"There were two formidable difficulties in the way of complete or even substantial unanimity. The first arose from the difference in the general outlook of the Congress and that of the other organizations, the former having at its last [Madras] Session adopted a resolution declaring independence as its goal and the latter aiming at Dominion Status ; the second arose from the widely differing angles of vision from which the various Communal organizations viewed their political rights"⁶. The Controversies On the all parties report started with the discussion of the Communal issues and it was found that the representatives of Muslim league and the Hindu Mahasabha had difference of opinion on the reservation of seats and the separation of Sindh.

4. *Ibid.* See also, Bakshi, Swaraj Party, 8.162. Shan Muhammad, *The Indian Muslims. A Documentary Records. 1900-1947*, vol.9, (Meerut, 1988), p.31.

5. Pande (ed.), *History of Congress*, vol.II.,P.421. Shan Muhammad, *Indian Muslims*, vol.9, pp.31-32.

6. *The Indian Year Book*, 1929, p.815.

The predicament of the nationalists can be better adjudged from the Correspondence between Motilal Nehru and Gandhi in which Motilal Nehru wrote to Gandhi: "It does not matter to me whether or not the All Parties Conference is a success though I have taken all possible steps to have as representative a meeting as is possible If the working Committee arrives at some decision we shall have something substantial to work upon and will not mind very much whether the All Parties Conference is a success or not."⁷ Gandhi was not directly interested in All Parties Conference but at the request of Motilal Nehru he went to Bombay where a Committee was formed.⁸

Once again the All-Parties Conference met at Bombay on May 19. 1928, and appointed a Committee with Motilal Nehru as its Chairman, and other nine members were: Ali Imam and Shuaib Qureshi were to represent Muslim point of view; M.S. Aney and M.R. Jayakar, the Hindu Mahasabha; G.R. Pardhan to represent the Non-Brahmin view Point; Tej Bahadur Sapru, represented the liberal: Sardar Manghal singh represented the Sikh League, N.M. Joshi represented the interest of labours.⁹ But most of the members of the Committee did not show their deep interest. M.R. Jayakar resigned from the membership of the Committee and Ali Imam

7. Pande, (ed.), History of Congress , P.422.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, See also Bakshi, *Zwarij Party*.163.

did not attend the meetings except one due to his ill - health . It was Shuaib Qureshi, who presented Muslims' viewpoint in the Committee. Motilal Nehru called another informal Conference of the eminent leaders for consultation. They were Dr.M.A. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shafi Daudi, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Sachchidanand Sinha and Dr. Syed Mahmud .¹⁰

The Nehru Committee report recommended Dominion as the form of government desired by Indians and demanded its immediate introduction following the abolition of India Office and transfer of powers from British to Indian hands.¹¹ The Committee did not approve of the Separate electorate but it recommended that the election should be held according to the joint or mixed electorate. Seats were reserved for the Muslims at the Centre and in provinces where they were in Minority¹².

The next meeting of All Parties Conference held at Lucknow on August 28-31, 1928, under M.A. Ansari¹³. Motilal Nehru presented the Committee Report which determined the principle of future Constitution . The report suggested joint electorate all over India and rejected separate electorate¹⁴. The Report also

10. *The Indian Quarterly Register* , 1928, Vol. PP.9-16.

11. *The Indian Year Book* , 1929, P.815.

12. Datta , *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol.11, PP.8-9.

13. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1928, Vol.1, PP.9-16.

