

M.A. (Political Science)
SECOND YEAR
MAPOLS-503

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Rajiv Gandhi University

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MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THINKERS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Modern Indian Political Thinkers and Constitutional Development

MA [Political Science]

Second Year

MAPOLS - 503

RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY
Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

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Modern Indian Political Thinkers and Constitutional Development

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Unit 2 **Gandhian Thought** – Special reference to the concept of Non-Violence Satyagraha and Sarvodaya.	**Unit 2:** Gandhian Thoughts **(Pages 23-44)**
Unit 3 **Socialism and Social Justice** – Ideas of J. P. Narayan, M.N Roy, Ram Manohar Lohia & B.R. Ambedkar.	**Unit 3:** Socialism and Social Justice **(Pages 45-89)**
Unit 4 **Religion and Communal Politics in India** – The Main ideas of Savarkar, Hedgewar, Syed Ahmed khan and Jinnah.	**Unit 4:** Religion and Communal Politics in India **(Pages 91-106)**
Unit 5 **Communist Movement and Thought in India** – S.A. Dange – M.S Nambudripad – R P Dutt.	**Unit 5:** Communist Movement and Thoughts in India **(Pages 107-116)**
Unit 6 **Social, Economic and Political impact of British Rule in India** – Socio-Religious Reform Movements – Economic Critique of British Colonialism – Early Constitutional Reforms - Indian Councils Acts of 1861, 1892, 1909.	**Unit 6:** Social, Economic and Political Impact of British Rule in India **(Pages 117-178)**
Unit 7 **Indian National Movement: Early Phase** – Formation of Indian National congress and its programme and method – Moderates and Extremists – The first world war, Home rule Movement and the Montague - Chelmsford Reforms of 1919.	**Unit 7:** Indian National Movement: Early Phase **(Pages 179-215)**
Unit 8 **Indian National Movement: Final Phase - I** – Champaran, Ahmedabad & Khera – Khilafat and Non Cooperation Movements – Civil Disobedience Movement.	**Unit 8:** Indian National Movement: Final Phase–I **(Pages 217-241)**
Unit 9 **Indian National Movement: Final Phase - II** – Government of India Act 1935 and the formation of Congress Ministries in the provinces – Quit India Movement – Cabinet Mission.	**Unit 9:** Indian National Movement: Final Phase–II **(Pages 243-256)**
Unit 10 **Indian Independence** – Growth of Communalism and movement for Pakistan – Interim Government and Constituent Assembly – Mountbatten plan, Partition of India and Indian Independence Act.	**Unit 10:** Indian Independence **(Pages 257-281)**

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INTRODUCTION

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The period between 1707 and 1950 is extremely crucial in the history of India. The advent of the Europeans for the purpose of trading eventually led to the domination of India by the British, who ruled over India for a long time. The First World War and the Second World War played an important role in arousing the spirit of nationalism among people. Various freedom fighters fought for the independence of the country in their own way.

The Indian independence struggle included various political organizations, philosophies and movements. All of them aimed at ending the British rule in India. The Indian National Congress, along with Mahatma Gandhi, played a major role in the Indian national movement. The Indian independence movement was fuelled by two ideologies—modernism and extremism. Both these ideologies strived for Purna Swaraj, but in different ways. Finally, India became independent on 15 August 1947 and became a Republic on 26 January 1950 when the Constitution of India was enforced. During this period of struggle, India witnessed the arrival of several social and political thinkers. Early thinkers like Rammohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati and Vivekananda showed the path to new thoughts and acted as catalysts to a new awakening. They were followed by people such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Later on, we saw the emergence of Gandhi as well as Communist thinkers such as S.A. Dange, M.N. Roy and R.P. Dutt.

This book discusses in detail the ideologies of thinkers mentioned above and many others. The book also critically assesses the socio-political and economic factors that led to the rise of these thinkers. The final sections of the book discuss the Indian freedom movement.

This book, *Modern Indian Political Thinkers and Constitutional Development*, has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format. It follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the **Introduction** followed by the **Unit Objectives** for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy- to-understand manner and is interspersed with **Check Your Progress** questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of **Questions and Exercises** is also provided at the end of each unit. The **Summary**, **Key Terms** and **Activity** further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into ten units:

Unit 1: Gives an overview of the foundation of modern Indian thought

Unit 2: Examines the thoughts of Gandhi with respect to Independence

Unit 3: Traces the study of socialism and social justice

Unit 4: Analyses religion and communal politics in India

Unit 5: Identifies Communist movement and thoughts in India

Unit 6: Describes the social, economic and political impact of British rule

Unit 7: Discusses early phases of the Indian national movement

Unit 8: Discusses final phases of the Indian national movement

Unit 9: Discusses final phases of the Indian national movement in further detail

Unit 10: Covers the major events during India's Independence

UNIT 1 FOUNDATION OF MODERN INDIAN THOUGHT

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will learn about different founders of modern Indian thought. The unit will begin with a discussion on Raja Rammohan Roy.

Raja Rammohan Roy was a religious, social and educational reformer who challenged traditional Hindu culture and indicated the lines of progress for Indian society under British rule. He is rightfully called the 'Father of Modern India'. He founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828, along with Dwarkanath Tagore and other Bengalis, which was an influential Indian socio-religious reform movement during the Bengal Renaissance. Roy's influence was apparent in the fields of politics, public administration, education, as well as religion. He is known for his efforts to abolish the practice of sati, the Hindu funeral practice in which the widow immolated herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

The unit also deals with the life and times of Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati, who was a Hindu religious scholar, reformer and the founder of the Arya Samaj. He was the first to give the call for Swarajya– 'India for Indians' – in 1876, later taken up by Lokmanya Tilak. Denouncing idolatry and the ritualistic worship prevalent in Hinduism at the time, he worked towards reviving Vedic ideologies. Subsequently, the philosopher and President of India, S. Radhakrishnan, called him one of 'makers of modern India,' as did Sri Aurobindo Ghosh. One of his notable disciples was Shyamji Krishna Varma, who founded the India House in London and guided other revolutionaries. Others who were influenced by and followed him were Madam Cama, Pran Sukh Yadav, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Lala Hardayal, Madan Lal Dhingra, Ram Prasad Bismil, Bhagat Singh, Swami Shraddhanand, Sukhabodhananda, Mahatma Hansraj and Lala Lajpat Rai. One of his most influential works is the book, *Satyarth Prakash*, which contributed to the Indian independence movement. He was a sanyasi (ascetic) since boyhood, and a scholar who believed in the infallible authority of the Vedas.

Dayanand advocated the doctrine of karma and scepticism in dogma and emphasized the ideals of brahmacharya (celibacy) and devotion to god. The Theosophical Society and the Arya Samaj were united from 1878 to 1882, becoming the Theosophical

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Society of the Arya Samaj. Among Maharishi Dayanand's major contributions are promotion of equal rights of women, such as the right to education and reading of Indian scriptures and his translation of the Vedas from Sanskrit into Hindi, so that the common person might be able to read them.

The unit will conclude with a discussion on the life, contributions, ideals and philosophy of Bengal's significant social reformer—Swami Vivekananda. Swami Vivekananda (12 January 1863–4 July 1902), born Narendranath Dutta, was the chief disciple of the 19th century mystic Ramakrishna Paramahansa and the founder of the Ramakrishna Math and the Ramakrishna Mission. Vivekananda introduced Hindu philosophy, especially Vedanta and Yoga, to the Western world. He is also credited with raising interfaith awareness and bringing Hinduism to the status of a major world religion. He was a major force in the revival of Hinduism in modern India and is perhaps best known for his inspiring speech at the Parliament of the World's Religions at Chicago in 1893, through which he introduced Hinduism to the world.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the life of Raja Rammohan Roy, including his early life and social, political and religious career
- Discuss the social reforms undertaken by Dayanand Saraswati
- Discuss the Arya and the Brahmo Samaj
- Explain Vivekananda's contribution in propagating Hinduism
- Discuss Vivekananda's Vedanta philosophy

1.2 RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY

One of the most prominent leaders of the Indian Renaissance was Raja Rammohan Roy. Known as the father of modern India, he was born in 1774 in Radhanagar, in the district of Hoogley, in the state of undivided Bengal, to a rich, orthodox, Brahmin zamindar (landowner) family. When he was hardly 15, he wrote a pamphlet in Bengali in which he denounced idol-worship, which, he asserted, was not recognized in the Vedas. Young Roy had to pay very heavily for it. He was turned out from his family and had to live in exile. However, he made the best of the opportunity offered to him by providence. He travelled far and wide and, thus, was able to gather a lot of experience and learning. He had a deep thirst for knowledge and had learnt many languages like Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. He was well versed in Hindu and Muslim religious scriptures and laws. As an employee of the East India Company in 1797, he was exposed to Western culture and traditions. During that period, he learnt English, Greek and Latin. He also learnt Hebrew so that he could study the *Bible* and other works of Christianity. He had deep knowledge of tantra, Jainism and Buddhism.

In 1805, Rammohan Roy joined the service of the English East India Company in Bengal, and continued to work there up to 1814. After his retirement, he settled in Calcutta and devoted himself entirely to the service of the people. In 1814, he started the Atmiya Sabha. In 1828, he founded the Brahmo Samaj. He went to England in 1831 on a special mission to plead the cause of the Mughal emperor of Delhi. While he was still busy in that work, he died at Bristol on 27 September 1833. He was given the title of Raja by the Mughal emperor Akbar II.

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Social changes

The 18th and early 19th century was termed the dark age of India as Indian society was crippled with many social evils and inequalities. Some of the practices that plagued India society during that time were polygamy, child marriage, female infanticide, sati and the caste system. The people of the time were superstitious and backward.

Raja Rammohan Roy started a campaign against all these social evils by setting up modern religious groups, by publishing books and newspapers, by initiating debates and discussions and by establishing modern schools and colleges.

The first book he wrote on Islam and its influence was *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin*. It was published in 1803 and clearly portrays the influence of Islam and Matazilah's philosophy on him. The great Persian Sufi poets and mystics, Maulevi Jalal-ud-din Rumi and Hafiz also had deep impressions on him.

The concepts of one God and absence of idol worship were the main attributes of Islam that influenced him deeply.

His deep knowledge of Christianity and the *Bible* and his admiration for the Christ and his teachings are all reflected in the various books he wrote. His book, *The Precepts of Jesus*, reflects his deep respect for Jesus Christ and his teachings. His knowledge of Sanskrit enabled him to translate many old Hindu scriptures like the Upanishads and Shakracharya's works into Bengali. *Gayatrir Artha* and *Atmanantratma Vivek* are two of his famous works. The main reason for all this research and writings was to influence the Indian society with the concept of belief in one Supreme Self and God. He deeply desired that all religious and social superstitions could be eradicated from the India cultural and social psyche. His book *Manazarat- ul-Adiyan* showed the common message of all religions, in order to bring about religious harmony in India. He tried to allay the fears that Hindus had about the goals and aims of the Christian missionaries. Roy fought for the freedom of the press. He himself founded and edited a Bengali journal called the *Samvad Kaumudi*, which was among the earliest Indian-edited newspapers. He carried on a vigorous agitation against the Press Regulations of 1823. He submitted a memorial to the Supreme Court in which he dwelt on the benefits of a 'free press'. His agitation for the freedom of the press must have paved the way for the final emancipation of the press in 1885.

Raja Rammohan Roy was a man of reason and great rationality. He had deep faith in the universal message of all religions, but also did not hesitate to reject ideas or concepts that were unreasonable and irrational. During his stay in England from 1831 to 1833, the Raja joined protest march for reform in the administrative system of British India. He was the first Indian to be consulted on Indian affairs by the British Parliament. While giving his evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, he suggested reforms in practically all branches of Indian administration.

Raja Rammohan Roy, along with many other modern thinkers of that time like, Dwarkanath Tagore (father of Devendranath Tagore), Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Kalisankar Ghosal, Brindaban Mitra, Brajmohan Majumdar, Nandkishore Bose, Siva Prasad Mitra and Ram Chandra Vidya Vagish, set up the Atmiya Sabha in 1814 in Calcutta. However, his ideas of one God and influence of Islam and Christianity and his rejection of caste system shocked many traditional and conservative Hindus and

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thus the Atmiya Sabha could not sustain itself beyond a point, and by 1819, it ceased to exist.

Brahmo Samaj

In the year 1829, Roy started the Brahmo Samaj with the philosophy of devotion to one Supreme Being, the Brahman. He believed in the one immortal soul from which spring the whole of the Universe and its numerous beings and non-beings to unite with it after death. The Brahmo Samaj had some specific guidelines:

- No idol or image worship.
- People from all castes and creeds were allowed to be part of the Samaj.
- No religious rituals were practiced. Meditation and prayer were held. The Upanishads were read.

Raja Rammohan Roy was almost single handedly responsible for the abolition of the practice of sati. He proved how sati was a ploy to keep the widow of the deceased from inheriting a share the husband's property and had no religious significance. It was also a way to get rid of the widow who would now be a burden on the relatives with her husband dead. He often went to spots were sati was being practiced and tried to stop the heinous ritual of burning a woman alive. A petition to stop it from being banned was made by orthodox Hindus before the Governor- General Lord William Bentinck, but Raja Rammohan Roy filed a counter petition and finally got it banned. The British Government legally prohibited the practice of sati with effect from 1829.

Raja Rammohan Roy campaigned for the right to inheritance of women, for the remarriage of widows especially widows who were products of child marriages. However, he himself could not explain why he wore a sacred thread when he was against the caste system, or why he had three wives when he opposed polygamy. Despite this, he remains one of the foremost torch bearers of India's social and religious revival till today.

Roy has been rightly called 'the herald of a new age'. According to Monier-Williams, the Raja was 'perhaps the first earnest minded investigator of the science or comparative religions that the world has produced'. According to Seal, 'the Raja was the harbinger of the idea of universal humanism, the humanist, pure and simple, watching from his conning tower the procession of universal humanity in universal history'. According to Colet, 'Rammohan stands in history as the living-bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, theism'.

According to Nandlal Chatterjee, Raja Rammohan Roy 'was the human link between the unfading past and the dawning future, between vested conservatism and radical reform, between superstitious isolationism and progressive synthesis, in short, between reaction and progress'.

According to Rabindranath Tagore, Raja Rammohan Roy 'inaugurated the modern age in India'. He has also been described as the 'Father of Indian Renaissance' and the 'Prophet of Indian Nationalism'. Behind all of his ideas of social and religious reforms, there lay the thought of bringing about the political regeneration of his countrymen. To quote him, 'I regret to say the system adhered to by the Hindus is not well-calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes, introducing division and sub-

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divisions among them, has entirely deprived them of political feeling, multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise. It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort'.

Tomb of Raja Rammohan Roy

Rammohan Roy's tomb was built by Dwarkanath Tagore in 1843, ten years after Roy's death in Bristol on 27 September 1833. Roy's tomb is located in the Arnos Vale Cemetery on the outskirts of Bristol. In 1845, Dwarkanath Tagore arranged for Rammohan's remains to be removed and returned to India through Roy's nephew, who had accompanied Dwarkanath to Britain for this purpose. Rammohan's relics were cremated by his family near Kolkata on February 28, 1846.

In September 2006, representatives from the Indian High Commission came to Bristol to mark the anniversary of Rammohan Roy's death. During the ceremony, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh women sang prayers of thanks in Sanskrit. Following this visit, the Mayor of Kolkata, Bikash Ranjan Bhattacharya, who was amongst the representatives from the Indian High Commission, decided to raise funds to restore the tomb. In June 2007, businessman Aditya Poddar donated £50,000 towards the restoration of Rammohan's memorial after being approached by the Mayor of Kolkata for funding.

Legacy of Raja Rammohan Roy

Rammohan Roy was a major shaper of modern India. Consciously influenced by Christianity and by the social agenda of many missionaries, he was convinced that India's culture and religious tradition was rational and of profound spiritual value. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first PM, describes Roy as a 'new type' of thinker 'combining in himself the old learning and the new.' 'Deeply versed,' wrote Nehru, 'in Indian thought and philosophy, a scholar of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, he was a product of the mixed Hindu-Muslim culture' of that part of India. Nehru cites Oxford's second Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Sir Monier Williams, on Roy as the world's first scholar of the science of comparative religion. While he remained rooted in Hinduism, Roy admired much of what he saw in Islam, Christianity and in the other religions which he studied, and believed that the same fundamental truths were the basis of all these religions.

Rammohan Roy held that the first principle of all religions is the 'Absolute Originator.' Against the criticism that it contained very little lasting worth, he set out to retrieve from India's heritage what could withstand the scrutiny of a rational mind. He went further than others in what he was prepared to abandon, which for him included the Vedas. For other reformers, such as Dayanand Saraswati, the Vedas contained all religious truth as well as ancient scientific knowledge, and were not to be thrown away. The organization he founded, the Brahmo Samaj, was a pioneer of social reform, an important promoter of education and of India's autonomy and eventual independence. Its basic ideals, including gender-equality and its rejection of class-based privilege, have become part of the social framework of Indian society, at least in theory.

Rammohan Roy abhorred many practices that had become entrenched in Indian society. These included the marriage of girls five or six years old, the burning of a wife on her dead husband's funeral pyre, whether she is willing or not, meaningless observance of festivals and worshipping for show, the worship of several gods and ranking gods as

high and low, and so on. He had a high regard for Hinduism, but he felt that the Hindus had yet to understand their religion correctly.

Rammohan felt that there should be equality between men and women and that people should give up superstitious beliefs. Many of Rammohan's friends accepted his line of thinking. An association of such close friends was formed. It was called 'Atmiya Sabha' (The Society of Friends). Religious discussions took place there. The members had to give up idol-worship. They had to spread the Society's views on religion among the people. Many scholars opposed Roy's views on religion, Rammohan replied to such objections by writing articles. The people read them and understood what was said in the sacred books.

1.3 DAYANAND SARASWATI

Dayanand Saraswati was born in a well-to-do Saryupareen Brahmin family of Kathiwar, Gujarat, on 12 February 1824. Since India's Independence in 1947, Kathiawar has been renamed as Rajkot. Saraswati's father's name was Karshanji Lalji Tiwari and his mother's name was Yashodabai. His parents named him Mulshankar because as per Hindu astrology, he was born under mul nakshatra. His childhood was fairly comfortable. He was educated in Sanskrit, the Vedas and other religious texts, because his father wanted him to be a priest, following the family tradition. However, Dayanand had a questioning mind and some key incidents that happened in his childhood led him to question Hindu beliefs and the existence of God. As a young boy, on the night of Mahashivratri, he stayed up all night to wait for Lord Shiva to visit and accept the offerings the family had made, while his entire family slept. Instead, Dayanand was shocked when he found that a mouse ate all the sweets and Lord Shiva did not do anything to stop the mouse. He started to question the belief in a god who could not protect his own offerings. Dayanand felt that he could not expect such a god to protect him and the rest of the humanity. He told his father that they should not worship such a helpless god. Some other key incidents led him to question the existence of god were the deaths of his uncle and younger sister from cholera. Dayanand asked such profound questions of his father that his father got worried for him.

