ANNEXURE - 18

List of movements, mutinies, struggles etc., participation and suffering in which is recognized for the purpose of grant of pension under the Swatantrata Sainik Samman Pension Scheme, 1980.

1. Suez Canal Army Revolt in 1943 during Quit-India Movement & Ambala Cantt. Army Revolt in 1943.
4. Hollwell Monument Removal Movement conducted by Netaji in 1940 at Calcutta.
5. Royal Indian Navy Mutiny, 1946.
12. The Ghadar Movement.
13. The Gurudwara Reform Movement (1920-25) including:
   (i) Taran Taran Morcha.
   (ii) Nankana Tragedy of February (1920).
   (iv) Guru ka Bagh Morcha.
   (v) Babar Akali Movement.
   (vi) Jaito Morch.
   (vii) Bhai Pheru Morcha; and
   (viii) The Sikh Conspiracy (Golden Temple) of 1924.
17. Quit India Movement (1942).
18. INA and IIL (1942 to 1946).
19. Merger Movement in the former French and Portuguese possessions in India.
20. Peshawar Kand in which members of the Garhwal Rifles took part.
22. Chauri Chaura Kand (1922).
27. Kadakkal Riot case.
29. Vattiyoorkavu Conference.
30. Anti-Independent Travancore.
31. Punnapra-Vayalar Movement.
32. Karlvelloor Movement.
33. Kauvambal Movement.
34. Kayyur Movement.
35. Morazha Movement.
36. Malabar Special Police Strike (MSP Strike).
37. Dadra and Nagar Haveli Movement.
38. Goa Libration Movement, Phase II
39. Kuka Namdhari Movement, 1871
40. Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, 1919

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LIST OF MOVEMENTS RECOGNIZED FOR GRANT OF SWATANTRATA SAINIK
SAMMAN PENSION.

1. **Suez Canal Army Revolt in 1943 during Quit-India Movement & Ambala Cantt. Army Revolt in 1943.**

2. **Jhansi Regiment Case in Army (1940).**

The Rani of Jhansi Regiment was the Women's Regiment of the Indian National Army, with the aim of overthrowing the British Raj in colonial India. It was one of the all-female combat regiments of the Second World War. Led by Lakshmi Sahgal, the unit was raised in July 1943 with volunteers from the expatriate Indian population in South East Asia. The unit was named the Rani of Jhansi Regiment after Lakshmibai, Rani of Jhansi.

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose announced the formation of the Regiment on 12 July 1943. Most of the women were teenage volunteers of Indian descent from Malayan rubber estates; very few had ever been to India. The initial nucleus of the force was established with its training camp in Singapore with approximately a hundred and seventy cadets. The cadets were given ranks of non-commissioned officer or sepoy (private) according to their education. Later, camps were established in Rangoon and Bangkok and by November 1943, the unit had more than three hundred cadets.

Training in Singapore began on 23 October 1943. The recruits were divided into sections and platoons and were accorded ranks of Non-Commissioned Officers and Sepoys according to their educational qualifications. These cadets underwent military and combat training with drills, route marches as well as weapons training in rifles, hand grenades, and bayonet charges. Later, a number of the cadets were chosen for more advanced training in jungle warfare in Burma. The Regiment had its first passing out parade at the Singapore training camp of five hundred troops on 30 March 1944.

Some 200 of the cadets were also chosen for nursing training, forming the Chand Bibi Nursing Corps.

During the INA's Imphal campaign, an initial contingent of nearly a hundred of the Rani of Jhansi troops moved to Maymyo, part of which was intended to form a vanguard unit to enter the Gangetic plains of Bengal after the expected fall of Imphal. A part of the unit also formed the nursing corps at the INA hospital at Maymyo. Following the failure of the siege of Imphal and the INA's disastrous retreat, the Rani troops were tasked with coordinating the relief and care of the INA troops who arrived at Monywa and to Maymyo and were not used in combat.

After the fall of Rangoon and the withdrawal of the Azad Hind government and Subhas Chandra Bose from the city and through Burma, the troops originally from Burma were allowed to disband, while the remainder of the regiment retreated along with the retreating Japanese forces on foot and, when available, on mechanised transport. During the retreat it suffered some
attacks both from Allied air attacks, as well the Burmese resistance forces. The total number of casualties suffered is not known. The unit later disbanded.

3. **Rani Jhansi Regiment and Azad Hind of INA (1943-45).**

The Rani of Jhansi Regiment of the Indian National Army (INA) was raised and trained in Japanese-occupied Malaya and Singapore in 1943-45. It saw action against the Allies in Burma during 1944-45. This is the first history of the remarkable Regiment made up of young Indian women from towns and rubber plantations. Many had left comfortable lives to take part in this liberation struggle. The girls who had never seen India yet, were eager to enlist to liberate India from colonial bondage. It was one of the very few all-female combat regiments of the Second World War on any side. Led by Captain Lakshmi Swaminathan [popularly known as caption Lakshmi Sehgal] the unit was named the Rani of Jhansi Regiment after Lakshmibai, Rani of Jhansi.

4. **Hollwell Monument Removal Movement conducted by Netaji in 1940 at Calcutta.**

Along with his attempt to have friendly arrangements with the Muslim League leadership, Subhas Bose endeavoured to consolidate Muslim support in his favour in Calcutta. His efforts in this direction began with the agitation to remove the Holwell Monument which was erected by G. Holwell ‘at his cost during the short tenure of his Calcutta Governorship in 1760 to commemorate those deceased in the Black Hole. The monument was a symbol representing the alleged savagery of the last Nawab of Bengal, Sirajuddowl, and the bravery of the British soldiers who sacrificed their lives. It was argued, ‘the monument must go because it is not merely an unwarranted stain on the memory of the Nawab, but has stood in the heart of Calcutta for the last 150 years or more as the symbol of our slavery and humiliation.’

The selection of Holwell Monument as the main issue for the agitation reflected in Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose’s strategic sense. In a meeting on 3rd July 1940, resolutions paying homage to Sirajuddowl, condemning the falsity of foreign historians and urging deletion from school textbooks of matter derogatory to Sirajuddowl were adopted. It was agreed as well that if there was no ministerial decision on the Holwell Monument by 15 July, satyagraha by the council of action would start on 16th July. The meeting was definitely illustrative of a unity in the sense that not only was it attended by the Hindus and anti-government Muslims, but also by the Muslim League Student Organization. Nazimuddin, the Home Minister, in particular, was disturbed by the participation of the students and he pressed for a quick cabinet decision on the Monument question and the release of Subhas Bose. This put the ministry in an awkward situation. Both Haq and Nazimuddin agreed to set Bose—imprisoned as a result of the Holwell Monument agitation—free as early as possible. When D.A. Brayden, Central Intelligence Officer, emphasized that ‘as S. Bose was an all India figure… the Government of India would be interested in his fate’, Nazimuddin in his reply argued that the government of India would take no action against Bose ‘as they had already allowed J. Nehru to make speeches as objectionable as S. Bose’s’.
As regards the removal of the Monument, neither the ministry nor anybody from the *de facto* ruling authority objected. On the question of Bose’s release, however, both the Bengal Governor and the intelligence Branch refused to concede. Herbert, the Governor, for instance, attributed Bose’s rise and the alliance between him and the powerful Calcutta Muslims like Isphani, Siddiqui and Nooruddin to the obduracy and shortsightedness of the comparatively petty Europeans in the Calcutta Corporation which created the occasion for the pact between the League and S. Bose… a pact which both enhanced the power of the Calcutta trio [Ishfani, Siddiqui and Nooruddin] and tied the hands of Nazimuddin to curb S. Bose’s openly defiant and anti-war attitude.

The Bose-led anti-Holwell Monument agitation and the consistent opposition of ‘the Calcutta trio’ to European business reveal that ‘there is no greater common factor in their efforts than common antagonism to European vested interests.’ He thus suggested to Linlithgow that the agitation ‘has to be stopped… which would remove the last of the immediate causes of conflict in which revolutionary Hindus and Muslims can be banded together against the Ministry and Europeans’. The Central Intelligence Officer of the Government of Bengal, D.A. Brayden, was also reluctant to accept either of the ministry’s suggestion: he felt that the removal of the monument and the release of Bose ‘will greatly enhance S. Bose’s popularity and prestige and he will then be enabled to launch his campaign for the release of political prisoners with the assistance of the students whose enthusiasm [has already been] aroused’. Having shown the necessity of putting Bose behind bars, he requested W.N.P. Jenkins, Deputy Director of the Intelligence Bureau (Home Department, Government of India), to issue orders, if necessary, ‘to detain Bose under section 26(i’.)

The Holwell Monument was finally removed, but Bose remained in prison until December 1940. So, in terms of achievement, the movement was successful not only because its goal was realized but also because it created a unity, however fragile and short-lived between the Hindus and Muslims in the ‘organized world of politics’.

5. **Royal Indian Navy Mutiny, 1946.**

The ratings of the RIN battleship HMIS “Talwar”, docked at Bombay, went on strike on 18 February 1946 over the issues of bad food and adverse living conditions. Following their capture of naval trucks, and hoisting together of the Congress, the League and the Red flags on these, the ratings went all-out to urge the people of Bombay to rise in support of their revolt – the greatest in the naval history – spreading to 78 ships and 22 units all along the Indian coastline. In response to their call, several processions were taken out in Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta and other places in the subsequent days. Hundreds of Indian citizens were killed and thousands were injured in the British military and police firing on the demonstrators. Sardar Patel managed to make the ratings surrender on 24 February 1946. However, they declared if their demands are not conceded they will go on strike again.
6. **Khilafat Movement.**

   It was a campaign in defence of the Caliph of Turkey. After the armistice in 1918 it was feared that the Caliph would be deprived of his powers. Distressed at this prospect, the Muslims of India marshalled all their resources to impress on the British Government that the continued existence of the Caliphate (Khilafat) as a temporal no less than spiritual institution was the very essence of their faith. The peace terms (Treaty of Sevres, August 1920) crippled the power of Turkey and the deepest religious feelings of the Muslims were outraged. As a result there was a considerable unrest and dissatisfaction in India also. A campaign in defence of the Caliph was launched under the leadership of Shaukat Ali, Muhammad Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. In 1920 the Indian National Congress supported the Muslims’ contention and under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, a non-violent non-cooperation campaign was launched. Gandhi’s suspension of the non-cooperation movement on account of the Chauri Chaura incident, and his arrest in March 1922 weakened the Khilafat movement. It was further undermined when Mustafa Kamal Ataturk drove the Greeks from western Asia Minor in 1922 and deposed the Turkish Caliph in the same year; it finally collapsed when he abolished the Caliphate altogether in 1924.

7. **Harsha Chhina Mogha Morcha (1946-47).**

   Harsha Chhina Mogha Morcha was an agrarian revolt in Punjab that took place in 1946–1947. The campaign was launched in June 1946 by remodelling the moghas (canal outlets) under the leadership of the Communist Party, which was later joined by all major political parties of the time, to stand against the decision of the British Government to decrease the supply of irrigation water to farmers. The campaign was headed by Comrade Achhar Singh Chhina, Sohan Singh Josh, Mohan Singh Batth, Baba Karam Singh Cheema, Jagbir Singh Chhina, and Gurdial Singh Dhillon, etc. During the campaign all prominent leaders along with more than a thousand remonstrating peasants were arrested by the police and detained in Lahore Jail for three months. As a result of this movement, the British Government agreed to provide more farming water to agriculturists as per the previous agreed terms.

8. **Mopla Rebellion (1921-22).**

   The Malabar rebellion began on 20 August 1921, was the handiwork of the Muslim community of Malabar inhabiting the Ernad, Walluvanad, parts of Calicut and Ponnani taluk, forming part of the Madras Presidency. For a period of several months, from August 1921 to early 1922 British administration was effectual only in the range of gun in an area of hundreds of square miles inhabited by Mappila population of about 4,00,000. The Malabar rebellion extended over the whole of the Ernad taluk and to parts of neighbouring Walluvanad, Ponnani and Calicut taluks, an area of over 2000 square miles, about two-fifths of the district of Malabar. On the north of this area there was neither military force nor natural physical barrier to prevent the rebellion spreading across the Calicut taluk to Kurumbranad taluk.

   The commencement of the Khilafat-Non-Co-operation movement served as the occasion for the rebellion. The message of the Khilafat-Non-Co-operation appealed greatly to the illiterate Muslim peasants and common men of the interior regions of south Malabar where Khilafat
Committees were established in quick succession. The enthusiasm showed by the Mappilas of the interior regions of Malabar for the Khilafat-Non- Co-operation movements prompted the Government to take repressive measures. The recourse to the policy of repression and the pro-Janmi attitudes on the part of the administration justified the anti-British feelings in the minds of the people of Malabar. The identification of the specific issue of Malabar in the form of 'tenancy issues' and its integration with the national issues, provided a common rallying point along with grass root level association and bonds of unity. Thus, the politically mobilised illiterate Mappilas were mentally prepared for a showdown as the police repression continued rigorously to strike terror in the minds of the people.