14. *The Indian Year Book* , 1929, P.815.

recommended universal adult suffrage, equal rights for women, Freedom to form unions , and dissociation of state from religion¹⁵. This Conference accepted Nehru Report with certain amendments. Jinnah suggested six amendments¹⁶ at the All Party Convention in Allahabad. But the leaders of Hindu Mahasabha opposed the amendment and warned the Congress if Jinnah's demands were conceded the Report would be torn to pieces¹⁷. The Sikhs' were also not satisfied with the Report as their demand for 30 percent reservation of seats in the Punjab for Sikhs' were not being accepted¹⁸. Apart from Muslims and Sikhs, a large section of the Congressmen expressed their dissatisfaction over the report which recommended the acceptance of Dominion status in substitution of Independence. They were Jawahar Lal Nehru, Subas Chandra Bose and Srinivasa Iyenger who stood against the Nehru Report on the ground that the Committee went back to Madras Congress resolution¹⁹. These leaders who stood for complete independence formed the "Independent of India league"²⁰. The first meeting of the Independent league was held at Delhi on

15. Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, P.263.

16. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, Vol.i, PP.121-22.

17. ...Imam, *Role of Muslims*. P.188.

18. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, Vol 1, P.122.

19. *The Indian Year Book*, 1929, p.815.

20. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, vol. I, 1928 p.102. see also November 3., 1928. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, vol. II, p.9.

Where a Central Council of 20 members was formed to help the organization of its works in the respective province - Maulana Abdul Bari from Bihar became its member ²¹. The Independence of India Leaguers decided not to participate in the framing of the constitution and proposed the Congress to consider proper and necessary steps in favour of complete independence²². They were keenly interested in the settlement of the communal problem and agreed with the point of view which was recommended by Nehru Committee report and of the All Parties Conference at Lucknow.²³.

The All Parties Convention met at Calcutta on December 22, 1928, a few days before the Congress session. The convention adopted the proposal of the Nehru Committee report as amended by the All Parties constitution committee : "India shall have the same constitutional status in the community of the nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of Newzealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish free state with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good Government of India and an Executive responsible to that parliament, and shall be styled and known as the commonwealth of India"²⁴.

21. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II, p.9.

22. The *Indian Quarterly Register*, vol. I, p.103.

23. *Ibid.*

24. The *Indian Quarterly Register*, vol. I., p.101, See also The Indian Year Book, 1929, p.815.

convention agreed that the future Parliament of India should be free , and full responsible government in Indian states was necessary before they could be assigned a place in free Federal India²⁵.

The Convention , however, failed to find a solution acceptable to all for the Communal question. The matter was referred back to the Committee but nothing was done in this connection²⁶. The question again came up before the open session of the convention . Jinnah on behalf of the Muslim community agreed to accept joint electorate and adult franchise provided one third seats in the central Legislature be reserved for Muslims, and residuary power should be vested in the provincial Governments.²⁷ The convention did not agree on these two demands. Like Muslims, Sikhs were also disappointed with the Nehru Report.²⁸

Finally the convention resolved : "except one points on which notes of dissent have been recorded at the instance of some parties present, the Nehru Report marks general agreement on the basis of a solution of the communal problems", and the convention adjourned *Sine die* to meet when necessary to complete its works.²⁹

25. *The Indian Year Book*, 1929, p.816.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

The dispute of Dominion status versus Complete Independence arose among the Congress itself. The Independence of India League led by Jawahar lal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and Srinivasa Iyengar denounced the report and started a campaign for complete Independence as an objective of the Congress³⁰ Mahatma Gandhi intervened in the matter and a compromise was made between father and son at the Calcutta Congress. on December 29,1928 on the ground : if within one year the British did not grant dominion status to India the Congress would launch civil disobedience to get complete independence³¹. Pandit Motilal Nehru in his presidential address at Calcutta declared : "I am for complete independence as complete as it can be - I am not against full Dominion status - as full as any dominion status possesses today provided I get it before it loses all attraction,I am for severance of British connection as it subsists with us today, but I am not against it as it exists with the Dominions"³² He pleaded for united action to get their demand fulfilled and said: "Our destination is freedom , the form and extent of which will depend upon the time when, and the circumstances under which, it comes".³³ To achieve this end meant was to adopt Nehru Committee Report and urged that religion should be separated

30. Pande (ed.) *History of Congress* Vol. II, p.424.

31. *Ibid*, see also Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, vol.II, p.9.