As per the tradition of the times, his parents wanted to get him married when he was 12, but Dayanand refused and left home in 1846 to show the seriousness of his decision. After he left home, he became a mendicant and felt lost because of his disillusionment with Hinduism. Dayanand started to study the old Sanskrit texts in his quest for God. For over two decades, he looked for a God to believe in and eventually met Swami Virajananda in Mathura, Uttar Pradesh. Swami Virajananda became Dayanand's guru. His guru persuaded him to shed all old beliefs and texts and start afresh. Swami Virajananda wanted Dayanand to study the Vedas as he believed them to be most foundational writings of Hinduism. Dayanand remained Swami Virjananda's pupil for two and a half years and after he finished his lessons, his guru asked him to spread the awareness of the Vedas to all the people of India, as his guru dakshina, or fees for the knowledge he had acquired from his teacher.

Check Your Progress

1. What was Raja Rammohan Roy's first public writing about?
2. What was the name of the Bengali journal Roy edited?
3. Who bestowed the title of Raja on Rammohan Roy?

1.3.1 Mission of Saraswati's Life

The mission of Dayanand's life was to spread the idea of 'universal brotherhood through nobility' as it was given in the Vedas. But first, he had to work out a way to reform Hinduism by eliminating from it the needless and corrupt practices of elaborate and exaggerated ceremony. Many individuals who were afraid of this enlightenment tried to threaten him with death and many attempts were made to assassinate him. The only way to spread his message effectively was to travel and Dayanand was fully dedicated to his mission. He argued fervently with priests and religious scholars on his travels and mostly won the debates because of his knowledge of the Vedas and strong arguments rooted in logic.

In 19th century India, Hindu priests did not want laymen to read the Vedas and so it was widely discouraged. Instead, elaborate rituals like taking a dip in the Ganga and feeding large numbers of priests on special occasions was encouraged. For Dayanand, this was a self-serving and superstitious practice which he wanted to put an end to. He wanted the nation's people to go back to the original teachings of the Vedas, and at the same time, reject these needless practices. He was also strongly against other abhorrent practices like sati, dowry, early marriage and untouchability prevalent falsely under the guise of Hinduism and religion. He exhorted Indian citizens to educate its women, use swadeshi products, and to understand the importance of cows for national prosperity and to adopt Hindi as the national language.

Dayanand critically, logically and scientifically analysed all religions, including Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism. Besides this, he was strongly against idol worship that was prevalent in Hinduism. He penned his thoughts in the treatise, *Satyarth Prakash*. He went on to found the Arya Samaj sect within Hinduism. Within this sect, there is no idol worship, even though it is a variation of Hinduism. The teachings of Arya Samaj were not restricted to a specific class of individuals like other reform movements within Hinduism, but rather, it was addressed to the world as a whole. The principles of Arya Samaj professed universalism for every living being and did not discriminate among sects, faiths, communities or nations.

Arya Samaj also promoted conversion to Hinduism. Dayanand's idea of dharma is defined in the 'beliefs and disbeliefs' portion of *Satyarth Prakash*. He said, 'I accept as dharma whatever is in full conformity with impartial justice, truthfulness and the like; that which is not opposed to the teachings of God as embodied in the Vedas. Whatever is not free from partiality and is unjust, partaking of untruth and the like, and opposed to the teachings of God as embodied in the Vedas—that I hold as adharma.' He also said, 'He, who after careful thinking, is ever ready to accept truth and reject falsehood; who counts the happiness of others as he does that of his own self, him I call just.'

The core message of Dayanand's teachings was essentially respect and reverence for fellow beings, in keeping with the Vedic notion of the divinity inherent in every individual. The Vedas profess that the body is the temple within which the divine soul or 'atma' resides. The soul is considered divine because it is connected directly to the Creator or Parmatma.

The ten principles of the Arya Samaj contained the philosophy of 'all actions should be performed with the prime objective of benefiting mankind'. This philosophy was widely different from the generally observed dogmatic rituals and idol worship. During his own lifetime, he considered moksha to be a merely selfish cause which benefited only a single individual and did not help others. Dayanand's idea of 'back to the Vedas' became widely popular and thinkers outside India too were influenced by it. In fact, Sri Aurobindo also decided to find answers to his own psychological queries in the Vedas.

Saraswati wrote over sixty texts, which included a fourteen volume rationalization of the six Vedangas, an incomplete commentary on the *Ashtadhyayi* (Panini's grammar),

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a number of small treatises on morality and ethics, Vedic rituals and sacraments and on criticism of other faiths like Advaita Vedanta, Islam and Christianity. His main writings are *Satyarth Prakash*, *Sanskarvidhi*, *Rigvedadi Bhashya Bhumika*, *Rigved Bhashyam* (upto 7/61/2) and *Yajurved Bhashyam*. He also founded the Paropakarini Sabha in Ajmer in order to publish and preach his ideas and Vedic texts.

In 1883, the Maharaja of Jodhpur invited Dayanand to stay at his palace and become his guru. The Maharaja was keen to learn from Dayanand. One day, when Dayanand was visiting the Maharaja's palace, he found the Maharaja with a dancing girl, Nanhi Jan. Dayanand tried to persuade the Maharaja to give up such unethical activities and abide by dharma. This reprimand did not go down well with the young girl who decided to take revenge. She gave Dayanand's cook a bribe, who agreed to poison Dayanand. The cook mixed poison and powdered glass in Dayanand's milk which he would drink before going to bed. Immediately after drinking the milk nothing happened and Dayanand fell asleep. However, he woke up a little while later with a burning pain in his stomach. He understood immediately that someone had poisoned him. He immediately tried to empty out his stomach but it was already too late as the poison had gone into his bloodstream. Dayanand's pain increased to excruciating levels, so much so that he never left the bed again. A number of doctors tried to cure him, but they all failed. Slowly, his body was beset by bleeding sores. When the cook saw the kind sage suffering, he felt overwhelming guilt and confessed to Dayanand. However, just before he died, Dayanand forgave him and gave him money to flee the country or he would be caught and punished. The news of his untimely death caused a wave of shock all over the country and many prominent individuals expressed their sadness:

> A man of spirit has passed away. Pandit Dayanand Saraswati is gone, the irrepressible, energetic reformer, whose mighty voice and passionate eloquence for the last few years raised thousands of people in India from lethargic, indifference and stupor into active patriotism is no more.
>
> —Col Henry Steel Olcott

> Swami Dayanand Saraswati is certainly one of the most powerful personalities who has shaped modern India and is responsible for its moral regeneration and religious revival.
>
> —Subhash Chandra Bose

Vedic schools

In the second part of the 19th century, Swami Dayanand attempted to reform the customs prevalent in India. To formalize the reform, he established 'Vedic Schools'. The curricula of these schools centred around Vedic values, culture and religion. The first such school was at Farrukhabad in 1869. The first batch had 50 students.

Owing to the success and popularity of this school, four more schools were established—Mirzapur (1870), Kasganj (1870), Chhalesar (1870) and Varanasi (1873). These schools served as the practical and formalized application of Dayanand's dream of religious and social reform. However, the schools did not enjoy the initial success everywhere because of their radical practices—pupils were not allowed to indulge in idol worship, and instead havan and meditative prayer was performed every evening. The prayer included mantras from the Vedas. Severe and swift disciplinary action was taken against students who broke the rules. At the same time, all meals, lodging, clothing and books were free for the students. Even non- Brahmins were encouraged to study Sanskrit and the Vedas. The schools were unique because they included only those texts

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which considered Vedic teachings to be foremost and universally correct. This practice followed in schools was essential for the social revival of Vedic culture in India.

Some of the challenges faced by these schools were:

- There was a scarcity of qualified teachers who agreed as wholeheartedly with the Vedas as Swami Dayanand did.
- There were very few textbooks which Swami Dayanand approved for being used for instruction. There was a lack of funding because very few prominent, rich people of the times agreed with Swami Dayanand's ideas
- Most students shied away from the strict discipline followed at the school and there was low attendance.
- Very few students achieved good grades that would have justified their studying in the Vedic Schools.

As a result of all these challenges, a few of the schools had to close down very soon after they opened. By 1874, Swami Dayanand had realized that unless he managed to garner considerable public support, his dream of spreading Vedic education would fail. After this realization, he decided to put in a large part of his resources for the propagation of his beliefs about reform. Once Swami Dayanand withdrew his attention from the schools, they collapsed quickly and the last one shut down in 1876.

1.3.2 Setting up of the Arya Samaj

During his travels, Swami Dayanand found out about many of the pro-Western Indian thinkers and reformers of the time, such as Nobin Chandra Roy, Rajnarayan Basu, Debendranath Tagore and Hemendranath Tagore. All of them were active members of the Brahmo Samaj, which had been instituted in 1828. Their views were strikingly similar to those of Swami Dayanand, as far as religious beliefs and practices, and social systems were concerned. A book called *Brohmo Dharma* was written by Debendranath Tagore, which was meant to be taken as the manual for living an ethical and spiritual life for the members of the Brahmo Samaj. Swami Dayanand read it when he stayed in Calcutta.

In June 1874, Dayanand started dictating lectures to his scribe, Pundit Bhimsen Sharma. The lecture covered his ideas and beliefs related to Dharma, Vedas, the soul, child rearing, education, God, the government and his vision for the future of India and other major nations of the world. He continued dictating these lectures till September 1874. The collection of lectures was published in the form of *Satyarth Prakash* or 'the light of meaning of truth' at Varanasi in 1875. This collection turned out to be the cornerstone for the establishment and ideals behind the organization which evolved into Arya Samaj.

In 1874, Swami Dayanand was invited by Hargovind Das Dvarkadas, who was the secretary of the local Prarthana Samaj, to Rajkot to lecture devotees. He decided to allow attendees to select the topics they wanted the discourse to be on, rather than delivering prepared lectures as usual. The attendees selected eight different topics and Swami Dayanand easily delivered impromptu lectures on each of them. Not just that, all present were impressed at the level of insight and the depth of knowledge Dayanand possessed. The members of the Prarthana Samaj were so impressed with the discourses that they bestowed many gifts on Dayanand and decided that the Samaj as it was, would be dissolved and instead would be reorganized under Saraswati's leadership. It is for this Samaj that Dayanand chose the name 'Arya Samaj' or the 'Society of Nobles'. Initially,

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Swami Dayanand formulated a list of 28 guidelines for the Arya Samaj in Rajkot. He printed these guidelines for distribution as well.

Dayanand's next trip was to Bombay, and immediately upon his arrival there in January 1875, he was greeted with the appeal to establish an Arya Samaj. Saraswati wanted to avoid needless debating and discussions and so started a voluntary membership drive. Almost immediately, more than a hundred people joined up. During the time when the membership drive was going on, Dayanand held a similar discourse as he had done at Rajkot. An attendee asked the Swami, 'Should we set up a new Samaj?' Dayanand answered: 'If you are able to achieve something for the good of mankind by a Samaj, then establish a Samaj; I will not stand in your way. But if you do not organize it properly, there will be a lot of trouble in the future. As for me, I will only instruct you in the same way as I teach others, and this much you should keep clearly in mind: my beliefs are not unique, and I am not omniscient. Therefore, if in the future any error of mine should be discovered after rational examination, then set it right. If you do not act in this way, then this Samaj too will later on become just a sect. That is the way by which so many sectarian divisions have become prevalent in India: by making the guru's word the touchstone of truth and thus fostering deep- seated prejudices which make the people religion-blind, cause quarrels and destroy all right knowledge. That is the way India arrived at her sorry contemporary state, and that is the way this Samaj too would grow to be just another sect. This is my firm opinion: even if there be many different sectarian beliefs prevalent in India, if only they all acknowledge the Vedas, then all those small rivers will reunite in the ocean of Vedic wisdom, and the unity of dharma will come about. From that unity of dharma there will result social and economic reform, arts and crafts and other human endeavours will improve as desired, and man's life will find fulfilment: because, by the power of that dharma all values will become accessible to him, economic values as well as psychological ones, and also the supreme value of moksha.'

As a result of this discourse and the membership drive, the Arya Samaj in Bombay was set up on 10 April, 1875. At first, there were 100 members, including Dayanand. While members wanted and requested Swami Dayanand to be the Guru or the president of the Samaj, he declined and requested to be regular member instead.

Principles of Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj considered 'Aum' or 'Om' to be the only proper and highest name of God. The second big Arya Samaj was established at Lahore on 24 June 1877. At the time of the establishment of the Lahore Arya Samaj, it was decided that the 28 guidelines that Dayanand had previously drafted were too voluminous and should be made more concise and simpler. Moreover, the bylaws were to be put in a separate document. All those present were in favour of this move, including Saraswati and the ten principles of the Arya Samaj, as we know them today, were formulated.

These principles are the following:

1. God is the efficient cause of all true knowledge and all that is known through knowledge.
2. God is existent, intelligent and blissful. He is formless, omniscient, just, merciful, unborn, endless, unchangeable, beginning-less, unequalled, the support of all, the master of all, omnipresent, immanent, un-aging, immortal, fearless, eternal and holy, and the maker of all. He alone is worthy of being worshiped.

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3. The Vedas are the scriptures of all true knowledge. It is the paramount duty of all members of the Arya Samaj to read them, teach them, recite them and to hear them being read.
4. One should always be ready to accept truth and to renounce untruth.
5. All acts should be performed in accordance with Dharma, that is, after deliberating what is right and wrong.
6. The prime object of the Arya Samaj is to do good to the world, that is, to promote physical, spiritual and social good of everyone.
7. Our conduct towards all should be guided by love, righteousness and justice.
8. We should dispel Avidya (ignorance) and promote Vidya (knowledge).
9. No one should be content with promoting his/her good only; on the contrary, one should look for his/her good in promoting the good of all.
10. One should regard oneself under restriction to follow the rules of society calculated to promote the wellbeing of all, while in following the rules of individual welfare all should be free.

Then onwards, all the branches of the Arya Samaj that were set up, were founded on these 10 principles. At the same time, each branch has a certain degree of freedom to determine the bylaws they will follow. All members must uphold the 10 main principles entirely, without exception. At the same time, besides these principles, there is no other binding force on any member. Due to this lack of rigidity, initially, Arya Samaj was an attractive proposition for people from many different religions; a large number of Muslims, Sikhs and Christians converted to Arya Samaj.

Socially, Arya Samaj believed in simple weddings that appealed to lower income classes and poor people. The Samaj also promoted inter-caste marriages in order to root out casteism.

On the basis of its own guidelines, Arya Samaj was against social evils like polytheism, iconolatry, animal sacrifice, ancestor worship, pilgrimage, priest craft, the belief in avatars or incarnations of God, the hereditary caste system, untouchability and child marriage because all these lacked Vedic endorsement.

1.4 SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Narendranath Dutta, better known Swami Vivekananda, was born on 12 January 1863 in Calcutta (now Kolkata). He had interest in a myriad of fields — philosophy, religion, history, social science, literatures and others. He also showed interest in reading scriptures, such as, the Vedas, Upanishads, the *Bhagavat Gita*, the Puranas and other epics. As a young boy, he questioned superstition, customs and discriminations based on caste. He would often engage in discussing spiritual matters with his father. For the first time, the question of existence of god came to his mind.

Narendranath began his education at home. He enrolled into the Metropolitan Institution of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar in 1871. Later on, he joined the General Assembly's Institution. During these years, he read about the history of the Europeans nations and Western logic and philosophy, including the writings of David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, and Charles Darwin. Narendra was fascinated with the evolutionism of Herbert Spencer and even translated Spencer's book on education into Bengali. He was well versed in Sanskrit.

Check Your Progress

4. Why did Dayanand leave home when he was young?
5. What was the core message of Dayanand's teachings?
6. What is the principle of marriage among the Arya Samajis?

His early belief on religion was formed by the Brahmo Samaj's concept of formless god. He felt his knowledge on philosophy was unsatisfactory and experimented with the thought of whether religion and god could be a part of one's growing experiences and the same could be internalized. This question bothered him so much that he met prominent citizens of Calcutta and asked them whether they met god 'face-to-face'. He never got any satisfactory answers. It was through his association with Ramakrishna and his mission that he got his answer on god.

Ramakrishna's influence on Vivekananda

Vivekananda writes on his first interaction with Ramakrishna thus,

> 'The magic touch of the Master that day immediately brought a wonderful change over my mind. I was astounded to find that really there was nothing in the universe but God! ... Everything I saw appeared to be Brahman. ... I realized that I must have had a glimpse of the Advaita state. Then it struck me that the words of the scriptures were not false. Thenceforth I could not deny the conclusions of the Advaita philosophy.'

Narendranath's meeting with Ramakrishna in November 1881 proved to be a turning point in his life. About this meeting, Narendranath said:

> '[Ramakrishna] looked just like an ordinary man, with nothing remarkable about him. He used the most simple language and I thought "Can this man be a great teacher?". I crept near to him and asked him the question which I had been asking others all my life: "Do you believe in God, Sir?" "Yes", he replied. "Can you prove it, Sir?" "Yes". "How?" "Because I see Him just as I see you here, only in a much intense sense." That impressed me at once. [...] I began to go to that man, day after day, and I actually saw that religion could be given. One touch, one glance, can change a whole life.'

Narendra was inspired by his principal Reverend W. Hastie to visit the Ramakrishna Mission at in Calcutta (Kolkata). Being a follower of the Brahmo Samaj, Narendra initially revolted against the ideologies of the mission and its creator. He was against idol worship, especially against the worship of Kali by Ramakrishna, and polytheism. He even rejected the Advaitist Vedantism of identity with absolute as blasphemy and madness. But was soon drawn towards the personality of Ramakrishna and visited him frequently.

Narendra, who always had queries and sought reason behind all actions, bombarded Ramakrishna with questions, which were answered patiently. Ramakrishna also did not ask Narendra to abandon reason and scientific questioning. Within five years, Narendra was transformed from a restless, impatient and inquisitive youth to a mature man who renounced material possession and emotional attachment in search of god. With time, he accepted Ramakrishna as his guru.

In his last days, Ramakrishna gave the monastic robe (ochre in colour) to Narendra and a few other disciples which signified the initiation into the first monastic order. Following the death of his guru, Narendra and a few other disciples started living the life of sanyasis. Narendra's fellow disciples saw a leader in him and, during this phase, he acquired the name of Vivekananda. The name was given by the Maharaja of Khetri, Ajit Singh. This group of sanyasis spent their time meditating, discussing the philosophical teaching of their guru Ramakrishna, Adi Shankara, Ramanuja, and even Jesus Christ, and spreading the message of love and brotherhood.

In January 1899, Vivekananda set up an ashram (or math) for the disciples of Ramakrishna at Belur, near Kolkata. The ashram was established in memory of his master and to carry and spread Ramakrishna's teachings.

The preacher

In 1888, Vivekananda felt the urge to explore and discover the true India. In 1890, he sought the blessing of Ramakrishna's wife, Ma Sarada, to begin his journey. He travelled extensively from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari for five years as Parivrajaka, a wandering monk. He only had a kamandalu (water pot), a staff, and two books— the *Bhagavad Gita* and *The Imitation of Christ*. His travel brought him face-to-face with the real India and he was moved by the appalling poverty and the suffering of the people. He resolved to work towards their uplift. He himself travelled mostly on foot at times, took the train where his admirers bought the tickets. He also visited important centres of learning, acquainting himself with the diverse religious traditions and different patterns of social life.

While travelling to the Himalayas, it is said he had a vision of the macrocosm and microcosm, which seems to reflect in the jana yoga lectures he gave later in the West. In January 1891, he travelled to Jaipur, where he studied Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* under a Sanskrit scholar. He travelled further to Ahmedabad and Porbander, where he stayed for almost nine months. During his travelling years, he studied philosophy and Sanskrit from learned pundits. He even worked with a court pandit who translated the Vedas. Vivekananda travelled to south India at the end of 1892. It is said he meditated on a rock, considered to be the last point of India, for three days. The rock is now named the Vivekananda rock.