9. **Arya Samaj Movement in the erstwhile Hyderabad State (1938-39).**

Among the major socio-religions movements of India, the Arya Samaj played a pivotal role in spreading the socio-political renaissance in Nizam's dominion. The Arya Samaj Movement took a political colour in Hyderabad State. The centre of Arya Samaj came into existence in the city of Hyderabad in the year 1892. Sultan Bazar became active centre of the Arya Samaj. With the election of Pandit Keshav Rao Koratkar (a great patriot and Chief justice of Hyderabad High Court) as the president of Hyderabad state Arya Samaj in 1905, it received a new magnitude in creating political consciousness in the minds of people against the autocratic rule of the Nizam. By 1938 Arya Samaj had 250 branches in the State, twenty of which were located in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. It started launching renaissance movement and opposed the cruelties of the Nizam rule. In due course of time, the great political leaders of Hyderabad State namely Swami Ramanand Tirth, Kamble Wale of Udgir, M. Channa Reddy, P.V. Narasimha Rao, Ramachandra Veerappa of Bidar, K.V. Narasing Rao, Vidyadhar Guruji of Gulbarga, Pandit Taranath of Raichur and so many nationalists in Osmanabad, Warangal, Zahirabad, Adilabad, Basavakalyan, Aurangabad and Beed were influenced by the activities of Arya Samaj and joined its movement to assert civil and religious rights of the non-Muslims. The Nizam Government in a bid to establish the Islamic State denied opportunities for the people of non-ruling class to enjoy basic civil and human rights. Arya Samaj, under these circumstances could not be a silent spectator. Because, the Nizam mixed religion and politics and encouraged the 'Ittehad' to start Tableegh. The Nizam Government issued Farman (order) and passed the acts called Mafusa and GayarMafusa. It the first one protected the property of the Muslims and those of converted, the second Act empowered muslims have enslaved the Hindus, by purchasing the lands of the Hindus who mortgaged them on their debts. Many of the Hindu people agitated against the orders of the Government through Arya Samaj. They propagated the message of Arya-Samaj; (a) Equality of all human beings, (b) Condemnation of caste system, (c) Equal opportunities of education and refinement, (d) The message of 'Satyarth Prakash' i.e., "Back to Vedas". Inspired the enthusiastic and fearless patriots of Hyderabad Karnataka, like Pandit Dattatreya and Bhimanna Khandre of Balki, Narendraji of Bidar, Bansilal and Shyamlal of Hallikhed, Rama Chandra Veerappa, Sivachandrali, Lakshman Veerappa of Humanabad, Hakeekat Rai of Chitguppa, Dattatraya Rao Avaradi, Vyajanath Irivi, Amarasimha Rathod and Chandrasekhar Patil of Gulbarga, Manik Raoji of Raichur, Lakshmana Gudi of Koppal, Vakil Ganapati Sastri, Udayabhanu, Mohan Singh. R. Arya, Sri Gopaldev Shastri of Basavakalyan, Ananta Sharma of Chincholi, Vedapraakshji Gunjotti, R. V. Bidap and others to plunge into the Arya Samaj Movement.
These workers dedicated their lives to educate the people in Arya-Samaj Mandirs. They opened schools at Bidar, Udgir, Chitaguppa, Gulbarga and Raichur. At Udgir Shamlal opened a hospital for untouchables. The advocates of Arya Samaj in Hyderabad took pledge to devote their free service to the poor Hindus in their struggle to restore the civil and religious liberties. They fought for the establishment of casteless and classless society.

The Arya Samaj used to give fitting reply to the Nizam’s operations during 1930’s. The attitude of the police towards Arya Samaj was stiffened. Nizam Administration issued Circular No. 53, which forbidden all annual meetings of Arya Samaj in 1937. But the Arya Samajists protested against it by making celebrations without any prior sanction. As a result the main centres of Hyderabad State like Gulbarga, Udgir, Bidar, Osmanabad, Nizamabad, witnessed communal riots. But the Samaj determined to assert the civil and religious rights of the people. The Sarvadeshika Arya Pratinidhi Sabha decided to offer Satyagraha movement in the State under the directions of Mahatma Narayana Swamy. He instructed the branches of Arya Samaj to observe 'Hyderabad Day' in 1936-37, to oppose the conversion policy of the Government and to propagate the principle of Arya Samaj. When Nizam turned a deaf ear to the demands of the Arya Samaj on 24th October 1938, the Arya Samaj decided to offer Satyagraha against the Nizam Government. Arya Samajists from Hyderabad Karnataka, participated in Satyagraha under the leadership of Mahatma Naryana Swami and Kunwar Chandrakaranji at Gulbarga on 4 February and 2 March, 1939 respectively. They were arrested and imprisoned at Central Jail, Gulbarga. Hakeekat Rai Chitgupkar was arrested and imprisoned at Chanchala Gudda Jail, Hyderabad. However, later on, he was released.

In order to mobilise public opinion against the despotism of the Nizam government, the Arya Samaj conducted annual meetings inviting people from various parts of Country.

When Nizam Government did not permit non Hyderabadis to enter the State, Arya Samajists defied the orders and entered the State to support the movement against Nizam through Sholapur, Vijayawada, Barsi, Ahmadnagar, Manmad, Poona and Chand. They were arrested and imprisoned in various jails of the State and some of them died out of starvation to uphold the cause of patriotism.

The spirit of martyrdom of Arya Samajists continued to be exhibited in 1942 “Do or Die” movement, “Join Union” movement of 1946-47 and “Border” movement of 1947-48. This saga of sacrifice provoked the sentiments of the people and inspired them to develop the political consciousness. About seventy per cent of the nationalists of Hyderabad Karnataka belonged to the Arya Samaj. Arya Samaj served as a training ground for the nationalists of this region.

10. **Madurai Conspiracy Case (1945-47).**

A & F Harvey mills was the biggest mill in Tamilnadu. Its unit in Madurai had about twelve thousand workers and Ambasamudram and Tuticorin units, about six thousand workers.

Madurai Labour Union (MLU) was the only union in the mill which was led by S.R.V. Naidu, a confidant of Harvey mills management. An anti-Communist by nature, he refused to enrol Communist workers in his union. Ramamurti at the beginning did not want to start a rival union. He insisted in the democratic functioning of the MLU by enrolling all workers.
irrespective of their political affiliations. But Naidu was adamant and resorted to violence on the Communist workers. In 1943, Naidu made an agreement with the management to keep the bonus of the workers in the saving fund. Workers protested against this agreement and 7 Communists who led this struggle were arrested and sent to jail for six months. Left with no other alternative, Ramamurti decide to start the All India Trade Union and it started functioning from the month of October with Ramamurti as its president. Its branches were started at Tuticorin and Ambasamudran also. In 1946, Harvey mill management dismissed 27 workers stating that they worked against the recognised union. The union started a strong resistance movement against the dismissals. The Government referred the matter to arbitration. Ramamurti himself represented the union and argued against the dismissal. During the course of this argument, he demanded secret ballot to determine the representative character of the union and said if his union did not get the majority, he would dissolve his union. During this period, an attempt was made on the life of Ramamurti by the goons of Naidu. He was saved by the Communist workers and the management’s lawyer Barrister P.T. Rajan. Finally the arbitrator ordered the reinstatement of 27 workers, and also to hold elections through secret ballot to find out the representative character of the union. In the elections Communist union won with a thumping majority and got recognition. This victory became a morale booster for the Communist Party in Madurai district and its influence began to spread to other areas.

**Madurai Conspiracy Case**
The British Government wanted to curb the Communist movement in Madurai. They arrested Ramamurti, N. Sankaraiah, K. T. K. Thangamani and many others and started Madurai Conspiracy case. The main charge was that Ramamurti and other leaders were hatching a conspiracy at the party office to physically eliminate other trade union leaders; this was overheard by a cart puller who reported it to the police. Ramamurti and others were kept in Madurai central jail. Ramamurti argued the case for himself, and others were represented by leading lawyers of Madurai. During the enquiry, Ramamurti proved that the main witness was a cheat and a case for himself, and other were represented by leading lawyers of Madurai. The special judge, who enquired the case, came to the jail premise on the 14 August 1947, on the eve of Independence and released all those involved in the case and severely criticised the Government for launching this case against respected leaders of the workers. Ramamurti and others were released from jail and thousands of workers with red flag who waited outside the jail gate took them in procession. Ramamurti and other leaders addressed a vast gathering.

**11. Border Camp Cases in erstwhile Hyderabad State (1947-48).**

**12. The Ghadar Movement.**

There were several factors both external and internal, responsible for the origin of the Ghadr Party. The first was the discrimination against Indians in Canada and the United States. These emigrants did not find Conditions in the Countries of their migration as attractive in actual practice as they has been led to expect.

The second was the clash of interest between American and Indian labour.

Since the vast majority of the immigrants were Sikhs, who foregathered every Sunday for Congregational prayers. The organisations were set up to build Gurdwaras. Since the only places
where the Indians could meet were the Gurdwaras and as politics began to dominate the scene in both the countries, the Gurdwaras became storm centres of political activity. Lala Hardayal, Bhai Parmanand, Baba Sohan Singh Bhaka, Bhai Kesar Singh and Pandit Kanshi Ram played an important role in organizing and uniting the Indians living in America. In April 1913, a meeting was held at Asoria (Oregon), where an association of Hindustani workers of the Pacific Coast- forerunner of the Ghadr Party was formed. On this occasion, it was decided that the objects of the association would be to end British rule in India through armed revolution establish and maintain a system of self-government in India based on the principals of liberty, equality and fraternity, and to work for a social order securing the greatest good of the greatest number. The headquarters of the party Yugantar Ashram, were to be located at San Francisco and it was to have its own Press and a weekly paper, the Ghadr, which was to be published in Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi and other Indian languages. The publication of the Ghadr weekly started in November 1913 and the party itself came to be known by that name.

The Ghadr Party was determined to wage war against the British in India and with that object in view decided to send arms and men to India to start a revolt with the help of soldiers and local revolutionaries. Several thousand men volunteered to go back to India. Millions of dollars were collected for that purpose. The Ghadrites contacted Indian soldiers in the Far. East, South East Asia and all over India and persuaded many regiments to revolt. As stated earlier 21 February 1915 was fixed for an all India revolt and Vigorous preparations were made for that purpose. Rash Behari Bose, Sachindra Sanyal, Ganesh Pingale and Kartar Singh Srabha prepared a master plan for that purpose. Some revolutionaries were killed and several others were arrested. They were also hanged. The all India revolt failed because on Kirpal Singh passed on all the secret plans to the Government. Many places were raided and bombs were recovered. Secret papers were also captured by the Government. Most of the ring leaders of the Punjab fell into the hands of the police. The Ghadrites were tried in a batches in the Lahore Conspiracy Case and the supplementary cases. Out of 291 sent up for trial, 42 were sentenced to death and hanged and 114 were transported for life. 93 were imprisoned for varying terms and 42 were acquitted.
13. **The Gurudwara Reform Movement (1920-25) including:-**

(a) **Taran Taran Morcha.**

A mandate was issued from the Akal Takhat summoning an assembly of the Sikhs to meet on 15 November, 1920 to elect a representative body of the Panth, to govern and control the Golden Temple and to reform other shrines. But meanwhile the Government of the Punjab, with the assistance of the Maharaja of Patiala, had constituted a Committee with the motive of foiling the attempt of the Sikhs. Despite the alliance of the Mahants, the Government and hired detachments, to prevent the Akalis from convening their meeting, the Akalis were successful in organizing the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee to take up the administration of their gurdwaras.

The conflict between the Akalis and the Government ensued in January, 1921 in Tarn Taran. It was provoked by the Mahants. The Morcha of Tarn-Taran marked the beginning of Gurudwara Reform Movement. The Guru Sikh reformers met with the priests of Taran Taran Gurudwara on 25 January, 1921 to negotiate conditions for reforms. While negotiating the Guru Sikhs were attacked by the Mahants (priests). Seventeen Guru Sikhs were severely wounded and two Guru Sikhs- Hazara Singh and Hukam Singh were killed. Hazara Singh of village Aldinpur descendent of Sardar Bhagat Singh was the first martyr to the cause of Gurudwara reforms.

(b) **Nankana Tragedy of February (1920).**

Nankana Sahib, being the birth place of Guru Nanak has the most important position among the Sikh places of religious worship. It was controlled by Mahant Sadhu Ram and others. These Mahants gradually grown into wealthy feudal landlords. They deprived the poor peasantry of their rights. The Mahants misappropriated the Community’s income from the Gurudwaras and their land and flouted the traditions and customs of the Sikhs.

To bring these temples under the control of the Community, the Sikhs convened a conference at Amritsar in July 1920. A small Committee to administer the temples affairs was constituted in this conference. A mandate was issued from the Akal Takhat to summon an assembly of the Sikhs to meet on 15 November 1920 to elect a representative body of the panth to govern and control the Golden Temple and other shrines.