32. *The Indian Year Book*, 1928, p.816.

33. *Ibid*.

with the Politics and appealed for social reorganisation, removal of untouchability, and the emancipation of women.³⁴

The division of Congress on the issues of Dominion status versus complete independence provided an opportunity for Gandhi's re-entry in the active politics and he got a chance to revive his pet theory of non-violent non-Cooperation. He effectively exploited this opportunity and was prepared to accept the Nehru Constitution on the condition that the Congress would be free to revive non-cooperation if Dominion status were not granted.

In the Calcutta Congress held in December 29, 1928, under the Presidentship of Motilal Nehru, Gandhi moved the following 'Compromise' resolution regarding the Nehru Report.

"This Congress, having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties committee Report, Welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's Political and communal problems, and congratulates the committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendation, whilst adhering to the resolution relating to independence passed at the Madras Congress approves of the constitution drawn up by committee as a great step in Political advance, especially as it represents the largest measures of agreement attained among the important Parties in the Country.

34. *Ibid.*

"Subject to the exigencies of the political situation, this Congress will adopt the constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before December 31, 1929, but the event of its non-Congress will organise a Campaign of non-violent non-cooperation by advising the Country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon"³⁵

Gandhi's re-entry into politics was signalized by a resolution which asked the Indians to start Civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes as a protest against the revised land assessment. It was also resolved to boycott foreign cloth, use khaddar, remove untouchability etc.³⁶

The Muslims in general were not satisfied with the Nehru committee recommendation and they exhibited a great resentment over the Report Maulana Shaukat Ali denounced the Nehru Report while Presiding over the U.P Muslim All Parties conference and argued the purpose of the Report was to placate the Hindu Mahasabha. But Murtaza Hussain Abidi, a prominent leader of U.P supported the Nehru Report.³⁷ In Bihar Shafi Daudi denounced the Nehru committee recommendation as quite unacceptable to the Muslims of Bihar.³⁸ The Muslim leaders expressed their views

35. See the Proceedings of Calentta Congress, 1928 see also Bakhshi, *Swaraj Party*, pp.174-5, Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar Vol. II*, pp. 10-11.

36. The Indian Year Book, 1929, p.317.

37. Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims, pp.206-7.

38. Imam, Role of Muslims, p.128.

against the Nehru Report , even Mazharul Haq , in spite of the efforts of Abul kalam Azad, was not convince with the Report and was living in isolation from Politics.³⁹ There was a great resentment against the Report at Patna . Md. Sajjad wrote in *Al - Hubashir* that the report did not solve any problem and enslaved the Muslim instead of leading a free India.⁴⁰ In this connection a Meeting of the Muslims was called at Patna on October 8, 1928 to protest against the report. Shafi Daudi Vehemently criticised Motilal Nehru and his Report . Abdul Bari and Saqi condemned Ali Imam as he had conducted the Meetings of Nehru Committee. Finally it was decided to call for All Parties Muslim Conference in December to ascertain the Muslims opinion in Bihar and Orissa.⁴¹

The Nehru Report controversy divided the Muslim opinion in Bihar .One group led by Ali Imam and Dr.Syed Mahmud favoured the Nehru Report while the other group led by shafi Daudi and Fakhruddin totally rejected the Report.⁴² Consequently All Parties Muslim conference was held at Patna on December 9,1928, to discuss the validity of the Report and its far reaching effects on Muslims . This conference was presided over by

39. Ahmad and Jha, *Mazharul Haque*, p.84.

40. *Al-Hubashir*, October 8,1928, cited in *Imam,Role of Muslims*,p.189.

41. *Imam, Role of Muslims*, p.189.