Vivekananda realized India was not prospering because of her negligence towards the masses. He saw in spite of poverty, the masses adhered to religion. But they had never been enlightened by the stimulating principles of Vedanta and how to apply them in practical life. He claimed, 'an empty stomach is no good for religion'. The need, he said, was to feed the poor and provide them the bare requirements. Living under repression for centuries, the masses lost the self-confidence and failed to improve their lives. He said people had to acquire two kinds of knowledge, first was secular knowledge to improve their economic conditions and the second was spiritual knowledge to infuse self-confidence and reinforce their morality. He was also convinced that educating the masses would strengthen the poor and wanted to work for the uplift of the country. The Ramakrishna Mission acted as a machinery to aid Vivekananda in achieving his goal.

Parliament of Religions

Vivekananda heard about the World's Parliament of Religion that was to take place in Chicago in 1893. His admirers in India wanted him to participate. Vivekananda too felt that the global platform would be apt to spread the message of his master, and decided to go to the United States to attend the parliament. He also thought he could seek financial help for his project of uplifting the poor. His travel was financed by his disciples from Chennai and the Raja of Khetri. Vivekananda left for America from Mumbai on 31 May 1893. On his arrival, he learnt that to attend the parliament, he required credentials from any bona fide organization, which he did not have.

When Professor John Henry Wright of Harvard University learnt that he did not have the required reference to speak, Wright is quoted as have said, 'To ask for your credentials is like asking the sun to state its right to shine in the heavens.' Wright addressed a letter to the chairman in charge of delegates stating, 'Here is a man who is more learned than all of our learned professors put together.' Representing India, Vivekananda addressed the audience saying, 'Sisters and brothers of America!' To these words he got a standing ovation from a crowd of seven thousand.

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He greeted the youngest of the nations in the name of 'the most ancient order of monks in the world, the Vedic order of sannyasins, a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance.' In this context, he quoted two verses from the Gita, 'As different streams with their sources in different places mingle their water in the sea, so, O Lord, the different paths which men take, through different tendencies, various though they appear, crooked or straight, all lead to Thee!' and 'Whosoever comes to Me, through whatsoever form, I reach him; all men are struggling through paths that in the end lead to Me.' He went on to say, 'I do not come,' 'to convert you to a new belief. I want you to keep your own belief; I want to make the Methodist a better Methodist; the Presbyterian a better Presbyterian.... I want to teach you to live the truth, to reveal the light within your own soul.'

Although the speech was a short one, it voiced the spirit of the parliament and its sense of universality. It also caught the attention of the press. Newspapers called him the 'the greatest figure in the parliament of religions' and 'the most popular and influential man in the parliament'. His speeches had one theme — universality — and stressed on religious tolerance. Following his success at the Parliament of Religion, Vivekananda spent nearly two years giving lectures in various parts of America.

He later founded the Vedanta Society of New York. He travelled to England twice where he met Miss Margaret Noble, an Irish lady, who later became Sister Nivedita. He also interacted with Max Müller, the renowned Indologist at Oxford University who wrote Ramakrishna's first biography in the West. From the West, he also set his Indian work in motion. He advised his followers and brother monks to launch a campaign of social service. 'Go from door to door amongst the poor and lower classes... and teach them religion. Also, let them have oral lessons on geography and such other subjects. No good will come of sitting idle and...saying 'Ramakrishna, O Lord!'—unless you can do some good to the poor.'

In 1895, the periodical called *Brahmavadin* was started in Madras, with the money supplied by Vivekananda, for the purpose of teaching Vedanta philosophy.

1.4.1 Founding of Ramakrishna Mission

The Ramakrishna Mission was founded on 1 May 1897, immediately after Vivekananda's return to Kolkata. He considered it a tool for social service. The ideals of the Mission are based on karma yoga. It was his first step towards an organized socio-religious movement to awaken and aid the masses through educational and cultural programmes. The mission worked extensively towards medical and relief work.

Vivekananda set up two more monasteries—one at Mayavati on the Himalayas, near Almora, called the Advaita Ashrama and another at Madras. He started two journals also, *Prabuddha Bharata* in English and *Udbhodan* in Bengali.

Vivekananda's teachings and principles

Vivekananda believed the Vedanta, based on the interpretation of Adi Shankara, best expressed the essence of Hinduism. He summarized it in the following words: 'Each soul is potentially divine. The goal is to manifest this divinity within by controlling nature, external and internal. Do this either by work, or worship, or mental discipline, or philosophy—by one, or more, or all of these—and be free. This is the whole of religion. Doctrines, or dogmas, or rituals, or books, or temples, or forms, are but secondary details.' He maintained, 'So long as even a single dog in my country is without food my whole religion is to feed it and serve it, anything excluding that is nonreligious.'

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Vivekananda claimed it was Ramakrishna who taught him that 'Jiva is Shiva' (each individual is Divinity itself). This became his mantra, and he coined the concept of *daridra narayana seva*, or the service of god in and through (poor) human beings.

He claimed through moksha people could achieve the light of oneness, which is essential to eliminate the distinctions between men. What is achieved is compassion for those who fail to or are unaware of this oneness and there arises a determination to help them. He believed that one could not be free unless all are free. Even the desire for personal salvation has to be given up, and only tireless work for the salvation of others is the true mark of the enlightened person.

The Ramakrishna Math and the mission were founded on the principle of *atmano mokshartham jagat-hitaya cha* (for one's own salvation and for the welfare of the world). His advice to his followers was to be unselfish and have faith (shraddha). He encouraged the practice of brahmacharya (celibacy) and attributed his physical and mental strengths and eloquence to this.

Vivekananda and science

Vivekananda wrote five books during his lifetime and several more were published posthumously. His first two books, published in 1896, were on Karma Yoga and Raja Yoga. His two other books were on the philosophies of Vedanta and one was a collection of his lectures.

He believed experience was the best book of knowledge. And religion is the only science where there was no surety because it did not teach science as experience. However, there were some who taught religion through experience. They were called mystics. And these mystics from every religion taught the same truth. He saw a co-relation in this science and mathematics. He explains, as mathematics across the world was the same, similarly, the mystics did not differ. Religion deals with the truths of the metaphysical world just as chemistry and the other natural sciences deal with the truths of the physical world.

According to him, to understand science, one had to study nature. The book one should read to understand religion was the human mind and heart. 'The sage is often ignorant of physical science, because he reads the wrong book — the book within; and the scientist is too often ignorant of religion, because he too reads the wrong book — the book without,' he said. He believed all science has its particular method and even science of religion had.

In his paper read at the World's Parliament of Religions, Vivekananda also hinted about the final goal of physics. 'Science is nothing but the finding of unity. As soon as science would reach perfect unity, it would stop from further progress, because it would reach the goal... Physics would stop when it would be able to fulfil its services in discovering one energy of which all others are but manifestations. All science is bound to come to this conclusion in the long run. Manifestation, and not creation, is the word of science today, and the Hindu is only glad that what he has been cherishing in his bosom for ages is going to be taught in more forcible language, and with further light from the latest conclusions of science.'

The great electrical engineer Nikola Tesla, after listening to Vivekananda's speech on Sankhya philosophy, was much interested in its cosmogony and its rational theories of the Kalpas (cycles), Prana and Akasha. His notion based on the Vedanta led him to think that matter is a manifestation of energy.

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Last years of his life

In 1899, Vivekananda went to the US once again. He founded the Vedanta Society at San Francisco and New York. He also founded Shanti Ashrama (peace retreat) at California. In 1900, he went to Paris to attend the Congress of Religions. The addresses became memorable for the scholarly penetration evinced by Vivekananda related to worship of the linga and authenticity of the *Gita*. The hectic travelling took a toll on Vivekananda's health. He returned to Belur Math in 1900. He passed away on 4 July 1902. Vivekananda's ideologies inspired several freedom fighters and continue to do so.

ACTIVITY

Find out more about the religious atmosphere in Raja Rammohan Roy's family and write a brief note on it.

DID YOU KNOW

Vivekananda established the first vedanta society in New York in 1894.

1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learned that:

- Raja Rammohan Roy, also known as the 'Father of Modern India' was a pioneer social reformer in the colonial period.
- Rammohan Roy's impact on modern Indian history concerned a revival of the ethics and principles of the Vedanta school of philosophy as found in the Upanishads. He preached about the unity of God, made early translations of Vedic scriptures into English, co-founded the Calcutta Unitarian Society, founded the Brahmo Samaj and campaigned against sati.
- Roy sought to integrate Western culture with features of his own country's traditions. He strived for the betterment of Indian society, in many ways by using his writing skills, by establishing different societies and by his fight against eradication of social evils, etc.
- Roy started newspapers like *Sambad Komudi*, *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* and *Jam-i-Jahan*, which he used as his mouthpiece to propagate his views on the socio-religious conditions of contemporary Indian society.
- The Brahmo Samaj was an institution founded by Raja Rammohan Roy. It was an important instrument against existing social problems.
- Dayanand Saraswati was born on 12 February 1824, in the town of Tankara, near Morvi (Morbi) in the Kathiawar region (since India's independence in 1947 Rajkot district) of the princely state of Gujarat. A number of incidents in his early childhood resulted in Dayanand's questioning the traditional beliefs of Hinduism and inquiring about god.
- Dayanand's mission was to teach humankind about universal brotherhood through nobility as spelt out in the Vedas.

Check Your Progress

7. As a young boy, what were the religious beliefs of Narendranath?
8. Where did Narendra build an ashram in memory of his master?
9. When and where did Vivekananda attend the World's Parliament of Religion?
10. List the name of the journals started by Vivekananda.

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- Saraswati believed that Hinduism had been corrupted by its divergence from the founding principles of the Vedas and that Hindus had been misled by the priests making rituals and prayers more elaborate and exaggerated.
- Between 1869 and 1873, Swami Dayanand Saraswati made his first attempt at reform in his native Gujarat. This attempt took the form of the establishment of 'Vedic Schools' which put an emphasis on Vedic values, culture and religion to its students.
- From June to September 1874, Swami Dayanand dictated a comprehensive series of lectures to his scribe, Pundit Bhimsen Sharma, which dealt with his views and beliefs regarding a wide range of subjects including God, the Vedas, Dharma, the soul, science, philosophy, childrearing, education, government and the possible future of both India and the world. The resulting manuscript was published under the title *Satyarth Prakash* or *The Light of Meaning of Truth* in 1875 at Varanasi. This voluminous work would prove to play a central role in the establishment and later growth of the organization which would come to be known as the Arya Samaj.
- Swami Vivekananda was born in Calcutta (now Kolkata) on 12 January 1863, and was given the name Narendranath Dutta.
- Since his childhood, Vivekananda evinced much interest in the Hindu scriptures like the Vedas, the Upanishads, the *Bhagavad Gita*, the Puranas and so on. Even when young, he questioned the validity of superstitious customs and discrimination based on caste and refused to accept anything without rational proof and pragmatic test.
- Narendranath's initial beliefs were shaped by Brahmo concepts, which include belief in a formless god and deprecation of idol.
- Five years under Ramakrishna transformed Narendra from a restless, puzzled, impatient youth to a mature man who was ready to renounce everything for the sake of god-realization. In time, Narendra accepted Ramakrishna as guru, completely surrendering himself as a disciple.
- It was in early 1892 that Vivekananda heard of the Parliament of the World's Religions and was urged by his followers to attend it.
- On 1 May 1897, Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission—the organ for social service. The ideals of the Ramakrishna Mission are based on karma yoga.

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Sati:** It refers to a social practice whereby the widow was burnt along with her dead husband on his funeral pyre.
- **Idolatry:** It refers to the worship of idols, a physical image or an object.
- **Dogma:** Dogma is an established belief of a particular religion or organization.
- **Omniscient:** It means complete knowledge.
- **Vedanta:** Vedanta is the end part of the Veda that deals with self-knowledge.
- **Advaita:** A strand of Hindu philosophy that deals with the non-duality of Jeeva (microcosm) and Brahman (macrocosm).

1.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Raja Rammohan Roy's first public writing was a pamphlet in Bengali in which he denounced idol-worship.
2. The name of the Bengali journal that Roy edited was *Samvad Kaumudi*.
3. The Mughal emperor Akbar II gave Rammohan Roy the title of Raja.
4. Dayanand left home at the age of 12 as he refused to marry young and went on the quest for God.
5. The core message of Dayanand's teachings was essentially respect and reverence for fellow beings, in keeping with the Vedic notion of the divinity inherent in every individual.
6. Arya Samajis believed in simple weddings that appealed to lower income classes and poor people. The Samaj also promoted inter-caste marriages in order to root out casteism.
7. Narendranath was a member of the Brahmo Samaj and believed that god did not have any form.
8. Narendra built the Ramakrishna Math at Belur near Kolkata in memory of his master and to carry spread his teachings.
9. Vivekananda attended the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893.
10. Vivekananda started two journals, *Prabuddha Bharata* in English and *Udbhodan* in Bengali.

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the aims and objectives of the Brahmo Samaj?
2. What are the principles of the Arya Samaj?
3. What was the mission of Dayanand Saraswati?
4. What prompted Vivekananda to establish the Ramakrishna Mission?
5. What are the main teachings of Vivekananda?
6. Write a short note on Vivekananda's address to the World Parliament of Religion in Chicago.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Examine why Rammohan Roy is considered the 'Father of Modern India'.
2. Discuss Dayanand Saraswati's early life.
3. Describe the similarities between the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj.
4. What are the contributions of Swami Dayanand Saraswati as a social reformer?
5. How did Vivekananda present Hinduism to the Western world?
6. Examine Vivekananda's Vedanta philosophy.

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UNIT 2 GANDHIAN THOUGHTS

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2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will be introduced to the political thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi was the foremost of the Indian freedom fighters and was one of the primary figures responsible for turning the freedom struggle into a mass movement. For his contributions to the freedom struggle, he was given the title of the 'Father of the Nation'.

In the unit, you will learn about the major achievements of Gandhi during his lifetime. Further, you will learn about Gandhian ideas of politics and liberalized religion, his concept of non-violence or *ahimsa*, his theory of *satyagraha*, his attitude towards the state and morality, and other facts.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the fundamental ideas and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi
- Explain the major influences of Gandhi
- Discuss the forms and techniques of satyagraha

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the fundamental ideas and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi
- Explain the major influences of Gandhi
- Discuss the forms and techniques of satyagraha

- Explain the concept of society and individual and anatomy of Gandhi's socialism
- Elaborate on the theory of trusteeship, democratic socialism, and the concept of sarvodaya

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2.2 LIFE OF M.K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi was one of our greatest national leaders. He was born on 2 October 1869 and was named as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He studied law in England, and after returning to India, he started legal practice. In last decade of the 19th century, Gandhi went to South Africa. Here, he found that the South African government subjected Indians to enormous discrimination and extremely humiliating treatments. He decided to launch campaigns in South Africa against such treatment and became renowned as a champion of truth, non-violence and preserving the dignity of human beings. He returned to India in 1914, and dedicated the remaining years of his life to the cause of freedom for his motherland.

Gandhi became the foremost leader of the Indian National Congress after his return to India. This period of the freedom struggle came to be known as the Gandhian era (1920–1948). During this period, for the first time in the history of the world, a man led millions of people of a dependent country and taught them the practical use of techniques like non-violence, non-cooperation and civil disobedience. In 1942, Gandhi called upon the British to 'Quit India'. Five years later, the British left India, granting it complete independence (on 15 August 1947).

Gandhi in South Africa

Gandhi's visit to South Africa in 1893 changed the course of his life. His experience in South Africa helped him to become a great leader. At Maritzburg, the capital of Natal, Gandhi was thrown out of the railway train compartment by a white policeman despite having a valid ticker, and left to shiver in the cold on the railway platform. On this incident Gandhi wrote,

> 'I began to think of my duty. Should I fight for my rights or go back to India or should I go on to Pretoria without minding the insult and return to India finishing the case? The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial, only a symptom of the deep disease of colour-prejudice. I should try if possible to root out the disease and suffer hardships in the process. Redress for wrongs, I should seek only to the extent that would be necessary for the removal of the colour prejudice.'

This incident became a turning point in Gandhi's life. Gandhi decided to fight and remained in South Africa till 1914 to champion the cause of 'coloured' people. He organized the Natal Indian Congress, and during the Boar War and the Zulu Rebellion, organized medical camps and helped the government. He published the *Indian Opinion* in 1904 as a mouthpiece of coloured people. During his journey from Johannesburg to Durban, he read John Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, which had a deep impact on Gandhi's philosophy. He was greatly influenced by this work and started his Satyagraha against the discriminatory policy of the government of South Africa.

2.2.1 Major Influences on Gandhi

The major influences on Gandhi's life may be summed up as follows:

- His mother's sense of self-sacrifice, spirit of service, religiousness and fasting
- His father's spirit of renunciation
- Influence of Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity, Vaishnavism and the Bhagavat Gita
- Plain living and high thinking of Raichand Bhai and the works of Tolstoy and Ruskin had profound influence on Gandhi. In his autobiography, Gandhi wrote, 'Three moderns have left a deep impression on my life, and captivated me. Raichand Bhai by his living contact, Tolstoy by his book, *The Kingdom of God is Within You* and Ruskin by his *Unto This Last*
- The holy *Quran* and other books on Islam
- Thoreau's concept of passive resistance

These major influences helped Gandhi achieve his ideals in life.

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2.3 BASIC IDEAS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

The following are the basic ideas of Mahatma Gandhi:

(i) No political creed, but application of eternal truths

In 1936, Mahatma Gandhi said that there was no such thing as Gandhism, and he was not prepared to leave a sect after him. Gandhi said,

> 'There is no such thing as Gandhism, and I do not want to leave any sect after me. I do not claim to have originated any new principle or doctrine. I have simply tried in my own way to apply the eternal truths to our daily life and problems. There is, therefore, no question of my leaving any code like the code of Manu'.

Gandhi's ideas were influenced by the writings of Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy. He was also influenced by the Vedas, the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Bible*, the *Quran*, and the other scriptures. It is essential to point out that Gandhi's political thought was mixed with religious principles.

(ii) Spiritualization of politics

Gandhi is said to be a saint amongst politicians and a politician among saints. He was not a politician in the ordinary sense of the term. He exhibited uncommon tact and intelligence in choosing the time, as well as the methods and techniques to be used in launching his non-violence agitation. This made him the ideal for all political leaders, who were struggling for India's independence. A great contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to political theory and politics is political action guided by morality or spirituality. According to Gandhi, the leaders must be inspired by a sense of sacrifice and service. He stressed on the importance of means and stated that right and just means should be adopted to achieve right and just ends. Thus, according to him, ends and means are the same looked at from different angles.

(iii) The state, a soulless machine, destroying individuality

As an advocate of non-violence and philosophical anarchism, Gandhi was against the state. His anti-state attitude was justified on historical, moral and economic grounds. According to Gandhi, the state uses force, and its existence cannot be justified on moral grounds. By the use of force, the state deprives the moral value of the individual's action. The individual has a soul, but as the state is a soulless machine, 'it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.' The state hinders progress by destroying individuality and it does great harm by its increasing reliance on force.

Check Your Progress

1. When did Gandhi first go to South Africa?
2. List the major influences of Gandhi's life.
3. Define Gandhism.

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Gandhi's ideal is a stateless democracy, in which there is a federation of village communities, functioning on the basis of voluntary cooperation, and peaceful coexistence. Gandhi states, 'Thus every village will be a republic or panchayat having full powers.' It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world. Such a society is necessarily highly cultured in which every man or woman knows what he or she wants and knows that no one should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour.