The local Sikhs tried to curb the evil practices adopted by the Mahants, but of no avail, as the Mahants had the backing of the local British officials. The Mahant used to spent lakhs of rupees out of the Gurudwara funds is offering rich presents to the local officials on whose goodwill and support depended their appointment and continuance in office.

This state of affairs in Nankana Sahib attracted the attention of the Sikh reformers. A resolution in a Dewan which was held at Dharowal during October 1920. In this gathering a resolution was passed calling upon Mahant Narain Das to improve his habits and purify the administration of the temple. On the contrary Mahant Narain Das began to recruit a strong force to resist the Akali Movement. Not only that with the blessing of Mr. C.M. King, the
Commissioner of Lahore division in consultation with Baba Kartar Singh Bedi and other Mahants, Narain Das arranged a meeting at Nankana which was attended by over sixty such types of Mahants. It was decided at the meeting not to recognize the authority of the newly formed Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and a parallel Committee was formed with Mahant Narain as its President and Mahant Basant Das as the Secretary.

On the pretext of self defence and fortification of the shrine, Mahant Narain Das collected about 400 mercenaries, including notorious outlaws like Ranjha and Rehana, and armed them with swords, lathis, chhavies, takwas and other lethal weapons. Arms and ammunition and kerosene were kept in ready stock. A large number of pistol cartridges were also brought by him from a dealer in Lahore. A further reinforcement of 100 Pathans under the leadership of Ismail Bhatti was also kept ready to strike at a moment’s notice.

The local authorities had full knowledge of the said preparation by the Mahant and they had alerted their high ups. Inspite of these instances of the Mahants’ preparation and the local officials and residents informing the Deputy Commissioner about his designs, the authorities failed to make any police arrangements or to dissuade the Mahant from coming into armed conflict with the Akali reformers.

In the meantime, the SGPC was also considering ways and means to bring this important Gurdwara, like the Golden Temple, Akal Takhat and other Gurdwaras under Panthic Control. In a meeting held on 24 January 1921, a resolution was passed by the SGPC calling upon the whole panth to assemble in a Dewan at Nankana from 4 to 6 March 1921, and to impress upon the Mahant the need for reform. On 6 February 1921 another meeting of the SGPC was called in which a five-members Committee was appointed to make longer arrangements for the proposed Dewan.

The reported decision of the SGPC frightened the Mahant. Meanwhile he might also have heard the rumours about Jathedar Kartar Singh Jhabbar’s plan to forcibly seize on the Gurdwara in case the Mahant failed to mend his ways. As such he showed some signs of compromise and in a meeting with Kartar Singh Jhabbar he agreed to the appointment of a Committee of management on certain conditions. In between the Mahant seems to have changed his mind. Instead of meeting with the Akali leaders to discuss the issues he started making further preparations, including murder of topmost Akali leaders.

Keeping in view the murderous plans of the Mahant in view, the senior leaders of the Akali Dal deputed persons to persuade Jathedar Kartar Singh Jhabbar to abandon his plan for the forcible occupation of Nankana and to request Jathas not to proceed to Gurdwara Janam Asthan. After having informed Jathedar Jhabbar, Dalip Singh proceeded to Sunderkot to inform Bhai Lachhman Singh not to start for Nankana as planned. On finding that Bhai Lachhman Singh and his Jatha had already left the place, Dalip Singh then proceeded to the factory of Bhai Uttam Singh which was located about a mile away from Nankana.

Bhai Lachhman Singh had started for Nankana late in the evening of 19 February 1921 with a few companions. On the morning of 20 February 1921, the party reached a place half a mile away from Gurdwara Janam Asthan. Here they met a messenger of Bhai Dalip Singh and
received a message containing the S.G.P.C.’s instructions not to proceed to Janam Asthan. Bhai Lachhman Singh agreed, but the other members of his Jatha persuaded him that there would be no harm, if they insisted the Gurdwara and after paying their homage, returned peacefully. Having been thus persuaded by his colleagues, Bhai Lachhman Singh proceeded to the Janam Asthan and arrived there at the head of his Jatha at about six in the morning. The members of the Jatha, who were unaware of these designs, sat down after bowing before the holy Granth and started singing hymns. Immediately 25 of the Mahants men went atop of the roof of the Verandah and started firing at the Akalis sitting below. The rest of the Mahant’s men and Sadhas began throwing bricks at the Sikhs, some of whom ran to take shelter in the side-rooms. Others who ran to the side of the sanctuary were shot dead there. About 25 members of the Jatha who remained inside the Gurdwara calmly suffered martyrdom. About 60 of the Akalis shut themselves is another sanctuary called Chaukhandi but the Mahant’s men broke open the doors and killed them there. Then the side rooms were searched and 25 Akalis found there, were put to death.

After wounding and killing all the members of Bhai Lachhman Singh’s party and other Jathas along with their sympathizers, the Mahant and his men collected and burnt most of the dead and wounded by pouring kerosene which had already been stored for the purpose.

The Police did not take any serious action and according to press reports, even after the arrival of the Deputy Commissioner the burning of the dead and the wounded continued for about an hour and a half.

Mahant Narain Das, with two of his henchmen and 26 Pathans, was arrested and sent to Lahore, but a large number of hooligans succeeded in escaping. The Gurdwara Janam Asthan was placed under military guard.

(c) The Golden Temple Ke Affairs (Morcha Chabian Saheb).

The Morcha Chabian campaign for the recovery of the keys of the Golden Temple treasury, marked a dramatic episode in the Sikh agitations in the early 1920s, to reform the management of their places of worship.

For instance, the Golden Temple at Amritsar had been managed by a government nominated sarbrdh (controller) since 1849. The Golden Temple came under Akali control in October 1920, but the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee nominated the old sarbrdh, Sundar Singh Ramgarhia, as a member of the new committee and appointed him to continue to administer the affairs of the Golden Temple. Even though the sarbrdh now functioned under the directions of the Committee, but, since he still retained possession of the keys of the Toshakhana (treasury) of the Golden Temple, some of the Akali reformers felt that Governmental control, however nominal, still remained.

In response to their complaints, on 20 October 1921, the SGPC resolved to ask Sundar Singh to hand over the keys to its president, but before they could implement the decision, news of the decision reached the deputy commissioner of Amritsar who forestalled the Akalis. On 7
November 1921, the extra assistant commissioner Amar Nath, raided the house of Sundar Singh Ramgarhia with a police party and took away the keys.

On 11 November, the Government attempted to replace Sundar Singh with their own appointee Captain Bahadur Singh, in effect overriding the choice of the SGPC. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee refused to recognize the new sarbdh. On 12 November 1921 a protest meeting was convened in Bagh Akaliar at Amritsar which was addressed by Baba Kharak Singh and other Akali leaders. Akali meetings took place at Gujrariwala, Gujjar Khan and other places. Captain Bahadur Singh resigned, but the Government remained adamant. Dan Singh of Vachhoa and Jasbal, two prominent Akalis, were arrested at a divan at Ajnala on 26 November 1921.

Soon a large number of SGPC members reached Ajnala to continue the divan. The district authority declared the divan to be an “illegal assembly” and arrested all the prominent Akalis, including Baba Kharak Singh, Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh and Master Sundar Singh Lyallpuri. On 27 November the SGPC condemned the official action and called upon Sikhs to observe 4 December as a protest day. Sikhs were further asked not to join any function in honour of the Prince of Wales, who was expected to visit India in early 1922.

Failing to control the Sikh protests and foreseeing how it might affect Sikh soldiers and the peasantry, the government announced on 3 January 1922 its decision to return the keys to the Shiromani Committee on 7/5 January 1922, but the Committee refused to accept the keys until all the Sikhs arrested during the movement were released unconditionally.

The matter was raised in the Punjab Legislative Council on 11 January 1922, Sir John Maynard, the Home Member announced the release of all Sikhs under detention. However, the Akalis refused to go and fetch the keys from the Deputy Commissioner. A Government official was eventually sent to deliver the keys wrapped in a piece of red silk to Baba Kharak Singh, president of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, at a divan on 19 January 1922 at the Akal Takht.

(d) Guru ka Bagh Morcha.

In 1922 a fresh clash occurred between the Akalis and the Mahants at Guru Ka Bagh, a temple situated about ten miles north of Amritsar. On the complaint of Mahant Sunder Das that under the agreement with the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.) only the Gurdwara was surrendered and not the adjoining land from where the Sikhs were cutting wood for their community kitchen, when the police arrested a few Sikhs for this offence, the Akalis launched a morcha which continued for twenty days. Every day a Jatha of Akalis went to the disputed spot and was mercilessly beaten by the police. In August the police shot down a number of Sikhs. The Working Committee of the Congress, while condemning the ruthless policy of the police, appointed a Commission to investigate the events of Guru Ka Bagh. Calm and cool courage and marvellous self-restraint displayed by the Akalis fetched them hearty felicitations of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress.
(e) Babar Akali Movement.

The Babbar Akali Movement took place during the years 1921 to 1925. The majority of the Babbar Akalis were returned immigrants from Canada. Some of them had actively participated in the Gadhar Movement and were also known as Gadharites (Gadhari Babbeys).

The Babbar Akalis were Guru Sikhs, who were against the imperialist policies of the British Government. The Babbar Akalis were against the Gandhi formula of non-violence and non-cooperation. They were upset because of the tragedy of Nankana Sahib in which hundreds of innocent Sikhs were massacred. They rejected the peaceful struggle for reformation in the Sikh shrines and decided to lead their movement separately without the company and cooperation of the dominant Akali leadership.

The Babbar Akalis made their first appearance during the Sikh Educational Conference held at Hoshiarpur on 19th March, 1921. Later on, they organized their own meetings which were attended by renowned personalities like Master Mota Singh, Kishan Singh, Amar Singh, Tota Singh Peshawari, Gurbachan Singh and Bhuttan Singh and some of the returned emigrants from Canada. The Working Committee of the Babbar Akalis was elected in 1922 with Sardar Kishan Singh as Jathedar, Dalip Singh Gosal, as Secretary and Baba Santa Singh as Treasurer. To reinforce the propaganda machinery and to promote the cause of the movement, the Working Committee decided to publish a newspaper called Babbar Akali Doabad Akhbar, with Sardar Karam Singh Daulpur appointed as Editor. Their main objective was to “eliminate” certain officials and nonofficials condemned as enemies of the Khalsa Panth.

Babbar Akalis declared it necessary to teach a lesson by eliminating the toadies (stooges) and those who were responsible for the massacre of the Akalis at Nankana Sahib. It was generally felt that Mr. C.M. King, the Commissioner of Lahore, J.W. Bowring, the Superintendent of Police, Mahants Devi Dass and Basant Dass, Sunder Singh Majitha and Baba Kartar Singh Bedi were responsible for the Nanakana Sahib Massacre.

They appealed to the Hindu and Muslims through articles, leaflets. Babbar Akali Doabad Akhbar and the religious congregations to Join them in their war against foreigners for freedom. To fulfill their programme Bela Singh and Ganda Singh were sent to Lahore on 23rd May, 1921 to take care of Mr. J.W. Bowring. They were suspected by the police at Lahore Railway Station and arrested. During the interrogation the two let out the secrets, which resulted in the arrest of Amar Singh, Narain Singh, Tota Singh, Chatar Singh, Chanchal Singh, Thakur Singh, Shankur Singh and many more members of the group. Warrants for the arrest of Master Mota Singh, Bijla Singh and Kishan Singh were also issued, who had managed to dodge the police.

Babbar Akalis also aimed to paralyse the supporters of the British Government such as Zaildars, Sufedphoshes, Lambardars, Patwaries, police informers, and other toadies by terrorising them through various forms of punishments. According to the plans of the Babbars an attempt was made to take care of Arjan Singh Patwari of Haripur had allegedly helped in the arrest of Master Mota Singh. Somehow the attempt failed. Then, Zaildar Bishan Singh, a retired official of the Canal Department was shot dead on February 10th, 1923.
The elimination of Zaildar Bishan Singh greatly alarmed the government authorities. Spies were sent to villages. The government announced rewards for the arrest of the Babbars. Lambardars were ordered to inform the government authorities in case they come across a Babbar or learnt about his whereabouts. Through betrayal or through information supplied by informers the important leaders of the Babbar Akali Movement were arrested. The arrests of these leaders actuated the rest of the Babbars to set up their programme of eliminating those responsible for these arrests. Consequently a series of continuous “eliminations” took place. On March 19th Labh Singh, an employee of the Police Training School, Philaur, was shot dead in the Hoshiarpur district. He had helped in the arrest of Jathedar Kishan Singh. The Babbars issued an open letter addressed to the Governor on March 22, 1923. They claimed the credit for the eliminations and threatened that other toadies would also face the same fate. Hazara Singh of Hoshiarpur district was killed on March 27, 1923.