42. *Ibid.*

Muhammed Ali. A large number of delegates gathered from all over the Province, among there were: Dr.Mahmud , shah Zubair, Khan Bahadur Ismail Safi Daudi and Azad Subhani.⁴³

Presiding over the meeting Muhammad Ali Said "Whether the Nehru Report was good or bad, he would not consent to be under British dominion- ... He wanted India to be ruled by Indians. He would not accept British,Hindu of Muslim Raj... He declared that in matters on which there was any Commandment of God, he was a Muslim first and a Muslim last , and nothing but a Muslim; but in matters relating to the good of India, he was an Indian first and an Indian last , and nothing but an Indian."⁴⁴ He defined the Nehru Report in a nutshell as the rule of Hindu Mahasabha, and the acceptance of Dominion status means the denial of Muslim's rights . In this condition they were not ready to accept that Report and no compromise was possible unless the Muslims should be given due share.⁴⁵ Consequently the matter was resolved with the efforts of the eminent Muslim leaders of Bihar and they suggested amendments to the Nehru Report which was acceptable to the Muslims of Bihar and Orissa.⁴⁶

on Nehru Committee Report . A series of Provincial conferences held all over India but nothing positive was decided . Finally -----

43. The Indian Quarterly Register, Vol. II, 1928, p.426.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. See Imam, *Role of Muslims*, pp.189-90.

it led to the All Parties Muslim conference at Delhi on December 31, 1928. Now a great controversy arose among the Muslims of India. The conference was attended by almost all prominent Muslims of India. Muhammad Ali stood for complete Independence and for the boycott of the Commission; While Muhammed Shafi favoured the cooperation of the Commission in the framing of the Constitution within the Empire.⁴⁷ But due to the efforts of Agha Khan, the President of the Muslim League. A compromise was made and both Dominion status and Independence was omitted from the resolution and "a federal constitution" was demanded,⁴⁸ and did not rule out a joint electorate. The conference demanded that the Muslims should be given adequate share in all services.⁴⁹

The Muslims Political activities in Bihar in the year 1929 was moving around Nehru Report. It kept the Muslims and the Hindus on the two different poles. No sincere attempt was made by any national leaders which could satisfy the Muslims, so was the case with Motilal Nehru and his colleagues.⁵⁰ They refused to accept the amendment moved by M.A. Jinnah. Even the appeal of Ali Brothers, Shafi Daudi, Hasrat Mohani, and Azad Subhani the staunch Muslim Congressman was disillusioned. Consequently they

47. The Indian Year Book, 1929, p.819.

48. Ibid.

49. The Indian Quarterly Register, vol. II, 1928, pp.512-14; Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims, p.210.

50. Santimoy Roy, Role of Indian Muslims in the Freedom Movement, p.20.

issued a manifesto and appealed the Muslims to disobey the Congress.⁵¹ A meeting was held in Patna in January, 1929, at which Abdur Rauf Criticized the Congress policies and stressed the need of Muslim unity and solidarity. While Mohd. Sher openly demanded for a provision, to safeguard the Muslims interest, in the constitution. Similar meeting was held at Bankipur where the Manifesto of their leaders was accepted and they rejected the Nehru Report. Shafi Daudi formed a new Provincial Muslim conference in opposition to Nehru Report.⁵² In defiance of the Report, the Muslims had shown their sharp reaction and many leaders gathered round the Muslim League. The All India Muslim League met at Delhi on March 3, 1929 under Jinnah. Many prominent Muslim such as Shafi, Shah Md. Zubair, and Abdul Aziz, Leaders were present in this meeting. Jinnah stressed the need of communal harmony but rejected the Nehru Report and put up his "Fourteen Pints"^{52A} programme in which he had specified the basic principles according to which Muslims of India would accept the future constitution. The fourteen points of Jinnah was more or less, were retained in all the resolutions which were accepted by the All India Muslim conference at Delhi in January, 1929.⁵³

51. Uma Kaura, *Muslims and Indian Nationalism*, pp.47-49.

52. Imam, *Role of Muslims*, p.191.

52A. See S.Gopal(ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol.3, (Delhi, 1976), pp.232-41.