(iv) Decentralization, labour and classless society

While in a democracy, there is a great deal of centralization and inequality. Gandhian philosophy puts emphasis on decentralization with equality, non-possession and labour being the ideals of this society. Gandhi writes,

> 'If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population, no disease and no such misery as we see around . . . There will be no rich and no poor, none high and none low, no touchable and no untouchable.'

While in the state, as it exists now, the growth of individuality is thwarted; in a stateless democracy, every individual is given the maximum freedom to devote himself to the service of society, according to his calibre or capacity. According to a critic, 'Gandhi was a firm believer in a classless, egalitarian society in which there would be no distinctions of rich and poor, high and low. In some respects, he went further even than the orthodox socialists, in as much as he would not exempt anyone from obligatory socially useful body-labour.'

Gandhi was against high-centralized production and pleaded for decentralized production. The idea is not to do away entirely with machinery as such, but to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of a few people.

The salient features of Gandhian economy are as follows:

(i) Intensive, small-scale, and cooperative farming as opposed to mechanized, large-scale or collective farming

(ii) Development of cottage industries

(iii) Private ownership subject to the benefit of society

(iv) Proper balance of animal, human and plant life

(v) Provision for social justice and equally economic opportunities to all

(vi) Organization of economy through decentralization and village panchayats

(vii) State based on non-violence or ahimsa

Mahatma Gandhi is against violence in thought, word and action. According to Gandhi, ahimsa is based on the principles of non-violence and love for all. Gandhi maintained, 'Ahimsa is not the crude thing it has been made to appear. Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of ahimsa. The principle of ahimsa is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody. It is also violated by our holding on to what the world needs.' He believed that the state is not an end but it is a means for the welfare of the people. He is opposed to the view that the state is above, nothing is outside the state and nothing is against the state. He is unwilling to accept the state as the highest group and an end is itself.

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The ideal, however, is that the state functions on the principle of ahimsa. It is possible when there is goodwill and crime is absent. Such a state where justice prevails represents the *Ramarajya* (Kingdom of Lord Ram).

People in the Gandhian state have various rights and duties. As a thinker who dislikes the absolute sovereignty of the state, Gandhi allows the citizen the right and duty of disobeying the laws of the state, where necessary. He is against the use of force by the state. Force should be used in minimum for the sake of maintenance of law and order. The police should think that it is to serve as the servants of the people and not their masters.

(vi) Property as trust and not as instrument of exploitation

Gandhi is against the use of property as an instrument of exploitation. Capitalism and exploitation should be removed through non-violent methods. Those who have property must regard it as trust and not as an instrument of exploitation. Gandhi's theory of trusteeship makes no distinction between private and non-private property. All property is held in trust, no matter who owns it, and what its nature or quantity is. It applies not only to tangible and transferable property, but also to places of power and position. It implies the transformation of the present capitalist system of society into an egalitarian system. Property is not to be a source of profit but a source of people's welfare. Gandhi said, 'No one should have property more than what one needs.'

(vii) Good end and good means

Gandhi was in favour of good end through good means. To him, the end can never justify the means. To realize the Gandhian ideal state, only fair means are to be adopted. Non-violence and truth form the soul of Gandhi's technique. Regarding means and ends, Gandhi observed, 'The means may be linked to seed, the end to a tree, and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and ends as there is between the seed and the tree.' Thus, the end and means should be invariably good.

(viii) Harmony between nationalism and internationalism

Gandhi put emphasis on the importance of nationalism in its noblest form. He was against nationalism based on violence and aggressive tactics. He was in favour of world peace, and wanted to bring about a harmony between nationalism and internationalism. People in a country should be patriotic, but they should be friendly towards the people of other countries. He said, 'My nationalism is intense internationalism.'

2.4 SATYAGRAHA

Gandhi used the word satyagraha in 1906 to express the nature of the non-violent action undertaken by Indians in South Africa against the racist government. With his involvement in the Indian National Movement, he adopted it as a technique of love-force, soul-force, non-violence, aiming constantly at the search and pursuit of truth. To him, satyagraha is the vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's own self. It is the eternal insistence on truth. Satyagraha is based on non-violence and as such it does not permit violence in any form. Ahimsa and satyagraha are synonymous with Gandhi. Satyagraha emphasizes always the purity of means as well as the purity of the ends. It is a moral weapon in the hands of a morally strong person to fight injustice, tyranny or evil and can be applied in any sphere. Gandhi said, 'It is force that may be

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used by individuals as well as communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility'.

Evil should be resisted through the techniques of satyagraha, a moral weapon based on soul force, which is superior to physical force. According to a critic, satyagraha means 'clinging to truth', and as truth for Gandhi is God, satyagraha in the general sense of the word means the ways of life of one who holds steadfastly to God and dedicates his life to him. The true satyagrahi is accordingly a man of God.

Satyagraha is the weapon of the non-violent struggle. Mahatma Gandhi has explained the meaning of satyagraha as follows:

> 'The term satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years and it was coined in order to distinguish it from the movement then going on in the United Kingdom and South Africa under the name of passive resistance. Its root meaning is holding on to truth, hence truth-force. I have also called it love-force or soul-force.'

Satyagraha may assume the form of (a) non-cooperation, (b) fasting, (c) striking, (d) civil disobedience, (e) picketing and (f) Hijrat, i.e., voluntary exile. A satyagrahi, in order to fight the non-violent struggle, has to prepare himself for it by self-discipline, purity, courage and civility.

Before practicing satyagraha in public life, a satyagrahi must practice it in domestic or personal life. Like charity, Satyagraha must begin from home. An individual in search of truth, whether in domestic or public life, has a heavy burden of ethical code over his shoulders. He is a man of peace. The aim is self-realization through social service and sacrifice. Satyagraha is a weapon to counteract the evils and difficulties that come in the way of realization of truth. It is a weapon to be used for public good and never for personal gains. It is not to be resorted to defend immoral acts and wrongly earned gains. There is no place for ill-will and hatred in satyagraha. A satyagrahi does not think, in relation to his enemy in terms of victor and vanquished.

Satyagraha may not be confused with passive resistance. It is true that both are peaceful techniques of meeting aggression and bringing about social and political changes. However, there are differences between the two. Passive resistance as practiced is a political weapon of expediency, but Satyagraha is a moral weapon based on the superiority of soul force over brute force. Passive resistance is the weapon of the weak, but Satyagraha can be practiced only by the brave. Passive resistance aims at embarrassing the opponent into submission, but a satyagrahi aims at winning the opponent from error by love and patient suffering. There is hardly any place for love for the enemy in the case of passive resistance. In satyagraha, there is no room for ill-will. The independence activist and Gandhi's personal secretary Mahadeo Desai observed,

> 'Satyagraha is dynamic, passive resistance is static. Passive resistance acts negatively and suffers reluctantly. Satyagrahi acts positively and suffers with cheerfulness because from love he makes the suffering fruitful. Passive resistance is not by its very nature universal in its application. It cannot be directed against one's nearest relations as Satyagraha can be. Passive resistance offered in a spirit of weakness and despair weakens the resister psychologically and morally. Satyagraha emphasizes all the time internal strength and actually develops the same. Satyagraha can offer more effective and determined opposition to injustice and tyranny than passive resistance.'

2.4.1 Forms and Techniques of Satyagraha

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The techniques of satyagraha may take the form of non-cooperation and civil disobedience or fasting and strike. As regards to non-cooperation, Gandhi pointed out that oppression and exploitation can be checked by non-cooperation of people. If people refuse to cooperate with the government, the latter cannot function. Gandhi said,

> 'Even the most despotic government cannot stand except with the consent of the governed, which consent is often forcibly procured by the despot. As soon as the subject ceases to fear the despotic force, his power is gone.'

Non-cooperation may manifest itself in the form of hartals, or picketing. Hartals involve stopping of work as a measure of protest and its object to strike the imagination of the people and the government. Hartals to be effective are to be voluntary and no violence is to be used. Only persuasive methods are to be employed. Gandhi wrote,

> 'Object of peaceful picketing is not to block the path of a person wanting to do a particular thing but to rely on the force of public opprobrium and to war and even shame the blacklegs. Picketing should avoid coercion, intimidation, discourtesy, burning or burying of effigies and hunger strike.'

Another form of satyagraha recommended by Gandhi is civil disobedience. This is regarded by him as 'complete, effective and bloodless substitute of armed revolt.' Bad laws are to be challenged and violated. Civil disobedience implies 'the register's outlawry in a civil, i.e., non-violent manner.' Gandhi put the greatest emphasis on the word 'civil'. He said,

> 'Disobedience to be civil, must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant, must be based upon some well-understood principle, must not be capricious and must have no ill will or hatred behind it. Its use must be guarded by all conceivable restrictions. Every possible provision should be made against outbreak of violence or general lawlessness. The area as well as scope should also be limited to the barest necessity of the case.'

The leaders, and not the satyagrahis, are to decide which laws are to be violated. Another form of satyagraha suggested by Gandhi is fasting. This is considered by him as a strong weapon against oppression and Gandhi recommended the greatest caution in resorting to fasting. Fasting is not meant for all occasions, but only on rare occasions. It can be undertaken for self-purification or for the purpose of resisting injustice and converting the evil-doer. Fasting is to be undertaken only by those who have spiritual fitness. It requires purity of mind, discipline, humility and faith. Gandhi's view is that fasting rouses conscience and fires the loving hearts to action.

Those who bring about radical changes in human conditions and surroundings cannot do it except by raising ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this – violence and non-violence. Non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering and by fasting touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed.

The last method of satyagraha is in the form of strike. However, Gandhi's view of strike is different from that advocated by Socialists and Communists. According to him, strike is a voluntary, purificatory suffering undertaken to convert the wrong doers. Gandhi does not believe in the theory of class war. His view is that industry is a joint enterprise of labour and capital and both of them are trustees. The strikers are required to put forward their demands in very clear terms. Those should not be unjust. Those should be within the reach of the capitalists to concede. The strikers are required to learn some

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manual craft so that during the strike period, they do not have to depend upon the strike fund.

Gandhi recommended satyagraha even in the case of foreign invasion. He explained his method in these words:

> 'A non-violent man or society does not anticipate or provide for attacks from without. On the contrary, such a person or society firmly believes that nobody is going to disturb them. If the worst happens, there are two ways open to non-violence. To yield possession but non-cooperate with the aggressor. Thus supposing that a modern edition of Nero descended upon India, the representatives of the States will let him in but tell him that he will get no assistance from the people. They will prefer death to submission. The second way will be the non-violent way. They would offer themselves unarmed as fodder for the aggressor's cannon. The underlying belief in either case is that even Nero is not devoid of a heart. The unexpected spectacle of endless rows upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of an aggressor, must, ultimately melt him and his soldiery.'

When China was being conquered by Japan during the 1930s, Gandhi said,

> 'If the Chinese had practiced non-violence of my conception, there would be no use left for the latest machinery of destruction which Japan possesses. The Chinese would say to Japan, 'Bring all your machinery. We present half of our population to you, but the remaining two hundred millions won't bend their knees to you.' If the Chinese did that, Japan would become China's slave.'

In 1916, Gandhi laid down certain principles to be observed in the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati. Those principles of behaviour are truth, non-violence, non- stealing, non-possession and celibacy. A true satyagrahi is required to practice those ideals, in his day-to-day private and public life. In course of time, Gandhi favoured a few more virtues and qualities to be borne by a satyagrahi. Those qualities are soul-force, moral discipline, honesty, 'spiritual kinship with the opponent', implicit faith in human nature and goodness, self-inflicted suffering for truth and a will to crucify the flesh by fasting and humility. A satyagrahi is not to harbour anger, suffer the anger of the opponent, retaliate or insult his opponent. If a satyagrahi violated the rules prescribed by him, Gandhi preferred to stop the movement than to see the violation of those rules. Purity and non-violence of the persons engaged in a cause were always fundamental to him.

Satyagraha is based upon the moral development of the satyagrahi. He is to 'overcome evil by good, anger by love, untruth by truth, himsa by ahimsa.' He is to treat his opponent as a member of his own family and the family method was to be employed to iron out the differences. A satyagrahi is to trust his opponent even if the latter plays him false. A satyagrahi is required to have an open mind and whenever he realizes that his own opinion is wrong, he should confess his mistake and revise his judgement accordingly. Gandhi stated, 'Confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before.' A satyagrahi is to meet his enemy, not to attack him, but to compromise with him. A satyagrahi can compromise on non-essentials, and not fundamentals or the basic moral issues involved in the conflict.

A satyagrahi has double responsibility. He is responsible to himself, i.e., to his own inner conscience and to the people. According to Gandhi, if there is a conflict between the two, a satyagrahi should submit to the public opinion if the matter does not conflict with his moral conscience very often; he has to depend upon his conscience for guidance. There can be situations for a satyagrahi when he should not surrender his personal moral intuitive judgment to mass opinion and follow the dictates of his conscience and leave free his followers to pursue their own course of action.

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Satyagraha is related to the concept of love and non-violence. A satyagrahi must have a sound basis for his love and affection. A satyagrahi makes a distinction between the evil and the evil-doer. He wins the heart of the opponent through love and persuasion. He should not be obliged to accept things as they are. His aim is to secure social justice. The non-violence of a satyagrahi has its impact. The wrong- doer gets tired of committing wrong in the absence of resistance. Gandhi states,

> 'All pressure is lost when the victim betrays no resistance. I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by disappointing the expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul would at first dazzle him and at last compel recognition from him which recognition would not humiliate but uplift him.'

According to Gandhi, satyagraha is non-violent coercion. The aim of the satyagrahi is to move the heart of the enemy only by love and not by giving or causing any injury to him. Satyagraha is a weapon that only well-disciplined soldiers can use. He who leads the life of an honest and truthful man, can use it effectively. The user should be fearless. There are two other things viz., non-stealing and non-possession, which are very important. Gandhi wrote,

> 'Possession implies provision for the future. A seeker after truth, a follower of the Law of Love cannot hold anything tomorrow. God never stores for the morrow. He never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment. If, therefore, we repose faith in His Providence, we should rest assured that He will give us every day our daily bread, meaning everything that we require.'

Gandhi stated,

> 'Theoretically, when there is perfect love, there must be perfect non-possession. The body is our last possession. So a man can only exercise perfect love and be completely dispossessed if he is prepared to embrace death and renounce his body for the sake of human service. But that is true in theory only. In actual life, we can hardly exercise perfect love, for the body as a possession will always remain with us. Man will ever remain imperfect and it will always be his part to try to be perfect.'

According to Gandhi, humility and self-restraint must be practiced by the satyagrahi because they give him strength and force. At the time of the 1930 movement, Gandhi made the following rules for the Satyagrahis:

> 'The Satyagrahi must harbour no anger, must suffer the anger of his opponent, putting up with assaults but refusing to retaliate; but he must not submit out of fear of punishment or the like to any order given in anger. He must refrain from insults and swearing; he must protect opponents from insults or attack, even at the risk of his life. He must not resist his arrest for the attachment of his property, but if he has got any property in his possession as a trustee, he must refuse to surrender it even though in defending it he might lose his life. As a prisoner he must behave in an exemplary manner; as a member of his unit in the struggle, he must obey the orders of his leaders although he may resign in the event of serious disagreement. He may not expect guarantee for maintenance of his dependants.'

If satyagraha is a way of life for an individual, it is also a means of group action by which, through collective non-violent resistance, conflicts are settled and the cause of truth is vindicated. Gandhi has suggested various precautions and ethical codes to be followed while undertaking satyagraha as a group action. For instance, it must be non-violent. The enemy should not be embarrassed. Gandhi put emphasis on 'open- dealing' in satyagraha. Everything, including discussions or settlement of the dispute, should be done openly. The reason is that truth and secrecy cannot go together. Satyagraha is a

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struggle for righteousness and virtue. It is a vindication of the right of opposition to coercive authority. No force in the world is as effective as satyagraha. It is progressive in character.

Gandhi's advocacy of the right of Satyagraha is a great contribution to political thought. As a moral technique for waging the battle of national freedom, satyagraha gained dramatic and historic character. According to Stanley Jones, satyagraha is the greatest contribution of Gandhi to the modern world. D.E. Smith describes Gandhi as a revolutionary leader on account of his developing the technique of Satyagraha.

The question arises whether the ideas of Gandhi are relevant for us today when we see ourselves surrounded in our day-to-day lives by so called satyagrahas, dharnas, fasts unto death and gheraoes. Gandhi laid emphasis on means as well as on ends. It is suggested that if the Gandhian spirit is imbibed by the new generation, many problems can be solved without taking recourse to violence. Gandhi's technique can be employed successfully to fight the evils of corruption, black-marketing or injustices in economic, industrial or social life. Without bloodshed, Gandhism can be a complete revolution.

2.5 GANDHI'S CONCEPT OF SOCIETY AND INDIVIDUAL

Gandhi believed in the concept of the individual being the soul of the social system. According to Gandhi, the individual is the centre of the social system, but there is interdependence of the individual and the society. However, the individual is the root and the society is the fruit. Gandhi rejects both unrestricted individualism that ignores social obligations, as well as the other extreme view, i.e., individual is a cog in the social machine. Gandhi said,

> 'I value individual freedom but you must not forget that man is essentially a social being. He has risen to the present status by learning to adjust his individualism to the requirements of social progress. Unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle. We have learnt to strike the mean between individual freedom and social restraint. Willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the wellbeing of the whole society enriches both the individual and the society of which one is a member.'

Society must provide maximum opportunities to the individual for his development that consists of selfless service to society and willing fulfilment of social obligation. If the society fails in discharging its duty, resistance is justified.

Check Your Progress

4. List one contribution of Gandhi to political theory.
5. What are the techniques of satyagraha?
6. List the name of the writers who inspired Gandhian ideas.

According to Gandhi, individuals acquire the right of resistance, or the violation of the law of the state becomes a right and a duty of an individual when the laws are: (a) not of people's own making, (b) repugnant to public or private morals, (c) not promoting social good, (d) oppressive in nature and cause, all round harassment, hardship, humiliation, oppression and tyranny.

Thus, resistance becomes moral and just in the name of dictate of conscience, individual freedom, self-government and social good. Of course, the manner of resistance must be of specific character and be in conformity with the Gandhian general principle of purity of means. Gandhi's prescriptions are: (1) non-violent resistance, (2) civil resistance, and (3) civilized resistance. The resistances shall assume the form of non-cooperation and civil disobedience, or satyagraha. Those who resist the State in the name of morality, justice, dictate of conscience or freedom and self-government, should

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adopt non-violent techniques or the techniques of satyagraha and must be prepared to suffer the consequences of such resistance.

Gandhi wrote,

> 'Government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed. There is no government that can control an individual without his sanction. Voluntary obedience to the laws of the State and the society should be there so far as they are not repugnant to public or private morals. Willing obedience to social restraint for the sake of the wellbeing of the whole society enriches both the individual and society of which he is a member.'

Gandhi was a philosophical anarchist for whom state was an unacceptable institution. Like Marx and the anarchists, he thought that the state is an instrument of exploitation based on violence and sustained by violence. According to him, by the use of violence, the state suppresses the individuality of man. For Gandhi, the individual is the centre of the social system, and the political structure. The state is meant to promote the interest of the individual and to provide him adequate opportunities for the development of his personality, which consists in rendering selfless service to the society. Thus, according to Gandhi, the state is a means to an end and the end being the all-round development of the individual.