The continuous “eliminations” created panic among the toadies and the Government authorities. Numbers of village officials and other loyalists to the Government started expressing fear for their lives and the desire to resign from their posts. The government took stiff measures to meet the Babbar Challenge and tried to restore peace and confidence among the loyalists. Special C.I.D. was deputed to assist the police. The police force at Jullundur was increased by adding another fifty men. Above all, a special enrollment of 150 was sanctioned, and an Indian infantry of 250 and a squadron of armoured cars was deputed to assist the police in making the arrests of the Babbars. Leaflets were scattered in the affected area in order to restore peace, and the Babbars were declared as an unlawful association under the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1908. The government offered handsome rewards of Jagirs and cash prizes if someone provided useful information leading to the arrest of any Babbars.

The British Parliament raised questions about the deteriorating condition of law and order in the Punjab. The government of the Punjab was criticized, and fears were expressed about the safety of the British officials in India. Upon pressure of the British Parliament, London, the government of the Punjab introduced more stringent measures against the Babbars. Hideout places of the Babars were raided, with similar raids carried out in the villages of Pandori Nijran, Kishanpur, Jassowal, Paragpur, Kot Fatuhi and Daulatpur. As a result, 186 arrests were made. By the middle of 1924 all the important Babbar’s were either killed or arrested. However, the Akali leaders and the Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi did not approve of the Babbar’s programme of violence.

“Though the Akali leadership disowned both the Babbars as also their methods and went even to the extent of passing formal resolutions against them. … the Babbars contribution to the Akali Movement cannot be ignored. They increased the bargaining power of the Akali leadership by terrorizing the bureaucratic machinery and its supporters in the Punjab and thus compelling the Government to come to terms with them.

(f) Jaito Morch.

During the Akali movement in Punjab, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha who was a sympathiser of the Akalis, observed the Martyrs Day to honour all those who laid down their lives at Nankana Sahib. This act of the Maharaja was resented by the British Government. On the
pretext that he was not having good relations with the Patiala State, he was forced to abdicate. This compelled the Sikhs to launch an agitation which is known as Jaito Da Morcha.

The Akali reformers led Jathas to Jaito Gurdwara Gangsar, Nabha, from 1923-1925 against the British order prohibiting all prayer-assemblies in it. The Jatha aimed at resuming the Akhand Path (continuous reading of Guru Granth Sahib) at the Jaito Gurudwara, and giving a call for the reinstallation of Ripudaman Singh – the Maharaja of Nabha – who had recently been deposed by the British for his nationalistic sympathies. Wilson Johnston (the Administrator of Nabha), ordered the troops to open fire. The British-led troops opened fire killing and wounding many. A large number of Jatha participants were arrested and imprisoned. The Indian National Congress deputed Jawaharlal Nehru, Principal N.K. Gidnain and K. Santhanam to make an on the spot study of the situation, but they were also arrested like the Akalis.

(g) Bhai Pheru Morcha; and

Bhai Pheru Morcha was one among the series of campaigns in the Sikhs’ agitation in the 1920’s for the reformation of their holy places. Gurdwara Sangat Sahib, located in Mien ke Maur in Lahore district, dedicated to the memory of Bhai Pheru (1640-1706), a masand of parish leader in the time of Guru Har Rai who was honoured for his devotion by Guru Gobind Singh with the titles of Sachchi Dahri (true bearded) and Sangat Sahib, was an important shrine, with a huge land attached to it, and was being managed by Mahant Kishan Das. After the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee had taken over management of some of the major shrines and mahants of priests and started voluntarily handing over Gurdwaras under their control, Mahant Kishan Das, on 28 December 1922, transferred Gurdwara Bhai Pheru to the Committee. He later went back on the agreement he had signed and petitioned the Government to have the shrine and the lands restored to him.

On 7 December 1923 the police arrested the manager, Jagat Singh, and eleven other representatives of the S.G.P.C. The possession of the shrine and the estate was restored to the Mahant and his tenants. However, the decision of the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore on the Gurdwara lands went in favour of the S.G.P.C. and, as its representatives arrived to take charge of these, Mahant Kishan Das and his tenant Pala Ram, brother of Mahant Narain Das, of Sri Nankana Sahib, lodged a complaint with police that the Akalis were forcibly taking possession of his property. Police arrested a number of Akalis on 2 January 1924. The Government revised its earlier decision given in favour of the S.G.P.C. and passed fresh orders declaring Pala Ram to be temporarily in possession of the land. Akalis launched a morcha in protest. Jathas or batches of Akali volunteers started marching to Bhai Pheru from different parts of the district. On 5 January 1924, S.G.P.C. took the campaign in its own hands.

By 10 September 1925, more than 6000 people were arrested and jailed. An unsavoury incident, however, led the local organizer, Arjan Singh, to suspend the morcha on 20 September 1925. The Gurdwara and the lands attached to it came under the Committee’s control after the Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925 was passed by the Punjab Legislative Council, and the court case too was decided in the Committee’s favour in June 1931.
14. **Praja Mandal Movement in the erstwhile Princely States (1939-49).**

When the rule of the East India Company ended in 1858, the British Crown became ‘the unquestioned ruler and paramount in all India’. British’s Indian empire comprised the British India, directly under the Crown, and about 600 Indian States, covering about one-third of the Indian subcontinent and about one-fifth of its population, ruled by Indian Princes. In return for their loyalty to the British Crown, the British guaranteed the continued existence of the Princely States, though the real power in these States was wielded by the British Residents and Political Agents posted there. Most of these States were ‘sinks of reaction and incompetence and unrestrained autocratic power sometimes exercised by vicious and degraded individuals’. The people, kept backward and illiterate, and deprived of all civil liberties, were subjected to unchecked exploitation, including forced labour. The Princes treated the States as their personal properties. “They are seen anywhere where enjoyment can be bought with their people’s money”, said V.S. Srinivasa Sastri. The British used the Princes as a divisive force to frustrate the nationalist movement. In 1921, the British established the Chamber of Princes which upheld the princely privileges. The people of the States were drawn into the freedom struggle and from 1920 onwards they started forming their own organizations to agitate for Responsible Governments and Rule of Law in the States. In December 1927, the representatives of the States people met in Bombay to ‘demand and secure that Indian States should be regarded as integral parts of a common Indian nation’. They formed the All-India States People’s Conference which declared that the people of the States had the right ‘to determine the form and character of their governments’. The AISPC played a vital role in creating a country-wide awareness of the Prince’s misrule. The struggle inside the States, carried on by the Praja Mandals and other organizations, grew powerful in the thirties. The Princes brutally suppressed these movements, often with the help of British troops. The Congress so far had been following a policy of non-interference in the affairs of the States. In 1928, at its Calcutta session, it assured the States people of its sympathy and support in their legitimate struggle for Responsible Governments in the States. In 1938, at Haripura, the Congress declared that its objective of Purna Swaraj was ‘for the whole of India inclusive of the States’, but said that the States people’s struggle must be carried on by the people of the States. During 1938-39, there were outbursts of mass struggle must be carried on by the people of the States. During 1938-39, there were outbursts of mass struggle in Kashmir, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Jaipur and many other States, in which Congressmen participated in large numbers, and there was an increasing identification of the nationalist movement for freedom with the struggles of the States people. In February 1939, Jawaharlal Nehru presided over the AISPC session at Ludhiana, and in March 1939 Gandhiji went on a fast when the ruler of Rajkot went back on an agreement he reached with Vallabhbhai Patel regarding the demands of the people of Rajkot.

15. **Kirti Kisan Movement (1927).**

Kirti Kisan Sabha of the kirtis (workers) and kisans (peasants), fostered and, to some extent, funded by the Ghadr Party, was established on 12 April 1928 with a view to organizing small agriculturists and industrial workers and other lowpaid urban labour, for revolutionary activities. The Sabha owed its origin to the Kirti movement started by Bhai Santokh Singh, a
Ghadr leader who had spent two years in Moscow studying Soviet methods of Village propaganda.

“Initially, he laid out secret plans to prepare the masses for action. He then started propaganda through the press. To this end, he launched a monthly magazine in Punjabi, The Kirti, the first issue of which was published from Amritsar in February 1926. The journal became the mouthpiece of the Kirti Kisan Sabha. Bhai Santokh Singh was helped in his work, which was first carried on secretly, by Bhag Singh Canadian, who was cofounder with Santokh Singh of The Kirti, Karam Singh Chima, Baba Vasakha Singh and Kartar Singh of Latala.

They were joined by Santa Singh of Gandivind, also trained in Soviet methods of rural agitation, and Dasaundha Singh and Gajjan Singh who had taken an active part in Soviet propaganda in China and had been deported to India in March 1928. A little later came Harjap Singh, according to government papers a “notorious” Ghadr emissary, under whose direction the Sabha suddenly changed its tactics and emerged into the open with a definite constitution and programme. It was in furtherance of this new policy that an openly inflammatory Gurmukhi weekly Mazdur Kisan was also started.

The first Kirti Kisan conference presided over by Professor Chhabil Das of the National School of Politics was held during 28 and 30 September 1928 at Lyallpur. Among the twelve resolutions adopted was one declaring complete independence for the country as the goal and rejecting the recommendations of the Nehru Committee which had limited it to dominion status. The Sabha held another Conference (13 October 1928) in Meerut which provided the authorities a pretext to launch the Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case and arrest many of the workers.

The 1929 annual session of the Sabha was held at Lahore during the Christmas week. Throughout this period the Kirti continued to disseminate Communist thought and preach the creed of revolt against British imperialism. Every issue of the paper was proscribed and prosecution launched against its editors and the press at which it was printed. The Kirti Kisan Conference held on 4 March 1931 at Anandpur Sahib in the occasion of the Hola Mohalla festival called upon workers and peasants to set up units of the Sabha in the villages.

The Gandhi–Irwin Pact (1931), which failed to secure release of the youth involved in Lahore Conspiracy Case and the hanging (23 March) of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were subjected to severe censure at the annual session of the Sabha convened at Karachi on 29 March, sharing the panddl with the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. The Kirti Kisan Sabha was declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, vide notification No. 12467SB, dated 10 September 1934. The Sabha ceased to exist thereafter but the movement assumed others names and continued with the task.

16. **Navjavan Sabha (1926-31).**

Bhagat Singh and his comrades had formed in March 1926 in Lahore, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha – a militant youth organization which was to propagate socialistic ideas, preach the necessity of direct action against British rule and serve as a recruiting centre for Revolutionary Terrorism. In fact the sabha was organised by the collective efforts of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev,
Bhagwati Charan Vohra and Comrade Ram Kishan. The aims and objectives of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha were:

(a) to establish a free republic of workers and peasants in India;
(b) to inspire young men with the spirit of patriotism and sacrifice so as to make India a fullfledged national entity;
(c) to cut off all connection with those bodies which propagate communalism or favour communal representation;
(d) to relegate religion to its proper position as a matter of personal belief, to generate a spirit of tolerance among the masses and to act up to it oneself;
(e) to take an interest in every such anti-communal, economic, social or political movement which brings near the ultimate goal of establishing a free republic of workers and peasants in India; and for this goal,
(f) to organize the workers and youth movements.

The promulgation of the Indian Press ordinance and the declaring of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and allied bodies as unlawful in 1930 resulted in the gradual recession of the Sabha’s activities.

17. **Quit India Movement (1942).**

In 1939, with the outbreak of war between Germany and Britain, India was announced to be a party to the war for being a constituent component of the British Empire. Following this declaration, the Congress Working Committee at its meeting held on 10 October 1939, passed a resolution condemning the aggressive activities of the Germans. At the same time the resolution also stated that India could not associate herself with war unless it was consulted first. Responding to this declaration, the Viceroy issued a statement on 17 October wherein he claimed that Britain is waging a war driven by the motif to strengthen peace in the world. He also stated that after the war, the government would initiate modifications in the Act of 1935, in accordance to the desires of the Indians.

Gandhi's reaction to this statement was, "the old policy of divide and rule is to continue. The Congress has asked for bread and it has got stone." According to the instructions issued by High Command, the Congress ministers were directed to resign immediately. Congress ministers from eight provinces resigned following the instructions.

In the meanwhile, crucial political events took place in England. Chamberlain was succeeded by Churchill as the Prime Minister and the Conservatives, who assumed power in England, did not have a sympathetic stance towards the claims made by the Congress. In order to pacify the Indians in the circumstance of worsening war situation, the Conservatives were forced to concede some of the demands made by the Indians. On 8 August, the Viceroy issued a statement that has come to be referred as the "August Offer". However, the Congress rejected the offer followed by the Muslim League.

In the context of widespread dissatisfaction that prevailed over the rejection of the demands made by the Congress, Gandhi at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee in
Wardha revealed his plan to launch Individual Civil Disobedience. Once again, the weapon of satyagraha found popular acceptance as the best means to wage a crusade against the British. It was widely used as a mark of protest against the unwavering stance assumed by the British. Vinoba Bhave, a follower of Gandhi, was selected by him to initiate the movement.

The Cripps' Mission and its failure also played an important role in Gandhi's call for The Quit India Movement.

The Quit India Movement (August Kranti), August 1942, launched in response to Mahatma Gandhi’s national call for satyagraha. The All-India Congress Committee proclaimed a mass protest demanding what Gandhiji called "an orderly British withdrawal" from India. It was for the determined, which appears in his call to “Do or Die”, issued on 8 August at the Gwalior Tank Maidan in Mumbai in 1942.