53. The Indian Quarterly Register, vol. I, 1929, pp.363-67.

In Bihar some Muslim leaders showed favourable attitude towards Jinnah's fourteen points. But the majority of Muslims under Syed Ali Imam and Dr. Mahmud worked hard to counter Jinnah's programme and extended their full support towards Congress activities in this province. A large number of Muslims from Bihar went to Delhi to attend Muslim Conference to solve the communal problems. Later on they attended a conference at Allahabad under Maulana Azad to organize nationalist force under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress.⁵⁴

In pursuance of Calcutta Congress resolution, the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee asked the District Congress Committee to enlist Congress Members. As a result Bihar was able to enroll about 80,000 members. By the end of 1929 there were 90,525 Congress in the province.⁵⁵ Bihar had its own *Hindustani Seva Dal* which was attached with the Congress. The members were trained at the Sadaqat Ashram, Patna and many other place in Bihar. Bihar also observed the boycott of foreign cloths on the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi. This boycott of foreign cloths pushed up the production and sale of Khaddar in the Province.⁵⁶

In support of the Congress activities Bihar Congress organized the "Swaraj celebration" and "Nehru Report Day" at many places in Bihar such as Patna, Bhagalpur, Gaya, Munger,

54. *Ibid*, vol. II, p.350.

55. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, vol. II, p.11.

56. Imam, *Role of Muslims*, p.192. See also Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, vol. II, pp.11-12.

Muzaffarpur, Saran and Champaran. At these places meetings were held, Swaraj Flags were hoisted.⁵⁷ The All India Congress committee met at Allahabad on July 26, 1929, under the Presidentship of Motilal Nehru. Sachchidanand Sinha also attended the meeting. Mahatma Gandhi moved a resolution on 27th July on complete withdrawal of Swarajists from central and Provincial legislatures to prepare the country for non-violent non-cooperation after December 31, 1929.⁵⁸ Subhas Chandra Bose Seconded the resolution which was adopted by the committee.

The then Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, had gone to England to discuss the Indian situation with the Labour Government, on his return to India made a declaration on October 31, 1929, that the British Policy on the India Dominion Status was implicit and said: "... I am authorised on behalf of his Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgement it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as their in contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status".⁵⁹ The announcement also pointed out to hold a Round Table Conference in England to discuss India questions. Mahatma Gandhi and Motilal met Lord Irwin to seek clarifications. But they got unsatisfactory answer. The moderates welcomed the decision while the extremist opposed the scheme of -----

57. *Ibid.*

58. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, vol. II, 1929, pp.258-9.

59. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, vol. II, p.40, see also Ojha (ed.) *History of Indian National Congress*, p.350.

Dominion status and demanded Complete independence.⁶⁰

Soon after the announcement, a Leader's Conference was called at Delhi on November 1, 1929, and issued the Delhi Manifesto in which they wanted to know the purpose of the Round Table conference, and appreciated the "Irwin offer" but on certain conditions.⁶¹ But Subhas Chandra Bose, Saifuddin Kitchlew, and Maulana Abdul Bari refused to sign the Manifesto as they were in favour of Complete Independence. The Bihar Provincial Conference at Munger also adopted a resolution for complete Independence failing to get there demand fulfilled they would start Civil Disobedience Movement. The Bihar youth conference at Munger also resolved that the final goal of India was nothing but to achieve Complete independence.⁶² But most of the Muslim leaders including Jinnah were not infavour of complete independence resolution and civil disobedience without a proper solution to the tangle of Hindu-Muslim unity. Even M.A. Ansari and Syed Mahmud wanted to end the communal problem before civil disobedience.⁶³ Mahatma Gandhi was trying to sort out the differences which had arisen within the Congress on the question of Dominion status. Finally it was

60. Imam, *Role of Muslims*, p.193.

61. See Pande (ed.) *History of Congress*, vol.II, p.177. Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, p.266.

62. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1929, vol. II, pp.47-52. See also, Pande (ed.) *History of Congress*, vol. II, pp.177-78.