The rights of the individual, according to Gandhi, are not created by the state. They are created by the individuals who, by due performance of their duties, qualify themselves for the enjoyment of their duties. The state only recognizes these rights. The individual has the right to resist the state for the vindication of his rights, born out of due performance of one's duty. According to Gandhi, rights have their source in due performance of duties. If one performs his duties to the society, rights will automatically follow. Rights and duties are related as cause and effect, the latter being the cause, and the former being the effect.

Gandhi did not believe in an institution like the state that is based on violence. His ideal condition of human existence is a condition of statelessness. However, as a practical idealist he realized that due to the imperfections of the individuals, the state is often felt as a necessary evil. Hence, the individuals should obey the state and the principles of political obligation or what constitutes the basis of political obligation.

Gandhi as a philosophical anarchist was not only critical of the state, but also of all governments extraneous to individuals. He understood swaraj in the sense of self-government of the self by the superior self, or the control of the individual behaviour, passion, greed and selfishness, by the dictates of conscience. Hence, in his *Hind Swaraj*, he observed 'real home-rule is self-rule or self-control'. However, as a practical man, he felt that since individuals are incapable of perfect self-control and their conduct does not become completely self-regulated, there is need for some form of government external to man. However, the government must be democratic in nature, i.e., democratic both in form and content. Such a government must be: (i) free from foreign control, (ii) promote the welfare of all members of the society, (iii) based on the equality of all members of the society irrespective of the religion, race, caste, sect or place of birth, (iv) secular in nature, (v) free from domination by any section of the community, (vi) based on the principle of democratic decentralization, (vii) based on the principle of village self-government and (viii) based on mutual toleration.

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2.6 ANATOMY OF GANDHIAN SOCIALISM

Gandhi was a critic of capitalism. He condemned the 19th century doctrine of laissez-faire. To him, accumulation of capital is an evil and immoral act. Today, the word 'socialism' has become a controversial one. Socialism is often compared with a hat, which has lost its shape because everybody wears it.

If socialism is defined as a political and economic theory according to which the means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned and controlled by the people, everyone should be given an equal opportunity to develop his talents and the wealth of the community should be fairly distributed, then Gandhi may be called a true socialist. Gandhi visualizes a social structure in which every attempt is made to ensure everybody's rise. Let us now examine the main tenets of Gandhian socialism.

2.6.1 Equitable Distribution of Wealth

Gandhi believed in the concept of economic equality and advocated, 'a wise regulation of riches and absolute social justice.' He once wrote,

> 'Socialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware, in socialism all the members of the society are equal, none low, none high. In the individual body, the head is not high, because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as parts of the individual body are equal, so are the members of the society. This is socialism.'

This statement clearly reveals the concept of equality as embodied in Gandhian socialism. On another occasion, he wrote,

> 'I am working for winning Swaraj for those toiling and unemployed millions, who do not get even a square meal a day and have to scratch along with a piece of stale 'Roti' and a pinch of salt.'

Gandhi was a practical man. He realized that complete equality is an improbability. Hence, he pleaded for equitable distribution. As he says, 'My ideal is equal distribution but so far as I can see, it is not to be realized. I therefore work for equitable distribution of wealth.'

He felt that disparity of income should be reduced to a reasonable limit. In the ideal Constitution of India, which had his approval, Gandhi pleaded, 'Every citizen shall have the right to obtain a minimum living wage through honest work or employment.' No servant of the State shall be paid more than Rs. 500 per month. Inheritance taxes on a graduated scale shall be levied on property above a fixed minimum.

The following types of wealth that are now owned by the private capitalists shall become national property:

- All the land shall belong to the State. Private landlords and zamindari systems of land tenure will, therefore, cease to exist. The state shall grant long lease to those farmers who actually till the soil.
- All key industries shall be owned by the nation.
- Mines, rivers, forests, roads, railways, air transport, post and telegraph, shipping and other means to public transport shall be national property.

Gandhi was in favour of culmination of all forms of economic exploitation through non-coercive technique. He regarded accumulation of capital as immoral and a social crime. There should be no accumulation and no useless possession of wealth in society.

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The doctrine of equal distribution means that each man's need should be fulfilled. Gandhi, in his later years, subscribed to the Marxian formula of 'each according to his need.'

2.6.2 Theory of Trusteeship

Gandhi was not altogether in favour of the abolition of private property. He believed in the principle of trusteeship under which the rich could possess all their wealth in trust for the good of the people. He did not want to give unlimited power to property owners. According to Gandhi, they should become trustees of their surplus wealth for the good of the society.

The theory of trusteeship is a cardinal point of the economic policy that Gandhi had advocated for independent India. Gandhi strongly believed in the concept of *aparigraha* (non-possession) and contended that 'a thing not originally stolen must nevertheless be classified as stolen property if we possess without need for it.' When in 1929 Gandhi advocated his theory of trusteeship, he expected good response from the capitalists in India. But in actual practice, when the response was very poor, he revised his view and accepted the idea of 'statutory trusteeship'. In the beginning, he assumed that trusteeship would be inherited by the son, but later on in 1938 he declared that a trustee has no heir but the public.

Gandhi never idealized private property. As K.G. Mashurwala aptly writes,

> 'He (Gandhi) would like to dispossess every person of all kinds of belongings. If he tolerates the institution of private property, it is not because he loves it or holds it to be necessary for the progress of humanity but because he had yet to discover a truthful and non-violent method of abolishing that institution.'

2.6.3 Bread Labour

Gandhi's idea of bread labour is based on the principle of dignity and sanctity of labour. According to Gandhi, the real wealth of the nation consists of labour. The idea that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his labour greatly influenced him. The theory of bread labour postulates that every healthy individual must labour enough for his food, and his intellectual faculties must not be exercised in order to obtain a living or amass a fortune, but only in the service of mankind.

Further, Gandhi wrote, 'If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. There will then be no rich and no poor, none high, none low, no touchable and no untouchable.'

Gandhi rightly realized that labour has its unique place in any civilized nation. Although he did not blindly support the Ricardian or Marxian theories of labour, yet he adhered to the moral idea of the sanctification of labour. He not only preached it, but also practiced it in South Africa. Every individual must work. 'Everyone should deem it a dishonour to eat a single meal without honest labour.'

2.6.4 Decentralized Order

Gandhi advocated decentralization both in the political and economic spheres. He was well aware of over-centralization. Centralization is a form of regimentation and authoritarianism and it 'makes the world so complex that the common man fails to understand the forces that are working in his life and society.'

In order to raise the common man into a high pedestal of glory, a large measure of decentralization of both political and economic power is necessary. Gandhi wanted to

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evolve a decentralized structure of power and economy based on the effective reconstruction of self-reliant and self-sufficient village communities. The strength of the nation can be built only if the villagers lead a life of peace, harmony, goodwill and self-sufficiency. Hence, Gandhi advocated for powerful village panchayats and promotion of small-scale and cottage industries. As J.B. Karipalani writes, 'Decentralization in industry and devolution of power in politics are the only means by which humanity can hope to establish a social order based upon equality and justice and free from economic and political exploitation.'

2.6.5 Democratic Socialism

Gandhi was a socialist at heart. It is a political blasphemy to deny that Gandhi was a socialist. His socialism was not a blind imitation of the West. Rather, it had a few unique features. Gandhi wrote,

> 'I have claimed that I was a socialist long before those I know in India avowed their creed. My socialism was natural to me and not adopted from a book. It came out of an unshakeable belief in non-violence. No man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice, no matter where it occurred, unfortunately. Western socialists have, so far as I know, believed in the necessity of violence for enforcing socialistic doctrines.'

Gandhi believed in democratic socialism. He was not prepared to sacrifice the individual at the altar of the state and was opposed to dictatorship of any kind, either of the capitalists or of the proletarian. Gandhi's socialism is to be achieved through democratic means.

2.6.6 Non-violent Socialism

What makes Gandhian socialism practically different from communism is its faith in 'ahimsa' or non-violence. That is why Gandhism is often called 'Marxism minus violence.' Gandhi had firm faith in non-violence. He was convinced that social justice can never be achieved by the means of force. Nothing permanent can be built on violence. What is gained by violence may be lost before superior violence. Hence, he wanted to bring a social revolution through non-violent ways. He wanted to convert human nature by persuasion, not by coercion. He wrote, 'Some have called me the greatest revolutionary of my time. It may be false, but I believe myself to be a revolutionary— a non-violent revolutionary.'

2.6.7 Moral and Spiritual Socialism

Gandhian socialism is not only non-violent, but also moral and spiritual. Gandhi believed in the purification of means and ends. He was convinced that noble ends cannot be achieved by evil means and contended 'our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means.' 'This socialism', he wrote, 'is as pure as crystal. It requires crystal-like means to achieve it.'

Gandhi believed in the fundamentals or ethics that love is better than hate, peace is better than war, cooperation is better than conflict, and persuasion is better than coercion. While Marx put emphasis on matter, Gandhi put emphasis on spirit or life. To Marx, religion is 'the opium of the people', but to Gandhi, 'the existence of the world in a broad sense depends on religion.' Gandhi rejected the Marxist theory of class war, which preached permanent antagonism between the have and the have nots or between

the capital and labour. He is not of the opinion that 'capital and labour need to be antagonistic.' Further, he wrote,

> 'A labourer's skill is his capital. Just as the capitalist cannot make his capital fructify without the cooperation of labour, even so the working man cannot make his labour fructify without the cooperation of capital . . . . They would get to respect each other as equal partners in a common enterprise.'

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2.6.8 Agrarian Socialism

Gandhi developed his socialist ideas against the background of Indian economic life. India is essentially a land of villages where more than 85 per cent of the population depends upon agriculture. Unless villages prosper and rise, the true development of the country would not be possible. Hence, Gandhi wanted to reconstruct and rejuvenate the villages through various schemes, particularly through small-scale and cottage industries. His ideal is a decentralized rural economy consisting of small, self-sufficient village communities. While Marx's socialism is urban and industrial, Gandhian socialism is rural and agrarian in character. Gandhi was not altogether opposed to machinery and industrialization. His object was 'not to destroy the machine but to impose limitations on it.' He wanted to save the toiling masses from the clutches of unemployment and starvation.

2.6.9 Indigenous Socialism

As stated earlier, Gandhi developed his socialism against the background of Indian life. It is thus wrong to charge Gandhi of having diluted the meaning of socialism. His humanism inevitably leads him to be a socialist. He is a socialist because he wants to put an end to exploitation, injustice and inequality in society—a society in which the poorest of the poor should feel that it is his country, and in which people would be guided by devotion to social ends and social service instead of private gains and selfishness.

Gandhian socialist edifice was built, as far as possible, by the indigenous materials. Being influenced by the exalted life of abnegation of Buddha and the doctrine of sacrifice of Hindu philosophy, Gandhi put emphasis on non-accumulation, non- stealing and non-possession. Believing in the conception of aparigraha, i.e., non- possession, Gandhi contended that 'a thing not originally stolen must nevertheless be classified as stolen property, if we possess it without need for it.' On another occasion he wrote, 'Real socialism has been handed down to Gopal, then where is the boundary line? Gopal literally means shepherd; it also means God. In modern language it means the State, i.e., the people.'

The first verse of the Upanishad, which contains the doctrine of 'renounce and enjoy' had also considerably influenced Gandhian socialism.

Hence, Gandhian socialism is essentially Indian in character. Gandhi had Indianized socialism. It is not a blind imitation of Western socialism or orthodox Marxism. We may brand it as an indigenous or 'Swadeshi' socialism. Gandhians claim that present-day socialists in India need to give up all false pretensions of being called socialists and have a fresh look at Gandhian socialism that is a good panacea to solve many ills of our society.

2.7 GANDHISM AND COMMUNISM

Gandhism is a school of thought that expresses Mahatma Gandhi's views on political, social, economic and religious matters from time to time. Various scholars have collected

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these views and compiled them under Gandhism. It is, thus, not a set of doctrine or dogmas, rules or regulations, injunctions or inhibitions, but a way of life. It indicates a new attitude or restates an old one towards life's issues and offers ancient solutions for modern problems.

As Gandhian principles in some aspect resemble those of the communists, it is often said that 'Gandhism is communism minus violence.' Both are humanitarian philosophies that stand for the poor and downtrodden people. Both ardently believe in the equality of all human beings and uphold the doctrine, 'To each according to his needs'. In spite of apparent few similarities, vital differences exist between Gandhism and Communism. Hence, it is wrong to say that Gandhism is 'communism minus violence'.

Table 2.1 presents a brief comparative analysis of Gandhism versus Communism.

***Table 2.1** Comparative Analysis of Gandhism and Communism*

Gandhism	Communism
1. It believes in classless society.	1. It also believes in a classless society.
2. According to it the State should be given minimum functions.	2. According to it the State is all powerful during the transitional period. In fact it believes in the withering away of the States.
3. It believes that capital should be used for social good and the capitalist should treat himself as the trustee of capital.	3. It believes that capital is a theft and as such it should be taken away from those who have hoarded it and that should be put under the control of the State.
4. According to Gandhism poor and down-trodden should be brought to the front and given their due place in the society.	4. It wishes to establish regime of the working class who are also poor and down-trodden.
5. It believes in non-violence.	5. It openly advocates violence.
6. It does not believe in class-war.	6. It believes in class-war.
7. It advocates democracy.	7. It advocates dictatorship of the working class
8. It believes in spiritualism and moral uplifting of humanity. It combined religion with politics.	8. It believes in materialism. In fact, Marxism believes that religion is opium for the people. Both should be separated.
9. It believes that means justify the ends. Good and hobble means are essential for achieving good ends.	9. According to this philosophy ends justify means and therefore, all means should be adopted in order to achieve the ends.
10. It does not allow the use of force in any circumstances because that is bound to result in hatred.	10. Use of force, where necessary, should not be avoided. In fact it gives more importance to force in order to solve the complex problems of society.
11. It hates the sin but not the sinner.	11. It hates both capital and the capitalist.

2.7.1 Evaluation of Gandhian Thought

The influence of Mahatma Gandhi on Indian politics has been tremendous. Every decision of Gandhi on the political situation in India was of great significance to all; to his admirers as well as critics. As a freedom fighter, Gandhi actually showed that the principles of truth and non-violence were not the mere theme of an idle talk, but the core of actual action. He became a dynamic force in the political and spiritual life of India. Indians could never have fought against the powerful British government by using force, because the latter could have suppressed them by using still greater force, which they commanded.

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The symbolic use of the weapons of non-violence and satyagraha were responsible for spreading patriotic fervour throughout the country. Decentralization of political power, democracy of village communities, decentralized production, bread labour, elimination of exploitation, prison reforms, private property to be held in trust, the state functioning as an agency of service on the basis of non-violence, and so on, clearly show the strengths of Gandhian thought. It is true that to vest absolute power in the state is risky. Decentralization of political power and decentralization of production, when introduced judiciously, will do immense benefit to a country. Gandhian thought lays great emphasis on service and cooperation and expresses itself strongly against power as a weapon.

The world cannot forget Gandhi, the apostle of truth and non-violence who lived the life of an ascetic. He said about himself, 'The law of complete love is the law of my being.' George Marshall remarked that 'Mahatma Gandhi is the spokesman for the conscience of all mankind.' Commenting upon Gandhi's assassination, George Bernard Shaw said, 'It is dangerous to be too good.' Gandhi was a great thinker, a great leader, a great reformer, a great philanthropist and a great revolutionary. Paying due homage to Gandhi, Sir Stafford Cripps observed, 'I know of no other man of any time or indeed recent history, who so forcefully and convincingly demonstrated the power of spirit over material things.'

2.7.2 Sarvodaya

The leaders who followed Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programmes include Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Kaka Kalekar, Jay Prakash Narayan and K.G. Mashruwala. Regarding the establishment of the sarvodaya society, a detailed plan was published on 20 January 1950. In such a society, there will be freedom for all and utmost equality; there will be no class and castes; no exploitation nor injustice; and equal opportunity for each for fullest development. Man will be the centre of such a society, but self-interest will not be the basis of social organization. Life in such a society will be an integrated whole, so that work, art and play will form a unified pattern making possible the growth of an integrated human personality. Further, there will be complete equality in a sarvodaya society and no one would be oppressed under the tyranny of another person. It will be an ideal society and love and cooperation would be its bases. Truth and non-violence will dominate this society.

Sarvodaya is Gandhi's most significant socio political movement. Like satyagraha, this also comprises two terms, 'sarva' meaning one and all and 'uday' meaning wellbeing or upliftment. This combination thus indicates overall boost or development of all as the definition of sarvodaya.

Gandhi first came across this righteous concept in the form of a book titled *Unto This Last*, by John Ruskin, which he read in South Africa in 1904. The effect of this book was so strong that it changed Gandhi's outlook towards life. He resolved to change his life according to the ethics of the book.

Three fundamental codes of belief formed the basis of Ruskin's ideology:

- An individual's benefit is in the benefit of everyone
- A lawyer's work is as respectable as that of a barber; in as much as everyone has equal right to earn their living from their work
- The life of labour, i.e., the life of one who tills soil and that of the handicraftsman are the lives that are worth living

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This system of belief made Gandhi feel obligated towards the society. He recalled these beliefs in his autobiography, 'The first of these I knew. The second, I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. *Unto This Las*t made it clear as daylight for me that the second and third were contained in the first. I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice'. .

Despite, sarvodaya being a social philosophy in its basic form, India's pressing post-independence requirement demanded that it be changed into an urgent political set of guidelines. Its aim was to free the social classes from inequality and the best way to put it into practice was with the help of political resolve and state machinery. For Gandhi, and for India, this was an indication of grassroot level boost which started in the villages with the most deprived classes, and then progressed to cover the higher social sections.

Nevertheless, to Gandhi, this was a physical expression of sarvodaya. The more profound philosophies served as an inherent spiritual link for him. His quest for God guided him to the establishment of the most deprived, and in the noble service of this lowest of the lowly man, Gandhi glimpsed God. This became his worship and the soul of the deprived became his pilgrimage. Gandhi's exalted aspiration seemed to be getting fulfilled by service to the poorest of the poor. A justification to this perception is given by Gandhi himself, when he wrote in *Socialism of My Conception* in 1936, 'Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his activities, social, political, religious; have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavour, simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it. This can only be done by service of all. And this cannot be done except through one's country.'

After 1948, Gandhi's associates carried forward this movement. The chief torchbearers of sarvodaya were Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Jaiprakash Narayan and Dada Dharmadhikari. Their competent leadership and incessant striving propelled sarvodaya from a mere initiative to a historic movement.

Sarvodaya puts emphasis on land. All wealth, including land, will be considered as common property to be used for common benefit. The class distinctions will vanish; everyone will work for society according to their capacity and receive from society in accordance to their needs. Production will be for consumption and mutual sharing, and not for profit. To put an end to bureaucratization of the economy, decentralization of production will be preferred in the new society. The economy will pre-eminently be based on small and cottage industries. There are two reasons ascribed for that. First, in a country like India, where capital is short and the size of labour supply too big, any attempt at industrialization through high technology is destined to fail. Second, the decentralization of production would prevent bureaucratization of the economic system and benefit the masses.