The Congress Working Committee meeting held at Wardha on 14 July 1942 passed a resolution demanding Complete Independence from the British Government. The draft proposed massive Civil Disobedience, if the British did not accede to the demands.

Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad were apprehensive and critical of the call, but backed it and stuck with Gandhi's leadership until the end. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Aruna Asaf Ali, Achyut Patwardhan and Dr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha openly and enthusiastically supported such a disobedience movement, as did many veteran Gandhians and socialists like Asoka Mehta and Jayaprakash Narayan. Allama Mashriqi (head of the Khaksar Tehrik) was called to join the Quit India Movement.

Although at the national level the ability to galvanize rebellion was limited, the movement is notable for regional success especially at Satara in Maharashtra, Talcher in Orissa, and Midnapore. In Tamluk and Contai subdivisions of Midnapore, the local populace were successful in establishing parallel governments, which continued to function, until Gandhi personally requested the leaders to disband in 1944. A minor uprising took place in Ballia, now the easternmost district of Uttar Pradesh. People overthrew the district administration, broke open the jail, released the arrested Congress leaders and established their own independent rule. It took weeks before the British could re-establish their writ in the district. In rural Bengal, the Quit India Movement was fuelled by peasants' resentment against the new war taxes and the forced rice exports.

All the members of the Congress Working Committee (national leadership) were imprisoned as well. Despite lack of direct leadership, large protests and demonstrations were held all over the country. Workers remained absent en masse and strikes were called. Not all demonstrations were peaceful, at some places bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity was cut and transport and communication lines were severed. The Government arrested over ten thousand people.
18. **Indian National Army (INA) and Indian Independence League (IIL) (1942 to 1946).**

Amar Singh an old revolutionary formed the Independence League of India in December 1941. The League decided to raise the Indian National Army and to call a meeting of leading Indians in East Asia and Bangkok in June 1942. The meeting decided to organize an army of 150,000 under direct control of the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League and Mohan Singh was elected General Officer Commanding (G.O.C.) of the INA. Eventually about 20,000 people joined the INA. The INA was yet a disorganized mass when a freedom fighter called Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in their midst. There was jubilation in Indian camps; all said they had now a leader amongst them. Rash Behari Bose announced at a conference of delegates from different parts of East Asia, held at Singapore, that Subhas Bose would take over from him the leadership of the Indian movement. Thus, it can be seen that Bose was installed in a leadership position – he seized an army whose foundation had already been laid. Under Subhas Bose’s leadership the INA fought beside the Japanese, but their military success turned out to be short-lived. The INA’s defeat was sealed for good with the surrender of the Japanese at Kohima on 22 June 1944. Even though the INA’s efforts to free India did not match the British military might, it was the consequences of their defeat that was to exert any influence on the Indian people – and eventually on British policy.

A number of historians recognize the nationalist awareness and widespread support that awoke during the INA trial which opened in Red Fort and lasted from 5 November to 31 December. There was immediate and widespread public interest as the three commanders Shah Nawaz Khan, P.K. Sahgal and Gurbaksh Dhillon responsible of the INA were to be tried. The charges involved the general conduct of officers in “waging war against the King” as well as the death sentences they were alleged to have carried out on soldiers of the INA. Public interest throughout India was lit by the publishing of long commentaries day by day. These events have stirred public feelings to its very depths and many public outrages in the coming days can be noticed.

**The Indian Independence League:**

It was a political organization operated from the 1920s to the 1940s to organize those living outside of India into seeking the removal of British colonial rule over India. Founded in 1928 by Indian nationalists, the organization was located in various parts of South-East Asia and included Indian expatriates, and later, Indian nationalists in-exile under Japanese occupation following Japan's successful Malayan Campaign during the first part of the Second World War. During the Japanese Occupation in Malaya, the Japanese encouraged Indians in Malaya to join the Indian Independence League.

Established primarily to foster Indian Nationalism and to obtain Japanese support for the Indian Independence Movement, the League came to interact and command the first Indian National Army under Mohan Singh before it was dissolved. Later, after the arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose in South East Asia and the revival of the INA, the League came under his leadership, before giving way to Azad Hind. Rash Behari advised to attach the evolving INA to a political organization that would also speak for the civilian Indian population in South-east Asia.
In June 1942, the Bangkok conference was held which saw the constitution of the Indian Independence League. The league consisted of a Council for Action and a Committee of representatives below it. Below the committee was to be the territorial and local branches. Rash Behari Bose was to chair the council, while K.P.K Menon, Nedyam Raghavan were among the civilian members of the council. Mohan Singh and an officer by the name of Gilani were to be the INA's members. The committee of representatives took members from the 12 territories with Indian population, with representation proportional to the representative Indian population. The Bangkok resolution further decided that the Indian National Army was to be subordinate to it.

The Bangkok conference adopted a thirty-four point resolution to and expected the Japanese government to respond to each point. These included the demand that the Japanese government clearly, explicitly and publicly recognize India as an independent nation and the league as the nation's representatives and guardians. Other points also demanded assurances from the Japanese on Azad Hind's relation with Japan, respect for her sovereignty and her territorial integrity, to all of which the council unanimously demanded that Japan clearly and unequivocally commit themselves before the league proceeded any further in collaboration. The resolution further demanded that the Indian National Army be accorded the status of an allied army and be treated as such, and that all Indian POWs be released to the INA. The Japanese must help the army with loans, and not to ask it to march in any other purpose than for the liberation of India.

19. **Merger Movement in the former French and Portuguese possessions in India.**

Merger Movement in the former French possession in India:

With the Independence of India in 1947, there was rise of Indian nationalism in the people of the French Colonies in India. This was clearly seen by the rise of nationalist local parties in Pondochery, Karikal, Mahe, Yanam on and Chandernagar. Their increasing dominance in the politics of French India created an anti-French feeling in people.

Another important cause was the members of the French India Socialist Party were shifted towards pro-merger nationalist groups. This gave a catastrophic and devastating effect to the French rule in India. The switch of Edouard Goubert towards pro-merger camp became the death knell to the French sovereignty in its colonies.

Further, a momentous event in the independence movement of Pondichéry occurred on 18 March 1954, when most of the members of the Executive Council and Mayor of Pondichéry and seven adjoining communes proclaimed their decision to merge with Indian Union without a referendum. All the communes in Karikal also followed suit. This decision was to be confirmed by the Representative Assembly and when the French India Socialist Party was preparing to move the merger resolution, the French Governor scuttled it by postponing the session. The Socialists planned to capture the outlying communes one by one and move to Pondichéry. Accordingly, the leaders of the French India Socialist Party hoisted the Indian National Flag atop the Nettapakkam police station on the last day of March 1954.

On 11 April 1954 a Conference popularly known as Kandamangalam Conference of Consul General was held at Kandamangalam. Kewal Singh addressed the Conference and said that For real “liberation of colonies one should attack any of the big four French settlements”. Since Yanam is small in area and population, he requested Monsieur Dadala for a plan for its
liberation which resulted not only the Coup d'État de Yanaon, but also the ultimate liberation of French colonies in India by June 1954.

20. **Peshawar Kand in which members of the Garhwal Rifles took part.**

**Qissa Khawani Bazar — Peshawar Massacre, 23 April 1930:**

Qissa Khawani Bazar – story tellers’ market (renamed as Sahidi Bazar), Peshawar massacre on 23 April 1930, is a tragic point in the history of the Civil Disobedience movement in Peshawar, North-West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan). The ruthless repression by the British was a defining moment in the non-violent struggle to drive the British out of India. Perhaps, it was the first major confrontation between the British-led troops and non-violent demonstrators in the peaceful city. Many people were killed with many more wounded.

The agitation started in the Frontier Province on 18 and 19 April 1930, when Abdul Ghaffar Khan convened the first official meeting of the Khudai Khidmatgars at his home in Utmanzai, and exhorted them to take part in the Civil Disobedience movement. The Government saw a serious threat to British rule and it decided on a policy of striking a blow at the nationalist activities. On the morning of 22 April 1930 the AICC deputation which was proceeding to Peshawar to make inquiry into the working of the NWF Regulations was stopped at Attack and not allowed to enter the province. When this news reached the city of Peshawar a huge procession was taken out through the city. On the evening of 22 April 1930, a huge mass meeting of about 7,000 people took place in Shahibagh at Peshawar under the Chairmanship of Syed Lal Badshah to protest against the government order. Local Congress leaders and Khudai Khidmatgar leaders addressed the people and announced that the following morning picketing of the liquor shops of Peshawar would start.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was to reach Peshawar on 23 April, from where he would conduct the agitation. Before he could reach, he was arrested at the Naki Police Thana and brought back to Charsadda. Thousands of people gathered around the prison, shouting slogans and demanded his release. “The Britishers have insulted us by arresting Badshah Khan in our territory,” said the residents of Naki and they declared that from now on they all were Khudai Khidmatgars.

The colonial government issued warrants for the arrest of eleven leading men of the movement in Peshawar. Nine of them were arrested and detained on the night of 22 or at the dawn of 23 April. At day break, when the people in Peshawar came to know of the arrest of Khudai Khidmatgars and Congress leaders including Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Syed Lal Badshah, Khan Mir Hilali, Khan Ali Gul Khan and others, they met at the Congress office where they learnt that warrants were issued against two more leaders.

The arrangements for picketing the liquor shops were being carried out. After 9 a.m. when people were standing in a crowd to greet the volunteers who were being sent out on picketing duty, suddenly, a sub-inspector of police with armed constables came to the Congress office and arrested two more leaders – Ghulam Rabbani Sethi and Allah Baksh Barqi. A spontaneous *hartal* was observed in Peshawar in protest against the detentions. There was also
some excitement over the scheduled beginning of picketing by Khudai Khidmatgar-Congress volunteers of the liquor shops.

When the police brought the two arrested leaders to the Kabuli Gate thana – Qissa Khawani Bazar, a crowd of about 2,000 Khudai Khidmatgar and Congress volunteers started a procession from the Congress office and reached the Kabuli Gate thana and started shouting the slogans: “Inquilab Zindabad”, “Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai”, etc. Despite some slogan shouting, the gathering was on the whole peaceful and completely unarmed. The crowd started dispersing, the arrested leaders were taken inside the thana and Superintendent of Police asked the people to leave. All of a sudden, the crowd discovered – to its utter dismay – that it had been surrounded by armed troops from all sides.

Actually, the army was brought to Peshawar and deployed at various strategic points. A substantial section of troops was positioned near Nowshera Gate and in the Qissa Khawani Bazar area at Kabuli Gate, where the processionists had collected. Around 10:15 a.m. two to three armoured cars suddenly moved on the scene at great speed, and crushed a few people. “…Several were run over of whom some were wounded and some killed on the spot. The people were not armed. They had nothing with them – no lathis, hatchets, stones, or bricks. In spite of such grave provocation the crowd behaved with great restraint collecting the wounded and dead persons. Some people went in front of the car and implored that the car should stop…. It stopped for a while, then reversed speedily, hitting a dispatch motor cycle rider which set its oil tank ablaze. People rushed in to extricate the dead and injured who lay under the armoured car; the car was burning, as also the motor cycle. In a moment of panic, Captain Rickett shouted the order at the top of his voice: ‘Garhwalis, three round fire’. Havaldar Chandra Singh, who stood near Platoon 1 on the left of Captain Rickett, thunderously countermanded it: “Garhwalis, cease fire”. The Garhwali soldiers obeyed Chandra Singh’s order and refused to fire on the unarmed people. The Garhwali soldiers including Chandra Singh were court-martialed and sentenced to long prison terms.

Fire was also opened from two more armoured cars. Shrieks, shouts and gunshots rent the air, and the bodies of the dead and injured were strewn all over. The troops continued hunting the unarmed processionists indiscriminately from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. It was resumed at 1:30 p.m. and continued till 5:00 p.m. in the evening. A large number of persons were killed and wounded. The Khilafat volunteers and others were able to remove about sixty dead bodies mostly from by-lanes to the Khilafat office. A large number of wounded also were taken to that office and after first-aid were sent by Dr. Khan Sahib to the Lady Reading Hospital. About 6 O’clock in the evening the military raided the Congress office and removed the Congress flags, badges, etc. Again, at night the police removed two dead bodies which were brought late in the evening and kept for the night at a Madrassa nearby. For the coming few days the entire Peshawar city became a hell to live in owing to the atrocities of the British soldiers and martial law was clamped on the maimed, agonized and terror-stricken town of Peshawar.

21 Red Leaf Conspiracy Case (1931).
22 **Chauri Chaura Kand (1922).**

When the people of the village Chauri Chaura were taking part in a Satyagarah during the Non-Cooperation movement on 5 February 1922, the British police stationed on the spot suddenly opened fire on them, causing in deaths and injuries to many. When the policemen ran out of their ammunition and found the gathering infuriated by the firing, they retreated and hid themselves in the police station. Someone from the crowd sprayed kerosene oil on the *thana* building and set it on fire. All 23 policemen who were inside the building were killed. This incident so deeply hurt Gandhiji who had all through the movement emphasized on peace and non-violence that he called off the movement suddenly.