63. Pande (ed.), *History of Congress*, vol. II, p.179.

decided if that Dominion status would be acceptable; e to Indians only it was conferred by the Government within one year, i.e. , December 31, 1929, otherwise the Congress would amend its objective would be complete independence Motilal Nehru expressed if the government would not consider Dominion status within one year "Be prepare for the next signal on January 1, 1930."⁶⁴

When India did not attain Dominion status by the end of 1929. Now there was no alternative to the Congress but to declare its goal as complete independence at the Lahore session of the Congress.

The All India Congress Session was held at Lahore on December 29, 1929, under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. Presiding over the Congress, Nehru declared himself a socialist, republican and a champion of labour and peasantry, and declared that "Swaraj" meant complete independence or complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. Lahore Congress was also significant phase of the Gandhian transformation of the Congress Party. According to sitaramayya, the Congress at Lahore was in a cauldron as cross-purposes were at work.⁶⁵

In the Lahore session, the Congress adopted a resolution that the word "Swaraj" would mean complete independence and it was moved by Gandhi and the controversies on Nehru Committee Rep

64. The Indian Year Book, 1931, p.899.

65. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. 1, p.354.

were resolved according to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.⁶⁶ It was also declared that all the Congressmen would henceforth devote their attention to the attainment of complete independence for India. They would observe complete boycott of the central and provincial legislatures and called upon the Congressmen to abstain from participating in future elections. The Congress members in the legislatures were asked to resign their seats and authorised the Congress committee to launch a civil disobedience, non-payment of taxes, and boycott of foreign goods. On December, 31, 1929 (mid-night) the "Tricolour Flag" of the Independent India was unfurled amidst the shouting "Inquilab-Zindabad".⁶⁷

The Lahore Congress changed the direction of the entire nation and on the one path with one goal that was complete Independence, people of Bihar showed their enthusiasm in the implementation of Congress Programme. Syed Mahmud was appointed one of the secretaries of the Congress Committee.⁶⁸ The *Searchlight* is its editorial; "The Congress and After" and wrote that the Lahore Congress "Marked the end of old and the beginning of a new epoch in the history of India's struggle for national

66. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1929, vol. II, pp.288-310. see also Ojha (ed.), *History National Congress in Bihar*, pp.351-52.

67. C.H. Philip, H.L. Singh and B.H. Pandey, *The Evolution of India & Pakistan* (OUP, London, 1962), p.237.

68. See *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1929, vol. II, pp.288-310.

emancipation...Hereafter, according to the definition of swaraj in the resolution adopted at Lahore, India's immediate objective-not merely the goal- is the achievement of complete independence by all legitimate and peaceful means. It is a fateful decision and its significance and import cannot be ignored or minimized."⁶⁹

In pursuance of the Lahore Congress decision, Srikrishna Sinha, the leader of the Congress Party in Bihar made an appeal to the Congressmen to resign from their seats and said: "... I hereby desire to request them to loose no time in sending in the resignations. The mandate is obligatory and every member of the Council returned on the Congress ticket should feel bound to resign in pursuance of the Congress decision. I do hope members will promptly respond to the call made on them , if they have not done do already."⁷⁰ In Bihar many members of the council of state, Central legislative Assembly, B & O Legislative Council tendered resignations of their posts.⁷¹

69. *The Searchlight*, January 10, 1930 cited in Ojha (ed.) *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, pp.352-53.

70. *The Searchlight*, January 12, 1930, cited in Ojha (ed.) *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p.353.