There will be no state in such a society. The state will not be abolished at once in such a society. The society will move gradually from a good government to a society without a government. The supporters of the sarvodaya society were not in favour of indirect democracy, because in such a democracy there are political parties, which propagate wrong things. In a representative democracy, all decisions are taken by majority and there is no regard for the minority. In such a government, all powers are concentrated in the hands of the government and its officials. Therefore, the sarvodaya leaders were against this democracy and they suggest a government by the village. Acharya Vinoba Bhave wrote that village disputes should be solved in the villages. Then it would become a kingdom of God where there would be no conflicts

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and tensions. Vinobaji's *bhoodan* movement aimed at ushering in a new society on the basis of the sarvodaya principles.

The Sarvodaya principles are highly commendable. They promote everything good that we strive for—selflessness, high morals and cooperation. If practised, it can only lead to betterment of the individual and mankind as a whole. However, it would not be wrong to state that the concept is more visionary than applicable. Human beings fundamentally come with a lot of flaws and so does society. Non-violent revolution, for one, cannot succeed without the backing of a party. Also, the fact that a society will exist that will have all its citizens live together in harmony is a pipe dream that will, as things stand, never be realized. Still, it would be a folly to dismiss the concept as too utopian and having no place in the real world. Even if humans achieve a portion of the principles advocated by the concept, much can be achieved.

ACTIVITY

Research the attitude of the American press towards India's freedom struggle, especially Gandhi's non-violent techniques. Write a report on your findings.

DID YOU KNOW

Gandhi lived for over twenty years in South Africa

2.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learned that:

- Mahatma Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869. He became renowned in South Africa as a champion of truth, non-violence and the dignity of the human being.
- Gandhi returned to India in 1914, and dedicated the remaining years of his life to the cause of freedom for his motherland.
- Gandhism is a school of thought that expresses Mahatma Gandhi's views on political, social, economic and religious matters from time to time. Various scholars have collected these views and compiled them under Gandhism.
- Gandhi's ideas were influenced by the writings of Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy. He was also influenced by the Vedas, the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Bible*, the *Quran*, and the other scriptures. It is essential to point out that Gandhi's political thought was mixed with religious principles.
- Gandhi's ideal is a stateless democracy, in which there is a federation of village communities, functioning on the basis of voluntary cooperation, and peaceful coexistence.
- Gandhi was against the use of property as an instrument of exploitation. Capitalism and exploitation should be removed through nonviolent methods. Those who have property must regard it as trust and not as an instrument of exploitation.
- Gandhi used the word satyagraha in 1906 to express the nature of the non- violence action undertaken by the Indians in South Africa against the racist government. With his involvement in the Indian National Movement, he adopted it as a technique of love-force, soul-force, non-violent in nature, aiming constantly at the search and pursuit of truth.

Check Your Progress

7. According to Gandhi, when do individuals acquire the right of resistance?
8. For Gandhi, how are the rights of the individual created?
9. What makes Gandhian socialism different from communism?
10. State the grounds for Gandhi's anti-state stance.
11. What was Gandhi's opinion on decentralization of power?
12. What are the features of a Gandhian sarvodaya society?

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- Gandhi believed in the concept of the individual being the soul of the social system.
- As the Gandhian principles in some aspect resemble those of the communists, it is often said that 'Gandhism is communism minus violence.' Both are humanitarian philosophies that stand for the poor and downtrodden people.
- The leaders who followed Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programmes include Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Kaka Kalekar, late Jay Prakash Narayan and late K.G. Mashruwala.

2.9 KEY TERMS

- **Gandhism:** It is a school of thought that expresses Mahatma Gandhi's views on political, social, economic and religious matters.
- **Stateless democracy:** It refers to a democracy in which every individual is given the maximum freedom to devote himself to the service of society according to his calibre or capacity.
- **Ramarajya:** It refers to the Kingdom of the Hindu Lord Ram, considered to be an extremely just kingdom.
- **Satyagraha:** It means the vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's own self.
- **Hartal:** It refers to the stopping of work as a measure of protest and its object to strike the imagination of the people and the government.
- **Socialism:** A political and economic theory according to which the means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned and controlled by the people, everyone should be given an equal opportunity to develop his talents and the wealth of the community should be fairly distributed.

2.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Mahatma Gandhi first went to South Africa in the year 1893.
2. The major influences on Gandhi's life may be summed up as follows:
   (i) His mother's sense of self-sacrifice, spirit of service, religiosity, and fasting
   (ii) His father's spirit of renunciation
   (iii) Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity, Vaishnavism and the Bhagavad Gita
3. Gandhism is a school of thought that expresses Mahatma Gandhi's views on political, social, economic and religious matters from time to time. Various scholars have collected these views and compiled them under Gandhism.
4. A great contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to political theory and politics is political action guided by morality or spirituality.
5. The techniques of satyagraha may take the form of non-cooperation and civil disobedience or fasting and strike.
6. Gandhi's ideas were influenced by the writings of Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy.
7. According to Gandhi, individuals acquire the right of resistance, or the violation of the law of the state becomes a right and a duty of an individual when the laws are: (a) not of people's own making, (b) repugnant to public or private morals, (c) not promoting social good, (d) oppressive in nature and cause, all round harassment, hardship, humiliation, oppression and tyranny.
8. The rights of the individual, according to Gandhi, are not created by the state. They are created by the individuals who, by due performance of their duties, qualify themselves for the enjoyment of their duties. The state only recognizes these rights.
9. What makes Gandhian socialism practically different from communism is its faith in 'ahimsa' or non-violence.
10. As an advocate of non-violence and philosophical anarchism, Gandhi was against the state. His anti-state attitude was justified on historical, moral and economic grounds. The state uses force, and its existence cannot be justified on moral grounds. By the use of force, the state deprives the moral value of the individual's action.
11. Gandhi was against high centralized production and pleaded for decentralized production. The idea was not to do away entirely with machinery as such, but to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of a few people.
12. In a sarvodaya society, there will be freedom for all and utmost equality; there will be no class and castes; no exploitation nor injustice; and equal opportunity for each for fullest development. Man will be the centre of such a society, but self-interest will not be the basis of social organization.

2.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was Gandhi's idea of stateless democracy?
2. What are the salient features of Gandhian economy?
3. Write a note on satyagraha.
4. How is hartal a form of satyagraha?
5. What is the anatomy of Gandhian socialism?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the various influences on Gandhi's thought and philosophy.
2. 'Gandhi spiritualized politics and liberalized religion.' Elaborate.
3. Critically examine Mahatma Gandhi's concept of non-violence or ahimsa.
4. Discuss Mahatma Gandhi's theory of satyagraha.
5. Examine critically Gandhi's attitude towards the state.
6. 'Mahatma Gandhi's concept of sarvodaya is a panacea for all ills.' Examine.
7. Discuss the concept of indigenous socialism as advocated by Gandhi.

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2.12 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you were introduced to the political thoughts of Gandhi. In it, you learnt that Gandhi agreed with many of the maxims of socialism, and considered himself to be a socialist. His political ideas have been labelled by theorists as Gandhian socialism. In fact, the idea of socialism has left a deep imprint on numerous Indian political thinkers, especially from the independence and post-independence generation. This unit will discuss some of these thinkers. The unit will also discuss the thoughts of B.R. Ambedkar.

This unit will begin with a discussion on the basic ideas of M.N. Roy. Roy was a radical Indian political thinker who influenced socialist and Marxist thought in India and abroad. This unit will then discuss the political and social ideas of B.R. Ambedkar. It will examine Ambedkar's social ideas, the problem of Hindus order, the evils of the caste

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system, the question of reservation for the backward sections of the society, and so on. This unit will conclude with a discussion on Jayaprakash Narayan and Ram Manohar Lohia's conception of socialism.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the ideas of M.N. Roy and discuss his criticism of Marxism
- Compare M.N. Roy and Gandhi's concepts of nationalism
- Explain the three-varna system propounded by Ambedkar
- Interpret Ambedkar's ideas on untouchability and the caste system
- Explain Jayprakash Narayan's political ideology
- Discuss the ideas of Ram Manohar Lohia

3.2 M.N. ROY

Manabendra Nath Roy was a unique personality in the history of modern India. He was one of the extremists in India's struggle for independence. He actively participated in the armed struggles that took place in India in the early part of the 20th century. He had also actively engaged in the revolutionary struggles that took place in Mexico and China during that time. He had the rare distinction of having worked with the world revolutionary leaders like Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. In the beginning, he was a great champion of Marxism. But later on, he changed his ideology. He lost faith in Marxism and expounded his theory of 'Radical Humanism' or 'New Humanism'. He criticized the Marxian concept of the dialectical materialism and the theory of surplus value. He was also a critic of parliamentary democracy. Like Jayprakash Narayan, he had faith in the concept of party-less democracy or organized democracy without parties.

Roy was born on 6th February, 1886, in 24 Parganas district of Bengal. In his earlier days, he was known as Narendranath Bhattacharya. He attained his early education in Calcutta. He was deeply influenced by the philosophy and works of Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra and Dayanand Saraswati. After the partition of Bengal in 1905, he started his revolutionary activities. He got his political training in the course of the swadeshi movement of Bengal. He had close contact with Jatin Mukherjee and worked with the leaders of the Yugantara group, which was known for its revolutionary activities in Bengal. Roy was also deeply influenced by the political ideas of Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and S.N. Bannerjee.

In 1910, M.N. Roy was arrested in connection with the Howrah conspiracy case. During the First World War, Roy took an active part in the revolutionary activities. He remained in charge of smuggling of arms ammunitions from Germany to India. In 1915, he went to Java to get arms and ammunitions. After his return, he was arrested in a case in Calcutta. After his release from jail, M.N. Roy fled to the Dutch Indies. He also went to Japan, China, the U.S.A., Mexico, Germany and Russia. In December 1915, he reached San Francisco. He worked for some time with the Indian revolutionaries who were preparing for a national struggle in India. At this time, he changed his name from Narendra Nath Bhattacharya to Manabendra Nath Roy.

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From there, Roy went to Mexico. Here, he wrote several articles about India's poverty and the methods in which the British were exploiting Indian resources. In Mexico, he founded the first communist party outside Russia and became its Secretary-General. In 1920, he was invited by Lenin to visit Russia. He became an advisor of the Bolshevik party on the colonial question. Lenin described him as the 'symbol of revolution in the East.' Roy attended the Second Congress of the Communist International and worked with its colonial commission. Lenin presented a thesis on the national and colonial questions to the commission. But Roy criticized this draft of Lenin. He was asked by Lenin to prepare an alternative draft. Roy, in this thesis, suggested that revolution in the colonies would not be a communist revolution. The communists had to cooperate with the national bourgeois democrats in the struggle against imperialism, but they should not surrender to the bourgeoisie. Lenin, while preparing the final draft on the subject, incorporated the views of Roy.

In Russia, Roy took the charge of training and organization of the Asiatic Communists in the Eastern University of Moscow. He prepared a report on the conditions in India, and at Lenin's suggestion, converted the report into a book in 1922 titled, *India in Transition*. In 1927, Roy went to China as an adviser to the Communist Party of China. But he failed in his mission, and just one year after, he was expelled from the Communist Party. He came back to India in 1930.

In March 1931, he attended the Karachi session of the Indian National Congress. He was arrested in 1931 and was imprisoned for six year in the Kanpur Conspiracy case. After his release from jail in 1936, Roy joined the Indian National Congress and became member of the A.I.C.C. However, he was very critical of the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. He opposed the non-violent policy of Gandhi. In 1939, he organized the League of Radical Congressman and the next year, he formed a new party called the 'Radical Democratic Party.' When the Second World War broke out, Roy considered that it was an international civil war in which the forces of democracy and Fascism fought against each other.

He strongly opposed the rise of Fascism and Nazism in Europe. Hence, he gave full support to the British government in the fight against the Fascists. This view of Roy was diametrically opposite to that of the Congress policy. In 1942, the Quit India movement was started by the Congress Party. Roy opposed this movement. He failed to realize that by opposing the Quit India Movement, he had completely alienated himself from the mainstream of the nationalist movement of the time. Despite popular opposition to these policies, he continued to criticize the Congress and regarded its leaders as 'the representatives of nascent Indian Fascism.' Because of this extreme view, Roy lost his prestige and influence. After the independence of India, he dissolved his 'Radical Party' in 1948. Roy died on 25th January 1954.

M.N. Roy propounded a different school of thought. From a nationalist, he became a Marxist, and later, he changed to a radical humanist. He was a prolific writer. In 1922, he wrote *India in Transition*, where he called the Indian National Struggle as a bourgeois movement. In his book *India's problem and its Solution*, Roy criticized the Congress policy. In 1926, Roy wrote *The Future of Indian Politics*, where he advocated that the philosophy of Marx was a continuation of the past philosophies. Some other important books written by M.N. Roy are – *New Humanism*, *The Problem of Indian Freedom*, *New Orientation*, *Revolution and Counter Revolution in China*, and so on. He also contributed many articles to various journals and papers.

Influence of Marx

M.N. Roy was at first deeply impressed by the philosophy of Karl Marx. He considered Marx as a merciless critic of social injustice in the traditions of the great Jewish Prophets. Roy considered Marx as a humanist and a lover of freedom. Socialism of Marx was founded on this '*Kingdom of Freedom*'. He had profound faith in the creativity of man. He regarded Marxism as more than a mere political and economic approach or a mere technique of revolution. As Roy observed, 'As a philosophy, Marxism is the outcome of the development of thought from the dawn of history. Therefore, it is the heritage of humanity; it is the ideological equipment belonging to everybody for a better world.'

Roy accepted, even in his 'humanist' phase, some of the principles of Marxism. First, he was a staunch materialist and a thorough Marxist. Like Karl Marx, he regarded matter as fundamental, real and independent. According to him, even mind was the product of matter at a high stage growth. Materialist philosophy, according to Roy, was corroborated by the latest scientific knowledge. Second, like Karl Marx, he regarded the capitalist system of economy as unjust, rotten and outdated. He was of the opinion that industry should be controlled by the people themselves. Like Marx, he worked on the fundamental principle that there should be no exploitation of the poor by the rich. Third, Roy supported the idea of Marx that for any action to be successful, it must be in consonance with a clear thought and plan. However, for any plan or action to be effective, it should also be based on the existing structure of things. Fourth, like Marx, Roy believed that knowledge has its roots in the physical universe. To quote him, 'To seek the knowledge of the phenomena of nature in a hypothetical supernatural sense, is logically absurd and philosophically inadmissible.' He regarded sensation, actions and perceptions as the source of knowledge.

3.2.1 Roy's Criticism of Marxism

In the later years, Roy had serious differences of views with Stalin. He became a great critic of Marxism and came to the conclusion that communism provided no solution to worldly problems. In his book, *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution*, he observed, 'The abolition of private property, state ownership of the means of production and planned economy, do not by themselves end exploitation of labour nor lead to an equal distribution of wealth.'

The following are the main criticism of Marxism as put forth by M.N. Roy:

1. Roy argued that the idea of materialism in Marxism was dogmatic and unscientific. He interpreted the term 'materialism' in a different way. As he wrote, 'Our approach to the problems of political theory and practice is claimed to be free from any dogmatic pre-supposition. Otherwise, we could not pretend to be advocates of scientific thought. Those who regard Marxism as a closed system of thought cannot also pretend to subscribe to the iconoclastic principles of radicalism which knows no dogma and respects no authority.'
2. Roy criticized the Marxist interpretation of history. According to him, it provides insignificant role to mental activity in the social process. The Marxist philosophy confines history to materialistic objectivism. However, the intelligence of human beings and their cumulative actions are very powerful social forces. Hence, Roy emphasized non-materialistic aspects of history.
3. Roy was also critical of the Marxist concept of economic determinism. As he observed, 'Economic determinism cannot be the social philosophy which is required to lead civilized mankind out of the present crisis.' He was of the view that the new social order should combine planning with freedom and should be led by the ideal of collective welfare and progress. Roy further said that 'the materialist conception of history fails when it dismisses ideal systems (ideologies) as mere superstructures of economic relations, and tries to relate them directly with the material condition of life.'
4. According to Roy, the principal defect of Marxism is its denial of individual freedom. In his opinion, as there was complete regimentation in Marxism, there was no place for individual freedom and individual was a slave in the name of freedom. To quote him, 'History is made by the operation of the productive forces; there is little man can do about it, he must recognize the necessity and then he is free. Once you realize that you cannot be free, that you are bound hand and foot to some mysterious forces of production, then you are free.' Marx did not pay adequate attention to the worth and significance of the individual.
5. Roy was very critical of Marxist theory of dialectical materialism. To quote him, 'the dialectic process does not leave any room for the greatest revolutionaries, armed with the philosophy of Marxism, to change the world. The irreconcilable contradiction between dialectic materialism and the programme of a revolutionary reconstruction of society is the basic fallacy of Marxism.' He did not agree with the historical interpretation as given by Marx. Roy also had doubts about the Marxist theory of class struggle.
6. M.N. Roy argued that Marx's view regarding the disappearance of the middle classes has been proved to be false. Instead, the middle class has emerged as a powerful and forceful factor that has moulded national policies and programmes. The expansion of the economic process leads to the increase in the numbers of the middle class.
7. Roy was also highly critical of Marx's rejection of the liberal concept of individualism. Marx was against individualism due to the influence of Hegel's theory of moral positivism. Roy argued that moral positivism resulted in the minimization of the role of the individual. In this context M.N. Roy observed, 'The Marxist conception of freedom means slavery for the individual and a society composed of voluntary slaves can never be free.' He was of the view that by rejecting the liberal and utilitarian concept of individual, Marx betrayed his earlier humanism.
8. Roy felt that the ethical foundations of Marxism were weak because of their relativistic and dogmatic character. Marx expounded the radical behaviouristic concept that in the process of struggles with nature, individual changes his own nature. There is nothing constant in human nature. According to Roy, the psychological foundation of Marxism philosophy was also weak. In opposition to Marx, Roy accepted that there is something constant and permanent in human nature that is the basis of our duties and rights. According to Roy, the subordination of individual to the dominance of the forces of production was a neutralization of his autonomy and creativity. Morality was not the product of materialistic forces. In opposition to the Marxian ethics, Roy presented humanist ethics, which exalts the sovereignty of the individual and believes in liberty and justice. To Roy, there was something constant and permanent in ethical values.

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9. M.N. Roy also opposed the Marxism concept of violent revolution. He was for a non-violent cultural revolution in order to bring socio-economic and political changes in the society.

3.2.2 Radical Humanism

In the last phase of his life, M.N. Roy became an exponent of 'new humanism' or 'radical humanism'. In the initial years, M.N. Roy championed the cause of Marxism. However, later, he became a great critic of Marxism and came to the conclusion that communism provided no solution to worldly problems. Hence, he advocated for a new philosophy called radical humanism.

Just after the end of the Second World War, Roy was deeply thoughtful about the contemporary problems of the world. He re-examined the communist and democratic doctrines and theories. He found that communism in Russia had established a regime of tyranny and slavery. In the communist system, according to Roy, the individual had been reduced to the position of a helpless pawn in the hands of blind economic force. Roy also saw the defects of parliamentary democracy in Europe. Hence, he thought of organized democracy and cooperative economy as the solution to the crisis of the post-Second World War period. The radical humanism provided a philosophical foundation to both organized democracy and cooperative economy.