23 **Aranya Satyagraha of Karnataka (1939-40).**

**Background:**

In fulfilment of the Lahore resolution of Independence in December 1929, Gandhiji chose a simple method of inaugurating the Satyagraha Movement. He chose the Salt Tax for disobedience.

The meetings held throughout India on the 26th January 1930, in which millions of people took a vow to face all suffering in the cause of Freedom, had shown the high mettle of the people and their readiness to undertake the struggle. In Karnataka a committee consisting of Karnad Sadashivrao, Gangadhararao Deshpande, T.S. Nayak, Parmanna Hosmani, Diwakar, Hanumantarao Kowjalgi and Dr. Hardiker chose Ankola on the sea-coast in North Kanara as the most suitable venue for commencing the Salt Satyagraha. The same Committee with Tekur Subramanyam and Shankararao Gulvadi was constituted into the Karnataka Satyagraha Mandal to guide the campaign. The Hindustani Seva Dal organized by Dr. Hardiker mustered all its volunteer strength and held Satyagraha camps. Intensive propaganda was undertaken in all districts and when Hardiker and Kowjalgi interviewed Gandhiji and appraised him of the preparations, Gandhiji gave his blessings and hoped that Karnataka would give the fullest response to the nation’s call.

On the appointed date, the 13th April, one week after Gandhiji himself made a breach of the Salt Law, three different batches of satyagrahis from Hubli and Belgaum converged at Ankola for the satyagraha. M.P. Nadkarni was the first Satyagrahi and prepared contraband salt from sea-water amidst scenes of tremendous enthusiasm. He was arrested and sentenced after a few days and so were some other associates. Diwakar, who was then sentenced after a few days and so were other associate, Diwakar, who was then President of the Karnakata Provincial Congress Committee, was sentenced to six months, Dr. Hardiker continued to hold and guide the camps of hundreds of Satyagrahis assembled at Ankola. The campaign thus inaugurated caught fire throughout the province.

The movement assumed a mass form in North and South Kanara, and in all important places in the various districts Satyagraha was offered.
**Aranya (Forest) Styagraha, Karnataka:** The Salt Satyagraha was followed by a breach of the forest laws. Cattle were let out to graze freely on Government land. Government auctions for letting out these lands were successfully picketed to the detriment of Government revenues. In the Dharwar and Belgaum districts toddy trees were cut down by tens of thousands. In the North Kanara and Belgaum districts, forest trees were cut and taken away by the people. The dates of these campaigns were announced earlier and huge crowds proceeded with axes to the venue singing songs and shouting slogans, and many of them were arrested. While forest satyagraha went on from May in the other districts, it was systematically organized in August in North Kanara under the leadership of Dr. N.B. Kabbur. The first satyagraha undertaken in Sirsi on 4 August, attracted 2,000 people who took out a procession with music and cut the trees in the forest. Officers including the Divisional Forest Officer, the *Mamlatdar*, the Police Sub-Inspector, the forest guards and twenty policemen were present. A large number of fuel and sandalwood trees were cut and taken away in carts. Many of the satyagrahis were arrested and put behind the bars. The movement spread like wild fire to all parts of the districts and it was simply impossible to curb it in spite of arrests. In Karwar, a huge crowd was mercilessly lathi-charged. Along with the salt satygaraha and forest satyagraha vigorous picketing of liquor shops was undertaken in all districts.

Various other activities were undertaken to promote the cause of Satyagraha. National flags were put up on their own offices by a number of municipal bodies. The decennial census was boycotted. Prabhat Pheris in the early morning were a regular feature, and cyclostyled bulletins were issued in defiance of Government orders.

After the Salt, Forest and other types of satyagraha, came the finale in the shape of the no-tax campaign. The no-tax campaign in Ankopla Taluk was undertaken as a part of the Satyagraha Movement. R.R. Diwakar guided the campaign and Karmarkar directed it in cooperation with Ram Naik Basgod.

At Bilgi on 27-03-1932, a Prabhat Pheri was sought to be dispersed by a cane charge. When one batch of ladies was arrested, another came up. All were arrested and later released, except 5 volunteers. On 4 March, all ladies participating in a Gandhi Day procession were prodded on to the lock-up by bayonet ends resulting in severe injuries. A crowd which had offered Forest Satyagraha at Sirsi on 10th May was declared arrested and marched to the police lock-up, where a large number of processionists were detained. Another huge crowd came with wood cut, in defiance of forest laws and was severely lathi-charged by the police.

24 **Goa Liberation Movement.**

The Portuguese colonised India in 1510, conquering many parts of the western coast and establishing several colonies in the east. By the end of the 19th century, Portuguese colonies in India were limited to Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra, Nagar Haveli and Anjediva Island.

The abolition of the Portuguese monarchy in 1910, raised hopes that the colonies would be granted self-determination; however, when Portuguese colonial policies remained unchanged, an organised and dedicated freedom movement emerged. Luís de Menezes Bragança founded *O Heraldo*, the first Portuguese language newspaper in Goa, which was critical of Portuguese
colonial rule. In 1917, the "Carta Organica" law was passed, overseeing all civil liberties in Goa.

In reaction to growing dissent, the Portuguese Government in Goa implemented policies which curtailed civil liberties, including censorship of the press. Strict censorship policies required any material containing printed words, including invitation cards, to be submitted to a Censorship Committee for screening. The Portuguese Governor of Goa was empowered to suspend publication, close down printing presses and impose heavy fine on newspapers which refused to comply with these policies. Many Goans criticised the curtailing of press freedoms, stating that the only newspapers and periodicals the Portuguese permitted them to publish were pro-colonialist propaganda materials.

Menezes Bragança organised a rally in Margao denouncing the law and, for some time, the Goans received the same rights as mainland Portuguese. However, the Portuguese Catholic Church strongly supported pro-colonial policies and attempted to influence Goan Christians to oppose the liberation movement. The Portuguese Patriarch of the Catholic Church in Goa issued over 60 official letters to the priests of the archdiocese, instructing them to preach to their congregations that salvation lay with the Portuguese and in dissociating themselves from cultural-political relationship with the rest of India.

In 1928, Tristão de Bragança Cunha founded the Goa National Congress. At the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, the Goa Congress Committee received recognition and representation in the All-India Congress Committee.

In May 1930, Portugal passed the "Acto Colonial" (Colonial Act), which restricted political rallies and meetings within all Portuguese colonies. The introduction of this act politically relegated Goa to the status of a colony. The Portuguese also introduced a policy of compulsory conscription in Portuguese India, which contributed significantly to growing resentment against the colonial government.

The Portuguese Government pressured the Indian National Congress to disaffiliate the National Congress (Goa); however, in 1938, Goans in Bombay city formed the Provisional Goa Congress.

By the 1940s, the Goan liberation movement had gained momentum, inspired by the Indian independence movement, which had entered its crucial phase, as well as the 1946 British announcement to grant India independence, after which Indian leaders focused their attention on the freedom movements in Portuguese India and French India.

When Bragança Cunha was arrested in 1946, A.G. Tendulkar became the president of the Goa Congress and organised a meeting in Londa (outside Goa). On 18 May 1946, despite being threatened at gunpoint, Ram Manohar Lohia held a demonstration in Margao. Ram Manohar Lohia's arrest at this demonstration motivated people to hold large-scale protests in support of the independence movement, which resulted in large-scale arrests and the incarceration of over 1,500 people. Goan leaders, including Bragança Cunha, Purushottam Kakodkar and Laxmikant Bhembre were deported to Portugal for their participation in the independence protests.

From October to November 1946, a series of satyagrahas (non-violent civil-disobedience actions) were held in Goa; however, many of the leaders of these actions were arrested. With the arrest of the leadership, much of the momentum of the movement was lost and, subsequently, the Goa Congress began to operate from Bombay.
During the mid-1940s, a number of new political parties emerged in Goa, each having a conflicting agenda and perspective in relation to achieving Goan independence and autonomy. These political parties advocated for vastly different policies including Goa's merger with Maharashtra State, Goa's merger with the Southern Indian State of Karnataka, independent statehood for Goa and autonomy within Portuguese rule.

Mahatma Gandhi sensed that an independence movement with such disparate perspectives would be ineffective and could undermine the struggle for liberation; hence, Gandhi suggested that the various independence factions should attempt to unite under the broad guise of civil liberties. In response to Gandhi's suggestion, the different Goan political factions met in Bombay in June 1947 to launch a campaign formally demanding that the Portuguese Government "Quit India". The Goan leadership believed that with the end of British colonial occupation, an end to Portuguese colonial occupation would logically follow. However, on 3 August 1947, Lohia announced that Goa's independence would not coincide with Indian national independence and that the Goans would have to continue their struggle, "not just for civil liberties, but for freedom itself".

The failure of Goa to achieve independence within the national independence struggle, in conjunction with mixed signals from the new national Indian leadership in New Delhi and harsh repression by the Portuguese, led to a temporary lull in the Goan liberation movement. Similarly, the partition of India and the Indo-Pakistani War of 1947 diverted the focus of the national Indian leadership from the liberation struggles in the Portuguese and French colonies.

Following national Indian independence, a separate demand for independence was raised by Dr. Froilano de Mello, a prominent Goan microbiologist and MP in the Portuguese National Assembly. De Mello sought independence for Goa, Daman and Diu as autonomous state entities within the framework of a Portuguese Commonwealth, similar to the British Commonwealth.

Within Goa and Portugal, periodic demands for autonomy for Portuguese India continued. In July 1946, a public meeting was held which openly petitioned the Salazar administration to grant autonomy to the Estado da India. The meeting was facilitated by José Inácio de Loyola, and inspired the formation of a Committee chaired by Uday Bhembre to pursue autonomy. Bhembre's Committee failed to provoke a response from the Portuguese administration, and subsequently the last demand for autonomy was made by Purushottam Kakodkar in early 1961.

In December 1947, independent India and Portugal established diplomatic ties. In January 1948, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru met the Portuguese Consul and raised the issue of Goa's integration into the Indian Union. The Portuguese, who valued their strategic Indian colonial outposts, were unwilling to negotiate and by 1948, the Goan freedom movement had virtually disbanded.

25 Kalipattanam Agitation (1941-42).

26 Kallara – Pangode case.

As a sequence to the Kadakkal event, there occurred the riot at Kallara-Pangode area- the most important in the chain of riots. Kallara is the place in Nedumangad taluk in Trivandrum District. It is situated about 40 kms north east of Trivandrum. Pangode is 5kms further north of
Kallara. People inhabiting these slopes of the Western Ghats were at liberty to carry weapons as a measure of safety as the area was infested with wild animals. There were three important markets in the Nedumangad taluk, viz, Nanniyod, Kallara and Venjarammud, where people assemble for selling and buying goods. The right to collect tax and toll from the markets was usually auctioned annually and the tahsildar of the area bestowed the rights on the highest bidder. The concerned officials could make much capital out of dealings of this kind through clandestine understanding between them and the bidder. These bidders resold their rights to others, who very often, were undesirable men and rowdies. Ultimately the people had to deal with these elements to whom the right to collect toll had been indirectly given by the heir products. There was no fixed amount as toll or tax. Whatever amount they thought fit on the occasion, they charged on the goods. When the revenue authorities implemented a rule to collect more taxes for selling agricultural commodities in the markets of Kallara and Pangode, farmers began opposing it. Initially, the revenue authorities enforced the new entry tax system with the help of police, but soon they found it difficult to handle. People who have been distressed with the oppressive rule of the Diwan joined the agitated farmers and it soon swelled into a large mass movement. Farmers cutting across religions and classes decided not to pay the increased entry tax for selling agricultural produces in the markets. The farmers under the leadership of Chellappan Vaidyan, Kochappi Pillai, Plankeezhil Krishna Pillai, Cheruvalam Kochu Narayanan Achary and a few others openly defied the revenue authorities and the police in the Kallara Market on September 30, 1938. This led to the detention and custodial torture of the movement leader Kochappi Pillai in the Pangode Police Outpost. Angered by it, agitators grouped and began collecting arms and ammunition to face to confront the police. They blocked the access from Trivandrum by cutting down trees into the roads to prevent any reinforcement of police to the area.

Kochappi Pillai was released the next day following an effective intervention by Pattalam Krishnan, a retired Army servant. The same day, a policeman who was out in Kallara to clear the obstacles erected on the road by the agitators was lynched to death by the mob. In the afternoon, the agitators marched to the Pangode Police Outpost, with weapons including rifles. They started firing at the Police Outpost with the Police returning the fire. In the ensued crossfire, two agitators – Plankeezhil Krishna Pillai and Cheruvalam Kochu Narayanan Achary – died on the spot. Police reinforcements reached Pangode the next day and began searching house by house to locate the leaders who were behind the agitation. The police cracked down on the movement, arrest all participants of the agitation. The case was investigated and tried; sentences awarded within one year.