71. The members who resigned from their posts were:Mahendra Prasad,Shah Muhammad Zubair , and Anugraha Narayan Sinha from Council of state; Sidheshwar Prasad, Narayan Prasad, Gaya Prasad Singh, Nilkanth Das and Kumar Ganganand Singh from Central Legislative Assembly. The members who resigned from B & O Legislative Council were Baldeva Sahay, Dip Narayan Singh, Krishna Ballabh Sahay, Ram Dayalu

While the Lahore Resolution was greeted with enthusiasm all over India. A small section of Muslims in Bihar led by Shafi Daudi was dissatisfied with the resolution as they thought that the Muslims were left in Vacuum. The other Muslim Leaders of Bihar such as Shah Md. Zubair, Syed Mahmud criticized Shafi Daudi severally for his views against the report.⁷² Syed mahmud, Srikrishna Sinha and other Leaders appealed the Hindus and the Muslims of Bihar to stand by the Congress to achieve Complete independence. Syed Mahaud strongly criticised the "Bihar Muslim Manifesto" and declared that the Muslims of Bihar were going to follow Mahatma Gandhi to achieve the national goal. Even another leader shah Md.Umair referred to the resolution of the Khilafat Conference and Jamiat-ul-ulema Said in spite of differences of opinion, it was the duty of every Muslim to follow the Lahore resolution of complete independence.⁷³

71. contd.

Singh, Srikrishna Sinha , Satya Narayan Singh, Rajendra Mishra , Rai Braj Raj Krishna, Sidheshwari Prasad , Ram Charetra singh, Rameshwar Narayan agrawal, Nelkanth Chattergi ,Nand Kishore Das, Nirshu Narayan Singh, Thakur Ram Nandan Singh, Seo Shankar Jha, Keshari Prasad Singh, Jimut Sen, Abdul Bari , Gru Sahay Lal, Haribans Sahay, Kailash Behari Lal, Mahanth Iswar Giri, Kumar Kalika Singh, Lingraj Misrhra, Godavari Mishra, Girindra Mohan Mishra, Shashi Bhushan Rai and Rameshwar Lal Marwari, Subsequently, 13 other members resigned after March from B & O Legislative Council were Jagat Narayan Lal, A.F. Bray Dewaki Prasad Sinha , Raj Kishor Lal Nandkeolyar, Chaudhari Bhagwat Prasad, Samantrai Maahapata, Gunendra Nath Roy, Amrendra Narayan Singh sharma, Kamaleshwari Sahaay, Anant Prasad, RAi Bahadur Jyotirmoy Chatterji and Rai Bahadur Dwarikanath. ; See Ojha (ed.). *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, pp.352-3.

72. Imam, *Role of Muslims*, p.195.

73. *Ibid.*

growing power of the Hindu Mahasabha in the Congress seems to be one of the main reason for the dissatisfaction .But a large section of the Muslim such as Syed Mahmud Shah.Md.Umair, Abdul Qaiyyum Ansari and others led the Muslims to the path of national movement.

The Congress working Committee decided to celebrate Independence day on January 26,1930 throughout the Country.Jawahar Lal Nehru the President of the committee appealed to the nation in the following word: "The Congress working Committee has fixed sunday, January 26, for Country-wide celebration of the adoption of Complete Independence or Purna Swaraj as its immediate Objective by the Congress". The Committee also informed the Provincial Congress Committee and district local Committee to take immediate steps in this direction . It was also informed that the flag would be hoisted at 8 a.m. on Sunday January , 26,1930 .⁷⁴ Subsequently , the BPCC Issued an instruction regarding the Independence Day. The instruction was signed by Srikrishra Sinha, Jimut Bahan sen,Ram Narayan Singh, and Mathura Prasad. The instruction was as follows : " On Sunday, the 26th January , the Purna swaraj Day has got to be celebrated ".

The Independence Day was celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout Bihar. The *Searchlight* appreciated the celebration of the Independence Day .⁷⁵

74. *The Searchlight*, January 15, 1930, cited in ojha (ed.) *History of Indian National Congress in Bihar*, p.354.

75. Ojha (ed.) *History of Indian National Congress.*, pp. 356-57.