The concept of radical humanism is the greatest contribution of M.N. Roy to modern Indian political thought. He termed his humanism as rational, radical or new with a view to distinguish it from the humanist versions of other thinkers. The term 'humanism' can be traced to the writings of Protagoras, Erasmus, More, Herder, Jacques Maritain, and so on. Roy himself admitted that humanism 'is an old and venerable tradition in the history of human thought'. He argued that his new humanism is different from the German or French School of humanism of the 19th century. The 19th century humanists attached great importance to man and freedom, but Roy believed that they could get away from the fallacy of subordinating man to some super-human and super-natural agencies. To Roy, man is the centre of that humanism that banishes every type of supernatural agency from the human world. Indian humanist thinkers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Gandhi and Nehru also attached the greatest importance to man and individual liberty. M.N. Roy explained 'radical humanism' as a 'philosophy of freedom based on modern scientific knowledge.'

M.N. Roy was of the view that new humanism or radical humanism was the perfect answer to the crisis faced by the humanity. For him, the major problem is to guarantee individual freedom against the encroachments of the totalitarianism of the great Leviathan. Hence, he advocated that this new humanism would revive faith in man concerning his various potentialities. He regarded it as the only remedy not only to communism, but to all forms of institutionalism. As he observed, 'Democracy can be established only by reassertion of the humanist tradition. Man is the true measure of his world. Being inherently rational, he can always learn from experience. He develops his intellectual faculties and moral values in his efforts to secure a better life for himself.'

M.N. Roy argued that man is a part of physical nature on account of his biological descent and there is nothing extra-natural in man. Man is the product of biological evolution and everything in man which deals with biological evolution is thus traceable. Soul or atma, which is beyond the body and mind cannot be traced. Thus, to a radical humanist, there is no soul or atma. The theory of soul and God has no place in radical humanism.

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Another consequence is that, man himself must be law-governed like physical nature and he is an integral part of the physical universe that is a moral order governed by laws inherent in it. M.N. Roy named these laws as natural laws and these are derived from experience. The rational nature of man discovers these laws by establishing casual relations in nature.

He was of the view that reason or brain has grown as a result of man's link with physical universe and the stimulus provided by it, after the growth of the nervous system in man. Hence, reason results 'from the consciousness of man's being an integral part of law-governed physical nature.' Man is rational by instinct, therefore, to a radical humanist, all super-human, religious and super-natural powers have no values. There is no room for supernatural things and factors whose existence cannot be scientifically proved. A radical humanist is interested only in those things which can be shown to human life. A person who believes that God has created the world and that the destiny of an individual is determined by his fate or will of God can never be a humanist. Hence, a radical humanist has no faith in any transcendental entity called God or the absolute. In this, Roy observed, 'The radical humanism had taken over tradition of the founders of modern civilization, the tradition of the revolt of man against the tyranny of God and his agents on this earth.'

Freedom is the basic value in radical humanism. Between the individual and society, the radical humanists gave importance to the individual. According to M.N. Roy, the individual was an end in itself and society was simply a means to an end. He subordinated everything to individual freedom. In this context, he observed, 'The function of life is to live. The basic incentive or organic becoming is the struggle for survival. It goes on throughout the long process of biological evolution, until in man it becomes the conscious urge for freedom - the supreme human value. The beginning of man's endless struggle for freedom lies in the animal struggle for survival ... The urge for freedom is the only eternal things in the human world. This urge enables man to acquire knowledge; he conquers his environment by knowing.' Thus, in Roy's philosophy, freedom is the supreme value from which all human values are derived.

M.N. Roy was of the view that the slogan for individual liberty was hallow in the 19th century liberalism. He ought to revive the liberty of the individual. He used the word 'radical' before humanism and hence his humanism included radicalism. For him, the greater the rationalism of the individuals composing a society, the larger would be the measure of liberty enjoyed by them. The aim of radical humanists was to organize society in a rational manner. The more rationality, the greater would be the liberty. According to Roy, the individual will not be fully free unless and until the society is organized on a rational basis. In his views, the state and the society have been established to preserve and protect individual liberty. But, unfortunately, some mechanism and devices are trying to dominate over man and are suppressing his freedom. Religion or morality is also destroying individual freedom imposing on human mind the chains of superstitions and supernatural beliefs. Roy is this context observed, 'radical' had taken over the tradition of modern civilization, the tradition of the revolt of man against the tyranny of god and his agents on this earth. Roy viewed marriage, family and class as the hindrances to human development and freedom. He also viewed society and class as the greatest obstacles to individual freedom. He felt that society should be understood as means to an end and not end in itself.

Materialism is another fundamental principle of M.N. Roy's philosophy of radical humanism. Though he was a strong supporter of Marxism, yet he differed from Karl

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Marx in many respects. He remained a materialist, but believed that the Marxist doctrine of materialism was dogmatic and unscientific. He took the scientific method of Marx in his philosophy of radical humanism. Roy regarded matter as real and independent. Mind is the outcome of matter. In his view, there was no difference between the organic and inorganic matter. All living bodies were created out of certain chemical matters. Roy believed that mind was the product of matters at a higher stage of development. On the basis of matter, M.N. Roy explained the origin of life and mind. Biological evolution takes place from physical universe. He was of the opinion that all living bodies were formed out of certain chemical matters and their combination resulted in the creation of other matter. Roy argued that mind was a characteristic of matter at a higher stage of development. He argued that there was a constant inter-penetration and interdependence between man and matter. He thus tried to establish a close relationship between an individual's mind and matter.

Roy called this radical humanism as 'new humanism'. It aimed at a secular, rational morality for opening a new perspective before the world. In this new humanism, the human dignity, personality, sovereignty and creativeness of man could acquire meaning. Roy argued that this new or radical humanism aimed to emancipate man from the belief that there is a transcendent source of his humanness. It allowed man to think freely. This spiritual liberation would restore confidence in man and would encourage him to take part in the collective human effort to build a free society.

The new humanism of Roy was cosmopolitan in its outlook. It replaced the spirit of nationalism by the spirit of world brotherhood. Like Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Aurobindo, M.N. Roy also believed that a confraternity of morally and spiritually liberated individuals is the fundamental requirement for the realization of a better and healthier society. The new humanism aims at a 'commonwealth' and fraternity of free men. Thus, M.N. Roy was a strong advocate for a world federation. As he observed, 'New humanism is cosmopolitan. A cosmopolitan commonwealth of spiritually free men will not be limited by the boundaries of national states—capitalist, fascist, socialist, communist, or of any other kind—which will gradually disappear under the impact of the twentieth century renaissance of man.' Roy made a distinction between cosmopolitanism and internationalism. He openly advocated for a spiritual community. He believed that a true world government could only be built open the neutralization of nation states. Hence, this view of Roy is regarded as a philosophy of cosmopolitan humanism.

Criticism

M.N. Roy's philosophy of radical humanism has been criticized on the following grounds:

(i) Though Roy criticized Marx and Lenin, he failed to complete move away from the influence of Marxism. He failed to give logical and adequate reasons as to how the matter was capable of producing life. Hence, without giving any satisfactory alternative concept of materialism, he rejected the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism.

(ii) Roy builds his theory on the presumption that man is essentially a rational being. Everything is to be decided by reason. But Roy has failed to explain clearly the term reason. Further, he has not taken into account the irrational aspect of human nature.

(iii) M.N. Roy has also condemned religion as a hindrance in the development of freedom. However, this view of religion is not correct. From the beginning of human civilization, religion has played a very significant role in the cultural and intellectual development of mankind.

(iv) Another presumption of Roy is that physical and social beings are governed by the same laws. But this analogy is not correct.

In spite of the above shortcomings of M.N. Roy's philosophy of radical humanism, his interest in individual liberty is significant. Nobody can deny Roy's contention that the main objective of social organization is a free individual in a free society. His definition of freedom is very appropriate. As a scholar rightly observes, 'By defining freedom is what he calls a biological way he has certainly made it more concrete but not more possible. His views on materialism are the most significant. His conception of a seculars rational ethics and emphasis on morals is a positive contribution to materialist thought...His insight into communist theory and practice and his observations there upon are of great historical importance.'

3.2.3 M.N. Roy's Concept of Organized Democracy

M.N. Roy's was a critic of democratic institutions. Like Jayaprakash Narayan, he was against the concept of the western model of parliamentary democracy. He argued that parliamentary institutions were not doing any useful work for the wellbeing of the people. Political power was concentrated in the hands of a few people. It had destroyed individual freedom. Hence, Roy was opposed to the centralization of power. He openly advocated for decentralization of power and authority.

Roy's concept of democracy revolves round the central theme of individual freedom and welfare. His democracy was both political and economic. It was radical, organized, party-less and participatory. As a democrat, he was strongly opposed to Fascism and Nazism. He also supported freedom of all, including women.

Before discussing Roy's views on democracy, it is essential to know his criticism of western democracy. According to him, there was no individual freedom in the western model of democracy. These democratic states accept the ideal of individual freedom only in theory. In actual practice, the individual is suppressed under collective control in the name of collective welfare. Here the people lose their sovereign power to the representatives once the election is over and remain powerless till the next election comes. Roy was of the opinion that in the past, the political power was concentrated in the hands of a few persons. The people never have any control over the affairs of the State. To Roy, these democratic institutions have destroyed the initiative of the people. As he observed, 'parliamentary democracy by its bureaucratic method of political administration and by its support to private monopolies in finance, industry and land, had sapped the very source of democratic initiative among the people.'

In order to correct this defect of parliamentary democracy, Roy advocated radical or organized democracy. It would be based on decentralization of power and organization of powerful and autonomous local people's committees. In this system, there would be no democratic centralism and democracy would be organized from below, instead of being imposed from the above.

M.N. Roy strongly opposed the role of political parties in democracy. According to him, the emergence of political parties in the working of democracy has brought in its wake all the evils of party politics. He wrote 'With the rise of party system, the idea of popular sovereignty became a constitutional fiction. The political parties encourage hollowness and insincerity, lead to spoils system and debase moral standards. In the

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modern democratic states, there is rule by a party which constitutes only a small fraction of the people, in fact, a rule by minority over majority.' According to Roy, the system of party-politics leads to division, bribery and corruption. The main aim of political parties is to capture political power by all means. They do not hesitate to capture power using unscrupulous and corrupt means. Money power plays a very important role in politics. In the struggle for power, political parties ignore the principles of morality and public interest and welfare. Roy was of the opinion that the people above corruption stay out of the scramble for power. He held the view that in the name of the welfare state and public well-being, the party in power restricts freedom of the people. He, therefore, suggested the system of organized democracy for securing the real freedom of the individual.

M.N. Roy's concept of organized democracy was based on ideas of decentralisation and party-less democracy. In his scheme of organized democracy, there was no place for any political parties. The people themselves enjoyed the powers. It was 'direct democracy with small cooperative commonwealth.' This system would be based on local democracies.

M.N. Roy put forward certain conditions for the success of organized democracy. The most important condition was that the people would have high cultural standard. Power should be vested in those persons who have high moral character. Since people have not attained high moral and intellectual standards, Roy argues that in the initial stages there would be both elective and selective democracy. Rousseau's theory of direct democracy was in a sense accepted by Roy, because the latter's ideal was to ensure the direct participation of the entire adult population through the people's committees. The realization of this scheme, in fact, depends on the efforts of the morally and intellectually advanced sections of the population of the State.

M.N. Roy had drafted a model constitution for free India based on the basis of his concept of organized democracy. The first part of the constitution contains the rights and fundamental principles. As per Roy's constitution, the supreme sovereignty is vested in the people who have absolute right to change or modify any political unit. The people would exercise their sovereign power through people's committees in villages, towns and cities.

Roy advocated for the system of direct democracy where the power flows from the people. He suggested for people's committees in order to purify politics and go eliminate the party system. As he himself observed, 'Political ends can be achieved without capturing power. Politics can be practiced without a party organization. There will be a people's committee in each village, city or town, elected annually on the basis of adult suffrage.' Roy was of the opinion that these people's committees would be centre of organized democracy which would bridge the gap between the State and Society. These would simultaneously be the units of State and central social institutions of the local people. With the participation of more and more people in the affairs of the State, the danger of the State becoming powerful at the expense of individual liberty would be reduced. According to Roy, these local committees would nominate candidates for seeking election to provincial council and to the federal assembly. Again in Roy's view, these people's committees would have the power to initiate legislation and to demand a referendum on any legislative or executive measure.

According to Roy, each province shall have a provisional people's council consisting of the Governor and deputies of the people. The Governor shall be elected directly by the people of the province for a term of five years. The deputies of the people will also be elected directly by the people. The Governor shall be elected directly by the people of the province for a term of five years. The deputies of the people will also be elected directly by the people of the province for a period of four years. According to Roy, it will legislate on all matters except those reserved for the Federal Assembly. Roy also suggested Federal Union for free India which would include both the British India and the Indian provinces. He was of the view that all provinces in India would be formed on the basis of linguistic and cultural homogeneity. Roy also argued for the creation of a Federal Assembly that would consist of elected representatives of the Federal Union.

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Criticism

M.N. Roy's concept of organized democracy has been criticized on the following grounds:

1. Roy's idea of the party-less and powerless democracy is neither useful nor original. Critics argued that M.N. Roy's concept of organized democracy had no mass appeal.
2. M.N. Roy and afterwards Jayaprakash Narayan also advocated for a party-less democracy. However, political parties are inevitable in a democracy. Democratic institutions cannot function without the existence of political parties. Even Roy's concept of organized democracy was not possible without political parties.
3. Roy could not properly understand the relation between the individual and society. He puts too much stress on the importance of individual liberty. In the process, he failed to understand the importance of society.
4. Roy laid a lot of emphasis on the role of people's committees. It needs a high degree of character and public spirit among the people.

Hence, critics have argued that M.N. Roy's concept of organized democracy is impracticable. It may work successfully only in small countries where the people are very intelligent and have high moral character and integrity.

3.2.4 M.N. Roy and Mahatma Gandhi

In the initial stage, M.N. Roy had paid glowing tributes to Mahatma Gandhi. However, in the later years, he became a critic of Gandhi. In his work, *One year of Non- Cooperation* published in 1923, Roy had praised Gandhi and compared him with St. Thomas Aquinas and Savonarola. He praised the following contributions of Gandhi— the use of mass action for political purpose, consolidation of the Indian National Congress, the liberation of the national forces from governmental repression by the slogan of non-violence and the adoption of the techniques of non-cooperation, non-payment of taxes and civil disobedience. Roy was of the view that through the non-cooperation movement, the agrarian movement, the proletarian movement and the nationalist movement, we are moving towards national independence.

Radical humanism brought Roy nearer to Gandhi. Both accepted the individual as the central point of all social thought and action. Both stood for decentralization of political and economic power. Both also suggested party-less democracy for purifying politics.

However, there were some fundamental differences between Roy and Gandhi. Roy was a materialist and rationalist, while Gandhi was a moralist and relied more on his inner voice. In later years, M.N. Roy became a critic of Gandhi. He called Gandhism as a 'mass of platitudes and self-contradiction.' He regarded Gandhian philosophy as status quoist in nature. Roy had also criticized Mahatma Gandhi's concept of non- violence. He argued that the concept of non-violence had induced the people to remain in a state

of inactivity. Roy regarded the Gandhian concept of non-violence as a mask for holding social exploitation. He viewed the Gandhian ideas of non-violence as a 'subtle intellectual device to cover up the capitalist exploitation of the country.' In his book, *India's Problem and its Solution*, he criticized Gandhi's ideology. He showed his dissatisfaction with the constructive programme of the Congress adopted at Bardoli in February 1922. In its place, he pleaded for the creation of a revolutionary mass party that would organize mass strikes and resistance.

According to Roy, Gandhi had not included any economic programme for enlisting mass support. He criticized the Gandhian economics as reactionary. As he observed, 'Gandhism was not revolutionism but weak and watery reformism.' Similarly, he called the Indian National Congress as the 'spinner's association'. In this context M.N. Roy wrote, 'The social basis of Gandhism is cultural backwardness, its intellectual mainstay superstition. The Gandhian Utopia is a static society, a state of absolute social stagnation.' While Gandhi advocated for small and cottage industries, Roy was for modern industrial progress. Further, according to him, Gandhism did not have any plan for organizing the proletariat against the landlord and capitalists. He described the Quit India Movement 'as the mischief of whipping up forces which undermined the Indian home front.' He was not prepared to accept the ethical or spiritual basis of the Gandhian programme.

3.2.5 Roy's Contribution to Indian Political Thought

M.N. Roy is one of the most learned of modern Indian writers on politics and philosophy. His book, *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution* is a major contribution to the history of political thought by an Indian writer.

A critical study of his ideas shows that Roy was an ethical revisionist. Unlike the medieval Indian saints and the contemporary social reformers and political leaders, Roy developed his humanist philosophy with flesh, blood and brain. Democracy became the base of this philosophy and rationalism its centre. As an Indian scholar rightly observed, 'Roy remains unparalleled to the realm of human affairs as an exponent at a time particularly when the East and some countries of the West were passing through feverish turmoil for self-determination and emancipation.'

Before analysing the achievements of Roy's work, it is pertinent to look at the shortcomings of his philosophy. Roy started as a Marxist, but later he became a radical humanist. His radical humanism is not an original theory. Dr V.P. Verma compares M.N. Roy with Edward B. Brownstone, a German revisionist, who supplemented the Marxian theory with Kantian ethics. Similarly, Roy also tried to supplement materialism with humanist ethics.

Roy failed to provide any original sociological interpretation of Indian culture. He strongly criticized the medievalism, primitivism and spiritualism of Indian culture. One of the critics described him as a 'rootless critic of everything Indian and Hindu.'

M.N. Roy rejected the concept of morality in politics. As he said, 'politics cannot be spiritual and moral politics is often the refuge for cheats and humbugs.' Roy remained mostly in the background as his political philosophy had no mass appeal. His political philosophy was largely ideal and utopian rather than practical and real.

Roy's analysis of Indian nationalism was totally incorrect. He was wrong in calling nationalism as an antiquated cult. His criticism of the Congress party as a 'Fascist party' and as 'spinner's association' reflected his poor understanding of the Congress Party and the national movement.

Hence, M.N. Roy is regarded more as a critic than an original and constructive thinker. Among all his ideas, radical humanism has the most lasting effect on the succeeding political philosophy. It proclaims the sovereignty of man. It maintains that a rational and moral society is possible because man by nature is rational and moral, new humanism is cosmopolitan. In later years, Jayaprakash Narayan was influenced by the concept of the party-less democracy of M.N. Roy. Even the philosophy of radical humanism has a tremendous influence on the democratic socialist movement in India. John Gunther in his book, *Inside Asia*, described M.N. Roy as 'a figure in three revolutions,' that is, Russian, Chinese and Indian. Paying a glowing tribute to Roy, a renowned Indian scholar observed 'Roy started his political career as a revolutionary and ended as a liberal humanist. He made a vain attempt to bring heaven on earth. However, he soon realized that if heaven cannot be achieved, the earth can at least be repaired. He died as a disillusioned man but possibly not a wholly disappointed man.'

M.N. Roy could not remain in any political organization for a long time. He was a great champion of individual liberty. He also had a great faith in democracy. He criticized the Western model of democracy and suggested reforms to democratic institutions on the basis of decentralisation of authority. Even today, Indian political leaders are following Roy's ideas on decentralisation and Panchayati Raj. He also put forward the idea of the creation of a planning authority to plan the national economy. Thus, Roy has some lasting contribution to Indian political thinking.

Roy's patriotism was beyond any dispute. At the age of fifteen, he went out of India in search of arms to overthrow the British government. He stayed in Europe for a long time to find out ways and means of liberation of India. As a communist, he also suggested that the communist party should fight for India's freedom. His ideas on radical humanism, scientific politics and cosmopolitanism have far reaching influence in the realm of the 20th century political thoughts.