27 **Kadakkal Riot case.**

The Chengannur incidents were followed by a more serious and violent confrontation at Kadakkal, a village about 48 kms north of Trivandrum. The arrest of some state Congress workers of Kottarakara on 23rd and 26th September provoked the people very much”. The situation of the area was already tense due to the exorbitant toll collected by the agents of the government from the market at Kadakkal though its intensity was not so hard as in the nearby markets of Kallara-Pangode area. The state congress workers of Kadakkal exhorted the people not to pay the toll. Also they obstructed the sale of liquor. On 29th September the mob stoned the police station in the area and the small police party sustained injuries. In view of the alarming strength and fury of the mob the police temporarily withdrew to kottarakara. The people had
already seized the guns and swords kept in the station. Kadakkal was virtually under the government very much.

On 5th October two platoons of military arrived at the area and suppressed the agitation with an iron hand. Thirteen houses were set fire by the police and military. The youths of the area repaired to the nearby forests and many fled from the scene and nearby forests and many fled from the scene and sought asylum elsewhere. People were mercilessly beaten and torture. Several cases were framed against the ring leaders and participants of the movement. Properties of leaders like Raghavan pillai were confiscated. Those arrested were kept in lock-ups Kottarakara, Chengannur, Quilon, Chirayinkil and Trivandrum.

28 Chengannur Riot case.

The firing in Shankumukham and Attingal in 21st September 1938 produced an electrifying effect in the entire state. Similar skirmishes took place in different parts of the state- the chengannur waging war case/ chengannur riot case was the most important in the series. From 29th September to 1st October 1938, Chengannur, a place in central Travancore and its adjoining villages witnessed various acts of violence which the government delineated as “constituting the ingredients of waging war against the sovereign”. Chengannur, a place in the central Travancore witnessed for a series of clashes between the armed forces of the state and the freedom fighters in the month of September 1938 Chengannur as in other parts of the country, was also surcharge with political unrest. The state congress had been outlawed by the Act I of 1938. The cry for responsible government was spreading like a whirlwind. Political arrest, trials and convictions were going on at one end and organized violence at the other. Most important activity was picketing of government high school on 29th September 1938 people assembled in large numbers. Seeing the seriousness, police inspector, A.S.P, Division first class magistrate and military reached in the spot and brutally lathi charged to disperse the crown and to suppress state congress activities. The provoked mob moved to police inspector house and pelted stone and caused damage to the house of the inspector. Soon the military reached and opened fire and many people succumbed to injury. The firing break the mob into smaller batches began to operate day and night cutting communication to Chengannur to all sides and caused heavy loss to the government and also cutting down huge trees in order to stop any military transport. Thus Chengannur was virtually at the control of the mob. But a strengthened military force at Chengannur eased the situation.

29 Vattiyoorkavu Conference.

In February 1938, the Travancore State Congress was formed and under the State Congress, the people of Travancore started an agitation for a responsible Government. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, decided to suppress the agitation. On 26 August 1938, he banned the State Congress which then organised a Civil Disobedience movement. Prominent State Congress leaders including its President Pattom A. Thanu Pillai were arrested and put behind bars. The State Congress then decided to change its method of agitation. Its working Committee was dissolved and the president was given dictatorial powers and the right to nominate his successor. Eleven presidents of the State Congress were arrested one by one.
Kuttanad Ramakrishna Pillai, the eleventh president, before his arrest nominated Accamma Cherian as the twelfth president.

Accamma Cherian led a mass rally from Thampanoor to the Kowdiar Palace of the Maharaja Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma to revoke a ban on State Congress. The agitating mob also demanded the dismissal of the Dewan, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, against whom the State Congress leaders had levelled several charges. The British police chief ordered his men to fire on the rally of over 20,000 people. Accamma Cherian cried, "I am the leader; shoot me first before you kill others". Her courageous words forced the police authorities to withdraw their orders.

In October 1938, the Working Committee of the State Congress directed Accamma Cherian to organise the Desasevika Sangh (Female Volunteer Crops). She toured various centres and appealed to the women to join as members of the Desasevika Sangh.

Inspite of the ban the first annual conference of the State Congress was held at Vattiyoorkavu on 22 and 23 December 1938. Most of the State Congress leaders were arrested and put behind the bars. Accamma Cherian, along with her sister Rosamma Punnose (also a prominent freedom fighter) was arrested and jailed on 24 December 1939 for one year’s imprisonment.

30  **Anti-Independent Travancore.**

The present State of Kerala is made up of three princely States, Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. When the British announced their withdrawal from India, the Diwan of Travancore, Sir. CP Ramaswamy Iyer announced that Travancore would establish itself as an independent State and would not join the Indian Union.

The action of Diwan aroused a bitter controversy inside and outside the State. Travancore was again in the vortex of a political struggle and the Government resorted to a series of repressive measures to meet the situation. One of the highlights of the struggle was a police firing at Pettah, Trivandrum, in which three persons including a student by name Rajendran were killed. A few days after the incident, an unsuccessful attempt was made on Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer’s life when the Diwan was attending a function in the Swathi Thirunal Academy of Music at Trivandrum on July 25, 1947. The Diwan escaped with minor injuries and very soon left the State for good. Immediately after this incident, the Maharaja intimated, to Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General, about his decision to accept the Instrument of Accession and take Travancore into the Indian Union. Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer resigned the office of Diwan on 19 August 1947 and was succeeded in that office by P.G.N. Unnithan.

31  **Punnapra-Vayalar Movement.**

In the year 1938, October 21 the coir factory workers of Alleppey started an indefinite labour strike demanding rise in wages, release of national leaders and the need to have a responsible government. The third day of the labour strike witnessed fierce police brutality against peaceful meetings of the workers. Next morning the workers carried out a march to protest this and the police fired at the march which resulted in the death of two workers. But
none of these brutalities could prevent the working class from striving for its rights. The strike extended for 23 days and the labourers could get a hike in wages. These struggles combined with activism of the socialist movement created a strong worker peasant alliance in Alleppey. The year 1946 witnessed the Dewan of Travancore Sir CP Ramaswamy Iyer declaring the ‘American Model’ according to which Travancore would remain an independent state. The trade unions and communist party raised the slogan, “Into the Arabian sea with the American model”. They also decided to organize agitations to ensure the merger of the princely states with Indian Union. Therefore, the workers and peasants of Alappuzha decided to oppose the American Model and fight the police.

On 24th October 1946 the workers and the peasants fought with the army which tried to curb the movement. Firing took place at Punnapra sea shore and hundreds of workers and peasants lost their lives. The following days there were fierce fight between the army and the people and more than thousand workers lost their lives. This created a new political awareness across the country. There was a relief committee formed to help the victims of these struggles in Malabar. The Punnapra Vayalar struggles served the cause of strengthening the peasant worker unity in the struggle for agrarian reforms and labour rights. The Punnapra Vayalar struggles gave inspiration to the workers and peasants of Malabar to carry forward their combined fight against imperialism and landlordism.

32. **Karlvelloor Movement.**
33. **Kauvambal Movement.**

**Karlvelloor and Kavumbal/Kavumbai Movements:**

Once the Second World War was over, the communist party decided to launch a determined struggle against imperialism. According to a resolution dated 5th August 1946, the communists were striving hard to organize the peasants and workers against imperialism. The pauperized riots and agricultural labourers of Malabar, decided on a programme to prevent black marketing and hoarding and to cultivate barren land for resolving the food crisis. The Karshaka Sanghams of Malabar involved themselves in searching out the hoarded grain stocks and cultivation of barren lands.

The activists of Karshaka Sangham took initiative in providing relief to the people. A meeting attended by the activists of Karshaka Sangham, Communist party and trade unions held at Kozhikode in November 1946 declared the need for producing more food by cultivating the barren land. The meeting also exhorted the peasants to ensure that the grains paid as Vaaram should be measured at the stores before being sent to the granaries of Jenmis.

A strong movement emerged against the corrupt practices of the land lords. On 16 December 1946, the workers and peasants and other sections of the population held a meeting to discuss these matters. The meeting declared that the grains will not be allowed to be transferred away from Karivellur. The activists guarded the routes through which paddy was to be transported. The landlords assisted by Malabar Special Police tried to transfer the paddy and the farmers under the leadership of A V Kunhambu resisted and the police firing resulted in the death of Thiteel Kannan and Keeneri Kunhambu. A Case was filed with 141 persons as accused.
66 persons were convicted. The events at Karivellur activated the peasants of the whole of Malabar.

The peasants of Irikkoor faced similar problems. The Karshaka Sangham activists of Irikkoor requested the permission of landlord, Janmi, to cultivate the land of Kavumbai. But the Jenmi was in no mood to oblige. Then they gave the number of petitions to the ministers and officials of Madras government. After these, the peasants under the leadership of Karshaka Sangham decided to occupy the area and cultivate even if they had to face the police. The police cordoned off the area and assaulted the activists of the Sangham. Thengil Appa Nambiar, P Kumaran, Alirambilkandi Krishnan, Pulukool Kunjiraman and Manjeri Govindan lost their lives in the police firing.

The Karlvellor Movement took place on December 20, 1946. 6000 strong mob peasants under communist leadership forcibly stepped a party carrying the paddy due as rent to the chirakkal Raja and later surrounded the farm house. Their demand was that the paddy should be sold through the cooperative society in order to prevent black marketing. The police opened fire and two persons by name Mankatu Thattil Krishnan and Keeneri Kunhambu were killed. Several of the participants in the agitation were arrested and sent to jail.

34 Kayyur Movement.

Karshaka Sangham achieved its mass base through combining its struggle for the abolition of landlordism throughout Malabar with the building up localized resistance against the Jenmis of a particular area. The perils of Second World War aggravatated the plight of the peasants which prompted them to come out more and more openly against the colonial and landlords combine. Neeleswaram raja of Chirakkal was one of the prominent Jenmis of the Hosdurg Taluk. The peasants under the leadership of VV Kunhambu, NG Kamamath, K Madhavan, and M K Kuttan made preparations to have a long march to the residence of the Neeleswaram raja and submit a memorandum to him demanding the termination of revenue collection practices like Vechukaanal, Nuri, Mukkal and Seelakaasu. Neeleswaram Raja reported to the authorities that the Karshaka Sangham activists were going to loot his property. The police was directed to Kayyur. The leaders of the Karshaka Sangham VV Kunhambu and TV Kunhiraman were arrested. K P Vellinga, Choorikkadan Krishnan Nair, Koithattil Chirukandan and Valappil aman had arrest warrants issued against them according to Defence of India Rules. March 28, 1941 witnessed strong protest rallies against the arrest of the leaders. It was organized by the local Communist cell. The demonstrators shouted slogans against British Rule and landlordism. A police constable who was said to be a leading figure in the police repression appeared in an intoxicated condition before the rallies. The peasants insisted him to hold the red flag and walk in front of the march. He ran off and jumped into a river where he was drowned to death. The establishment was enraged by the death of its personnel and they registered a case for murder against the peasant leaders. Four of them, Madathil Appu, Koithattil Chirukandan, Aboobakkar and Podora Kunhambu Nair were condemned to death. MLAs and MLCs of Malabar submitted a clemency petition on behalf the accused to Madras government. But the government did not relent. Despite the attempts of the Indian Communist Party and even the British Parliamentarians who were the members of the British Communist Party, the
establishment insisted on hanging them to death. On 29th March 1943, the four peasant leaders of Kayyur were sent to the gallows.

35. **Morazha Movement**

The Kerala Provincial Congress Committee (K.P.C.C.) gave a call to the people of Malabar to observe 15 September 1940 as Anti-Imperialist Day. The action was disapproved by the Congress High Command, but there were meetings and demonstrations all over Malabar on this day. Kannur District was the centre of this agitation. There were violent clashes between the people and the police at several places and lathi charge and tiring were resorted to by the police to meet the situation. Two young men were killed in a clash between a mob and a police party at Morazha. In connection with the latter incident, K.P.R. Gopalan, a prominent communist, was arrested on a charge of murder and later sentenced to death. But, owing to the intervention of several top ranking political leaders including Mahatma Gandhi, the death penalty was not carried out. The “Quit India” Movement of August 1942 also had its echoes in Kannur district. A socialist group among the Congress workers under Dr. K.B. Menon, provided leadership to the movement.

36. **Malabar Special Police Strike (MSP Strike).**

Formed in 1884, the Malabar Special Police were initially known as the Malappuram Special Police, having been quartered in Malappuram. Its initial personnel consisted of 80 Constables, 4 Native Head Constables, 4 Sergeants, a Bugler and a European Inspector, who were temporarily drafted into a special force to deal with periodical outbreaks of by Mappilas. The squad was made permanent in 1897. As they were run by the British government and often used to quell native disturbances, the MSP were seen as a symbol of colonial oppression.

During the Second World War, among the lower ranks of the police there was a widespread discontent over low wages and poor conditions at a time of high prices and severe shortages. There was uncertainty about future employment prospects, especially among the large numbers of policemen recruited with only minimal training during Second World War, unease about possible retribution from returning congress ministries; and an inescapable awareness of the great political and communal ferment that was over taking India. It also reflected and fed upon grievances strongly felt by police subordinates themselves, and it formed a part of that wider ‘revolt from below which helped to paralyze the colonial administration and drive the British out of India. Police unrest manifested itself in several parts of India between late 1941 and middle months of 1947.

On 16 April a company of the Malabar special police, the madras government’s paramilitary force went on strike over pay conditions of service. The strike which the government partly ascribed to communist influence was defeated after eight days; nearly one thousand men were dismissed and four companies were disbanded.
37. **Dadra and Nagar Haveli Movement.**

The Merger movement in Dadra and Nagar Haveli (also referred to as Liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli) was the conflict in which the territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli passed from the Portuguese rule to the Indian Union rule in 1954. Dadra and Nagar Haveli were small Portuguese overseas territories, part of Portuguese India from 1779 until 1954.

After Indian independence in 1947, pro-India activists in the Portuguese Indian provinces, as well as Indians from other places, proposed of removing Portuguese control of Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and integrating them with India. This was in line with the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi, who had, before India's independence, affirmed that "Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State [of India]."

Appasaheb Karmalkar, a bank employee with the Goa Government took the reins of the National Liberation Movement Organization (NLMO) for the liberation of the Portuguese-ruled Indian territories. Simultaneously the AGD (led by Vishwanath Lavande, Dattatreya Deshpande, Prabhakar Sinari and Gole) and volunteers of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (led by Raja Wakankar and Nana Kajrekar) had been planning an armed assault for freeing Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Wakankar and Kajrekar visited the area around Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman several times in 1953 to study the topography and to get acquainted with the local workers and leaders who were agitating for the liberation of the Portuguese territory. In April 1954 the NLMO, AGD and RSS agreed to form a United Front for liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. At a meeting in Elphinstone garden, an armed assault was planned. Independently, another organization, United Front of Goans (UFG), also pursued similar plans.

J.D. Nagarwala, DIG of the Special Reserve Police, which had been deployed along the territory, had been sympathetic with the nationalists. He had himself visited the area often and advised the nationalists on the next moves.

The UFG, led by Francis Mascarenhas, Viman Sardesai and others, attacked the police station in Dadra on the night of 22 July 1954, assassinating Aniceto Rosário, sub-inspector at Dadra Police Station. The next morning, the Indian flag was hoisted and Dadra was declared a free territory. A panchayat led by Jayanti Bhai Desai was formed for the administration of Dadra. Simultaneously, the nationalists occupied Navolion on 29 July 1954 and Silvassa on 2 August 1954.

Dadra and Nagar Haveli became, in the eyes of international law, an independent country because which was not recognized by any other country before 1974. In the decision of the 12 of April 1960 in the "Case Concerning Right of Passage Over Indian Territory", the International Court of Justice clearly stated that Portugal had sovereign rights over the territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The residents of the former colony requested the Government of India for administrative help. K.G. Badlani, an officer of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) was sent as the administrator. From 1954 to 1961, the territory was administered by a body called the Varishta Panchayat of Free Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

In 1961 when Indian forces took over Goa, Daman, and Diu, Badlani was, for one day, designated the Prime Minister of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, so that, as Head of Government, he
could sign an agreement with the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, and formally merge Dadra and Nagar Haveli with the Republic of India. This was done by the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution of India.

38. **Goa Liberation Movement, Phase-II**

In January 1953, the Indian delegation in Portugal (a representative body of the Indian government), sought to negotiate with Portugal on the issue of its territories in India. The Indian government offered a direct transfer; however, the Portuguese refused and diplomatic relations between the two countries deteriorated. On 11 June 1953, the Indian delegation in Lisbon was closed and diplomatic ties were formally severed. In July 1953, Nehru stated that the Indian Government's position involved French and Portuguese colonies in India integrating into the Indian Union. Despite Nehru clearly stating India's policy in relation to colonial outposts, Portugal and France refused to cede their colonies. Subsequently, India launched a campaign through the UN in an attempt to persuade the Portuguese to leave India peacefully.

Azad Gomantak Dal, a revolutionary group, vowed to fight the Portuguese using direct action strategies. Azad Gomantak Dal successfully carried out raids on police stations and factories, ambushed military patrols, attacked troops stationed at the border and blew up ammunition dumps. However, in response to the group's revolutionary tactics, the Portuguese increased their military presence by bringing in white and African troops to quell the insurgency.

The Goa Liberation Army, founded by Shivajirao Desai, an Indian army officer in the 1950s, attempted to utilise revolutionary tactics and direct action strategies to challenge Portuguese colonialism. It blasted Sesa Goa's Sonshi mine, which caused temporary suspension of the mining activity of the Portuguese. The Goa Liberation Army was credited with many other blasts and raids, and played a pivotal role in defending the bridges at the time of Indian invasion.

In 1953, Tristão de Bragança Cunha formed the Goa Action Committee to coordinate the various liberation groups working independently in Mumbai. Goans and non-Goans offered Satyagraha in solidarity with the struggle.

In Goa, the freedom movement had evolved into two camps, which advocated distinct liberation strategies. The National Congress Goa utilised peaceful satyagraha tactics, while Azad Gomantak Dal advocated revolutionary methods. On 15 August 1954, a mass satyagraha was instigated; however, despite the use of non-violent civil disobedience protest strategies, the Portuguese authorities assaulted and arrested many participants. P.D. Gaitonde was arrested for publicly protesting Portuguese colonialist policy.

A year later, another protest was organised on the same date. The Jana Sangh leader, Karnataka Kesari Jagannathrao Joshi, led 3,000 protesters including women, children and Indians from Maharashtra State, through the Goa border. The security forces baton charged the protesters and opened fire on the Satyagraha, resulting in several deaths and hundreds of injuries.

As Portugal was now a member of NATO, the Indian Government was reticent to react to the situation. NATO member nations had a pact to protect each other in the event that any member state came under attack from an external force. Although, the NATO treaty did not cover colonies, Portugal insisted that its overseas interests were not colonies but an integral part of the Nation of Portugal. Hence, in order for India to avoid NATO involvement in Goa, the
Indian Government was impeded from speaking out against Portugal's response to *Satyagraha* protest actions.

In 1954, the Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti (All-Party Goa Liberation Committee), was formed with the aim of continuing the Civil Disobedience campaign and providing financial and political assistance to the satyagrahis. The Maharashtra and Gujarat chapters of the Praja Socialist Party assisted the Liberation Committee, motivated by an agenda for independent Goa to merge into Maharashtra State. The Liberation Committee and the Praja Socialist Party collaboratively organised several satyagrahas in 1954–55.

The Portuguese Government appealed to various international powers, charging India with violation of Portugal's territorial sovereignty due to the actions of the Satyagrahas in crossing Portuguese Goan borders. Nehru was subsequently pressured to announce that India formally disapproved of the Satyagrahas.

Nehru's denouncement of the Satyagraha severely impacted on the independence movement. A satyagrahi plan to cross the Goan border at Terekhol Fort attracted very few supporters. Despite the low turnout, a small group managed to cross the Goan border to successfully occupy the Terekhol fort overnight.

With the exception of a small number of satyagrahas and the activities of the All-Goa Political Party Committee, the freedom movement lost its momentum. Pro-independence advocacy actions were sporadic and few were willing to involve themselves in the movement. On 18 June 1954, Satyagrahis infiltrated Goa and hoisted the Indian flag; however, the demonstrators and suspected sympathisers were arrested, and anti-colonialist activists Dr. Gaitonde and Shriyut Deshpande were deported to Portugal.

On 21 July 1954, the United Front of Goans (led by Francis Mascarenhas) forced the Portuguese to retreat from the colonial enclave of Dadra, a small landlocked territory bordering Nagar Haveli. A group of volunteers from the National Movement Liberation Organisation (NMLO), an umbrella organisation involving revolutionary groups Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Azad Gomantak Dal, led an attack on Nagar Haveli on 28 July 1954, and liberated it on 2 August. Despite successfully liberating the territories, India did not immediately assimilate these enclaves into the Indian Union. For some time, both enclaves functioned as de facto independent states, administered by the Varishta Panchayat of Free Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

The successful annexation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli provided the dormant Goa liberation movement with renewed vigour and motivation to continue the liberation struggle. On 15 August 1954, hundreds of people crossed the Portuguese Goan borders, on participate in the Satyagraha. The Portuguese responded to the action by injuring and fatally shooting many Satyagrahis.

The Portuguese responded to the Satyagrahas, which continued throughout 1955, by sealing Goa's borders in an attempt to curb the growing support for the movement. By 1955, the Indian government had developed a clear policy on Portuguese Goan territory, which supported the liberation movement. Between 1955 and 1961, six political parties were formed to advocate for an end to Portuguese colonial rule. These parties included Azad Gomantak Dal, Rancour Patriota, the United Front of Goans, Goan People's Party, Goa Liberation Army and Quit Goa Organisation.
Many Goans reportedly felt that the Portuguese were deliberately misleading the international community by portraying Goans as Luso-Indian or Portuguese. Following his release from prison, P.D. Gaitonde conducted a series of international lectures to challenge this notion. With increased support from the international community and Portuguese African colonies instigating an armed struggle against the Portuguese, the policy position of the India government was able to become more hardline.

In 1961, India proclaimed that Goa should be liberated "either with full peace or with full use of force". In August 1961, India began military preparations and, following Nehru's announcement on 1 December 1961, that India would not remain silent in relation to the Goan situation, Indian troops were strategically stationed close to the Goan border.

Nehru ordered the Indian Armed Forces to take Goa by force. In a military operation conducted on 18 and 19 December 1961, Indian troops captured Goa with little resistance. The Governor-General of Portuguese India signed an instrument of surrender.

39. **Kuka Namdhari Movement, 1871**

During the First War of Independence, Guru Ram Singh founded the Sant Khalsa which later on called the Namdhari or Kuka Movement. He had built up separate gurdwaras for his followers and appointed the Subas (Governors).

Guru Ram Singh launched a crusade for social-religious reforms and revival. He felt that political independence had disappeared from the Punjab and the rest of the country because true religion had become extinct in the hearts of the People.

Baba Ram Singh made extensive tours through the Punjab and his Dewans (religious assemblies) attracted huge crowds. In the year 1863 Guru Ram Singh and his followers were placed under police surveillance. This act of repression by the Government proved a blessing for the movement, which thereafter made rapid progress and took the form of a political revolutionary organization. The Kukas were now asked to boycott all British institutions, such as schools and colleges, courts and post and telegraph offices, and steps were taken to establish alternative institutions which had the appearance of a parallel government. The Province was divided into twenty-two divisions and each division was placed under a Suba or Governor. When the Government learnt about the rapid growth of the movement, it saw wisdom in removing the ban on the activities of the Kukas in 1869.

The apparent calm, which marked the period 1868-1870, ended in 1871 with the Kuka attacks on the butchers of Amritsar and Raikot, not long afterwards by much bigger raids on Malodh and Maler Kotla. They were now openly on the warpath. Apparently, their main aim was cow-protection, a long established cultural value of Indian civilization.

In 1871, a programme of raids on slaughter houses and butchers was adopted. Such attacks were made on the slaughter-houses of Amritsar and Raikot, as a result of which several butchers were killed at both the places. The assailants were traced out and hanged after summary trials. The most important attack was, however, reserved for Malerkotla in 1872, in the course of which the Kukas killed ten men and wounded seventeen, their own loss being eight killed and
thirty-one wounded. Sixty-eight Kukas were rounded up. Out of them, sixty five were blown up from the mouths of guns and one was cut to pieces by the sword.

On 17 January 1872 Kukas were taken to a field near village Jamalpur. One side, the Kukas were made to stand in a line, and on the opposite side there were the Government Risalahs and armies, and their leaders. Nine guns were fixed at the spot as ordered by Mr. Cowen. According to Government records these guns had been sent by the Maharaja of Patiala, Nabha and Jind.

After the Malerkotla affair, Kuka movement was outlawed, a police post was set up at Bhaini, the headquarters of the movement were occupied and all prominent leaders including Guru Ram Singh were taken into custody. Guru Ram Singh was deported first to Allahabad and then to Burma, where he remained as a state prisoner till his death in 1885.

40. **Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, 1919**

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre, also known as the Amritsar massacre, was a seminal event in the British rule of India. On 13 April 1919, a crowd of non-violent protesters, along with Baishakhi pilgrims, had gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, Punjab to protest against the arrest of two leaders despite a curfew which had been recently declared. On the orders of General Reginald Dyer, the British troops opened fire on the unarmed people killing and wounding many. The figures released by the British government were 370 dead and 1200 wounded. All India Congress Committee (AICC) reports and other sources place the number dead at well over 1000. This "brutality stunned the entire nation", resulting in a "wrenching loss of faith" of the general public in the intentions of Britain. The ineffective inquiry and the initial accolades for Dyer by the House of Lords fuelled widespread anger, leading to the Non-cooperation Movement of 1920–22.