3.3 IDEAS OF B.R. AMBEDKAR

Bhim Rao Ambedkar was born on 14 April 1891 (Vaiasakha Purnima) at a place called Mhow, near Indore in Madhya Pradesh, where his father was serving as the headmaster in the Army School. He was the fourteenth child of his parents (of whom only five, three sons and two daughters, had survived), Ramji Sakpal and Bhima Bhai. His mother died early when he was only five and he was brought up by his father's sister Mira Bai. Bhim Rao came from the Mahar group of untouchables, which was the largest group of untouchables in Maharashtra. In the view of some scholars, mahars, who were the original settlers in Maharashtra, were pushed aside by the invading Aryans. It is also claimed that the very name of the state Maharashtra (literally, great nation) was originally 'Mahar-rashtra', the land of the mahars.

Bhim Rao's family had a military background. His father Ramji Sakpal and grandfather Maloji Sakpal had rendered military service to the British. His mother also had a military background, his father was a Subedar Major from the village of Murad in the Thane district of Maharashtra. Mhow, which is on the border of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, had itself been a military centre, i.e., a cantonment area.

Suffering from all the possible disabilities, segregation and discrimination, Bhim Rao's family was kept out of the mainstream of the Maharashtra social and political setup. It thus came to belong to the humanistic Bhakti tradition of the Kabir panth.

Check Your Progress

1. What were the major influences of M.N. Roy?
2. What was Roy's concept of radical humanism?
3. What were the common grounds between Roy and Gandhi?

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As a young boy, Bhim Rao was sent to the local Marathi school, where his official name was registered as Bhima Ramji Ambavadekar. The family preferred the ancestral village rather than the caste as his surname. Later on, Bhim Rao started his high school education in the government high school of Satara. At school, he became a victim of segregation like every other untouchable boy. He was asked to sit away from them and was forbidden to mix and play with them. His Sanskrit teacher refused to teach him as Sanskrit was regarded as the divine language and the untouchables were not considered eligible for learning it. Hence, though Bhim Rao wanted to study Sanskrit, he was forced to study Persian instead.

Ramji Sakpal shifted to Bombay on termination of his services in 1904. Initially, the family had to live in a chawl in Parel. At this stage, Bhim Rao was transferred to a high school in Parel and subsequently to the famous Elphistone High School, from where he passed his matriculation in 1907. Bhim Rao was the first Mahar boy who had passed his matriculation with distinction.

Here, it may be noted that as per the tradition of his time, Bhim Rao was married when he was just in the fifth standard at the age of fourteen. His bride Rama Bai, the daughter of Bhiku Valangkear, was just nine year old at the time of her marriage.

Bhim Rao continued his college education at Elphinstone College with the help of a monthly scholarship of Rupees 25 per month offered by the ruler of Baroda, Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwad who was well-known as a reform-minded king. The great Professor Max Muller supplemented Bhim Rao's education with the gift of books and clothes. He was still in college when he became a father. His first son was Yashwant. He passed his B.A. in 1913 with English and Persian as his main subjects.

After his graduation, he took up service in the princely state of Baroda. Here he suffered humiliation even at the hands of his lowest subordinates. He had no option but to resign his job, as he could not suffer injustice and indignity.

In 1913, he had an opportunity to go abroad for his advance studies. He joined Columbia University in New York, the United States, as a Gayakwad scholar and was the very first Mahar to undertake foreign studies. In 1915, he received his M.A. from Columbia for his dissertation 'Ancient Indian Commerce'. In June 1916, he registered for his Ph.D. based on the thesis *'National Dividend for India: A Historical and Analytical Study'*, which was finally accepted by Columbia University for the award of Ph.D. in June 1917.

In October 1916, he moved from Columbia to the London School of Economics and Political Science where he joined M.Sc. (Economics) and D.Sc. (Economics). He also joined the Gray's Inn for the degree of Bar-at-Law. His admission into these prestigious institutions in London was greatly facilitated by the introductory letters written by his Columbia Professor R.A. Selegman. However, he was called back by the Maharaja of Baroda and was appointed his military secretary. He had to leave his job in utter disgust in view of the continued harassment and ill-treatment at the hands of the caste-ridden society. On his return to Bombay, he was appointed professor of political economy in the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics at the attractive salary of Rupees 450 per month. Even here, he was treated as a pariah by his caste-Hindu colleagues, which led to his resignation in March 1920. Thereafter, he returned to London to resume his higher studies. However, before he left for London, he had started a weekly paper called *Mook Nayak* (Leader of the dumb) to champion the cause of the depressed classes in India.

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He was awarded the degree M.Sc. (Economics) by the University of London in 1921 for his thesis 'Provincial Decentralization of Imperial finance in British India'. Next year, he was called to the Bar. At the same time, he also submitted his thesis entitled 'The problem of the Rupee' for his D. Sc in 1923. Upon completion of studies in London, Bhim Rao moved to Germany to study Economics for three months at the University of Bonn.

In June 1923, he finally returned to India to start his career as a lawyer in Bombay High Court. However, as an untouchable barrister, he did not have a good practice and had to supplement his income by working as a part-time professor of law at the Batliboi's Institute of Accountancy.

It was in July 1924 that Ambedkar started his political career by establishing the Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha (The excluded classes welfare association) to raise the educational level and the economic status of the depressed classes as well as to ventilate the hardships of these classes. He established this institution in collaboration with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in 1927. He started his paper *Bahishkrit Bharat* to articulate grievances and voice the interests of the depressed classes.

In 1927, he was nominated to be a member of Bombay legislative council. Next year, he was appointed professor of law in the Government Law College, Bombay. He represented the untouchables in the Second Round Table Conference held in London. In 1932, the Ramsay MacDonald Award conceded the demand for separate electorates for Untouchables. Ambedkar was also to present at the Third Round Table conference held in London in 1932-33.

On his return to India, he founded the Independent Labour Party which contested elections held under the Government of India Act of 1935. His party had fielded seventeen candidates of whom 15 were returned to the House. In June 1935, he became the principal and Perry professor of jurisprudence in Bombay's Government Law College. In 1942, the British Indian Government picked him up as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor General of India and was given the charge of Labour. He held this post until July 1946.

In 1946, he published his scholarly work *Who were the Shudras?* He dedicated this work quite appropriately to Jyotiba Phule whom he described as 'the greatest Shudra of modern India', who made the lower classes of the Hindus conscious of their slavery and to the highest classes who had preached the gospel that 'for India, social democracy was more vital than Independence from foreign rule.'

In November 1946, he was elected to the Constituent Assembly of India first from Bengal (and later from his home state of Maharashtra). Thereafter, he was elected by the Constituent Assembly as the Chairman of its prestigious Drafting Committee. The Chairmanship of the Drafting Committee involved the very onerous task of finalizing and presenting to the Constituent Assembly, the final Draft of the Constitution of India and to clarify and defend its controversial provisions. On account of the role he played in this capacity, he was universally acclaimed as the 'Architect of the Indian Constitution.'

When India attained her freedom from the British rule on the midnight of 15 August 1947, he was appointed by Nehru as the Minister for Law in his cabinet. After over a year, he had to resign from his job owing to his serious differences with Nehru on the issue of Government's policy towards the Hindu Code Bill. However, in 1952, he was elected to the Rajya Sabha, a status which he enjoyed until his death in December 1956.

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It was in 1948 that, after the death of his first wife, Dr Ambedkar married Dr Sharda Kabir, a Maharashtra Brahmin. She lived with him until the last moment of his life. In June 1952, his old alma mater, the Columbia University honoured him with the Degree of L.L.D. (Honoris Causa) in recognition of the work done by him in connection with the drafting of India's Constitution. The University lauded him as 'one of India's leading citizens, a great social reformer and a valiant upholder of human rights.'

Since 1949, he started participating actively in the World Buddhist Conferences held in Kathmandu and Rangoon. In September, of the same year, he published the Buddhist prayer book called the *Buddha Upasna Pantha*. In 1955, he formed the Bharatiya Buddha Mahasabha. It was in 14 October 1956 that he left Hinduism to become a Buddhist in Nagpur. Next month, he participated in the annual session of the World Buddhist Conference held in Kathmandu where he was praised as a Nav Buddha. He passed away on 6 December 1956 after a prolonged illness.

As a great scholar of his times, Dr Ambedkar authored the following most notable books and brochures:

- *The Problem of the Rupee: Its Origin and its Solution*, 1923
- *The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India*, 1925
- *Annihilation of Caste*, 1936
- *Thoughts of Pakistan*, 1946
- *Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah*, 1943
- *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables*, 1945
- *Who were the Shudras?*, 1946
- *State and Minorities*, 1947
- *The Untouchables*, 1948
- *Maharashtra as a Linguistic State*, 1948
- *Thoughts on Linguistic States*, 1945
- *Buddha and his Dhamma*, 1957

Besides these monumental works, the following works were published after his demise in 1956:

- *The Rise and Fall of Indian Women*, 1965
- *Dr Ambedkar on Buddhism*, 1982
- The unpublished works of Babasaheb Ambedkar appearing in 8 volumes under the title *Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar: The Writing and Speeches*, 1979

He also published two newspapers one after another. The first newspaper launched by him was a Marathi fortnightly called *Mook Nayak* which was renamed as *Bahishkrit Bharat* in 1927.

He was also responsible for establishing a number of educational institutions for the benefit of all, including the scheduled castes, the depressed and the oppressed people of India, for instance:

i. Siddhartha Collage of Arts and Science, 1946
ii. Milind Maha Vidalaya, 1951
iii. Sidhartha College of Commerce and Economics, 1953; and Siddhartha College of Law, 1956

NOTES

Finally, he was instrumental in establishing the following associations, institutions and political parties:

- Bahishkrit Hitkari Sabha, 1924
- Samta Sainik Dal, 1928
- Independence Labour Party, 1936
- People's Education Society, 1945
- Mumbai Rajya Kanistha Gaokamagal Association, 1955
- Bhartiya Baudh Mahasabha, 1955
- Republican Party 1956

3.3.1 Phases of His Public Life

The three-and-a-half decade long public career of Dr Ambedkar can be studied under the following five major phases:

i. **1918-1928:** During which he established himself as a lawyer and launched a series of satyagrahas to safeguard the interest of the depressed classes
ii. **1929-1936:** During which he clamoured for separate electorate for the Dalits
iii. **1937-1946:** During which he held a number of public offices and used them for the benefit of the depressed classes
iv. **1946-1950:** In which he prepared the draft of the Constitution of India which earned him the title of modern Manu
v. **1950-1956:** In which he relinquished Hinduism and adopted Buddhism

Thus, Dr Ambedkar was a renowned professor, barrister, legislator, constitution-framer, cabinet minister, social reformer and the uncrowned leader of the Dalits, the depressed and oppressed classes of India for whose emancipation, welfare and upliftment he lived and died. The multi-faceted work of Dr. Ambedkar made him the most eminent Mahar, architect of Indian Constitution, and posthumously earned him the highest state decoration of the Bharat Ratna.

3.3.2 Social Ideas

As a Mahar, Dr Ambedkar had himself suffered a lot of indignities and discrimination at the hands of the so-called upper castes, and was, thus, always eager to bring revolutionary changes in the traditional social system of India. He wanted to rescue the oppressed and the suppressed classes from the yoke of Brahaminism and casteism. This, he thought, could be possible only through the efforts of the oppressed and the suppressed people themselves, as he knew that the rights are never given in charity or donation. Like the freedom fighter Bal Gangadhar Tilak, he maintained that one has to fight for them, clamour for them and, struggle against the prevalent social structure, tradition, practices and belief.

Problem of the Hindu social system

For Ambedkar, the very first problem of Hindu social system was the one relating to the origin of the Shudras. In his famous book entitled *Who were the Shudras?* Ambedkar mentions that the principle of graded inequality was the basis for determining the term 'associated life' as amongst the four varnas. In his opinion, the Arya Samajis believed that the four varnas of the Indo-Aryan society had been in existence from the very

beginning. They believed that the Vedas were 'eternal and sacrosanct'. Ambedkar thought that the certain portions of the Vedas, specially the Purusha sukta, were fabricated by the Brahmins to serve their own purpose. In his view, the Arya Samajis had done a great mischief by preaching that the Vedas were 'eternal, without beginning, without end and infallible'. Such observations resulted in making the Hindu society a static society.

The Purusha sukta made the chatur varna system a sacred and divine institution. It originally described the Brahmins as the mouth, the Kshatriyas as the arms, the Vaishyas as the thighs and the Shudras as the feet of the purush. The great Hindu lawmaker, Manu, also enunciated afresh the ideal of Purusha sukta. He also emphasized that the 'Veda is the only and the ultimate sanction for dharma'. He invested the social idea of chatur varna contained in purusha sukta with the degree of divinity and infallibility which Ambedkar thought, it did not have there-before.

Original three-varna system

Ambedkar also put forth his prepositions about the Shudras. According to him:

(i) The Shudras were one of the Aryan communities of the solar race

(ii) There was a time when Indo-Aryan society recognized only three varnas. The Shudras were not a separate Varna, but a part of the Kshatriya varna

(iii) Then, at some point of time, there started an unending struggle between the Shudra kings and the Brahmins, in which the Shudras were subjected to various tyrannies and indignities and were excluded from the Kshatriya classes

(iv) Brahmins hated the Shudras, inflicted tyrannies and indignities on them and refused to invest the Shudras with the sacred thread

(v) Due to loss of sacred threads Shudras became socially degraded, fell below the rank even of the Vaishayas and came to form the forth varna. They were, thus, downgraded from the second to the fourth varna which was created especially for them

Status of the Shudras

Ambedkar has summarized the status of a Shudra as follows:

a. He was to take the last place in the social order

b. He was considered impure, and therefore, no sacred act could be done within his sight and within his hearing

c. He was not to be respected like the other classes

d. His life had no value and anybody could kill him, without having to pay any compensation and even if some compensation had to be paid, it had to be of a smaller value as compared with that of the Brahmin, the Kshatriya and the Vaishya

e. He could not acquire knowledge and it was a sin and a crime to give him education

f. He could not acquire property and the Brahmin could take his property at his pleasure

g. He could not hold any office under the State

h. His duty and salvation lay in his serving the so-called higher classes

i. The higher classes were not to marry a Shudra, they could, however, keep a Shudra woman as a concubine; but if a Shudra touched the women of a higher class, he was to be severely punished

He was born in servility and was to be kept in servility forever

3.3.3 Untouchability and Ambedkar

Untouchability meant 'pollution by the touch of certain persons by reason of their birth in a particular caste or family'. This practice of untouchability is peculiar to the Hindu social system. Ambedkar devoted his book *The Untouchables: Who are They?* to discuss the origin of untouchability. He did not regard Hindu civilization as a civilization in the true sense because it had continued to suppress and censor a large section of humanity. These so-called 'untouchables' were not only suppressed and enslaved, they were also not allowed to live inside the village along with the other castes, the so-called higher-castes. As a matter of fact, from the very beginning, they lived outside the village.

Unlike the Shudras, the untouchables were outside the four-fold varna system. The Shudra was a savarana, i.e., the one possessing a varna. As against him, the untouchable was the avarna, i.e., outside the varna system. Since the avarnas were outside the varna system, they were also made to live on the outskirts of the village and not inside the village. The system of separate and distinct quarter became a perpetual and permanent feature of the Indian village system. As far as the mahars of the Maharashtra were concerned, they always lived outside the village, because they belonged to a tribe different from the one to which the settled tribes belonged. They were known as the 'broken men' who belonged to a different tribe, different blood, who were as such given quarters outside the village.

Evils of caste system

Ambedkar had provided a fairly long list of the evils which had polluted the Hindu caste system. According to Ambedkar,

(i) The membership of caste was confined to those who were born in it and it was therefore an exclusive membership

(ii) Its members were forbidden to marry outside the caste

(iii) They were prevented from possessing arms, so that they may not revolt against their oppressors and exploiters

(iv) They were denied the right of education

(v) They were denied the right to property

(vi) They were assigned the jobs, not on the basis of their capacities, but on that of the social status of their parents. There was no readjustment of occupations and therefore the caste became a direct cause of much of unemployment

(vii) The caste system embodied the arrogance and selfishness of a perverse section of Hindus who considered themselves superior enough in social status to set a fashion who had authority to force in on their so-called inferiors

(viii) The self-styled high caste people also claimed the right of excommunication which often meant death

At the hands of these people, virtue had become caste-ridden and morality had become caste bound.

Ambedkar had ventured to explain as to why there was no social revolution in India, despite the highly discriminatory and oppressive social system. He finds the answer in the conspiracy of the people of the higher caste to reduce the lower classes to a system of total disability. They were deliberately denied the means to escape and were made to become reconciled to their eternal servitude. They were denied military service,

their suffrage, their political weapon, and education. The system of chatur varna denied these weapons to the masses of these people and paralysed and crippled them completely. They, thus, were left with no option but to accept their servitude.

Ambedkar also thought of certain ways to help these classes to overcome their servitude. The most important of these were:

(i) The dignity behind the caste, and the shastras which sanctioned it, should be destroyed

(ii) The system of scaling the caste in a graded order should be abolished

(iii) Inter-caste marriages should be encouraged as it would disturb the caste spirit

(iv) The monopoly of the Brahmins over education should be abolished and education be made universal

(v) The monopoly of the kshatriyas over armaments and their exclusive right to constitute the nation's army should be abolished and recruitment to army should be by open, fair and equal competition

(vi) They should be given the right to vote and to contest elections, at par with all other classes so that they too have equal opportunity to participate in their governance

According to Ambedkar, the Brahmins enslaved the mind and the Baniyas enslaved the body, and having done it, they divided the spoils which belong to the governing classes. He also thought that Brahaminism was opposed to democracy and the values that democracy stood for, that is, the values of justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and the rule of law.

In order to purge the Hindu religion of these inhumanities, Ambedkar made the following suggestions:

a. There should be one and only one standard book of Hindu religion acceptable to all Hindus. On the other hand, preaching of any doctrine, religious or social, contained in the Vedas, the Shastras, or the Purnanas, should be penalized

b. The priesthood should be abolished. It must at least cease to be hereditary. There must be a state examination for priesthood

c. It should be made penal for a person who has no sanad (certificate or degree) to officiate as a priest

d. A priest should be the servant of the state, and like any other civil servant, should be paid by the state and should be subject to the disciplinary action by the state in the matter of his morals, beliefs and forms of worship, in addition to his being subject along with other citizens to the ordinary law of the land

e. The number of priests should be limited by law according to the requirements of the state, like other civil services. This would be the only the effectively way to kill the spread of Brahaminism. He was of the view that 'Brahaminism is the poison which has spoiled Hinduism. If Hinduism is to be saved it can be saved only by killing Brahaminism'

3.3.4 Question of Reservation

Dr Ambedkar was of the view that there is no link between the Hindus and the depressed classes, just as there was practically nothing in common between the Hindu and the Muslims. And, if the then British Government had agreed, in principal, to create a separate

electorate for the Muslims, there should also be a separate electorate for the depressed classes. Just as the Muslims and the Sikhs had emerged as distinct communities, the depressed classes should likewise be treated as a separate community. Hence, separate electorates and separate constituencies should be created under the Government of India Act to give adequate representation to the depressed and the backward classes. The matter was considered at length at the Round Table Conferences and given shape under the Poona Pact.

Ambedkar had asked for the reservation of twenty-two seats out of one hundred and forty in elections to the then Bombay Legislative Council.

Since the separatist demands of both Jinnah and Ambedkar were in line with the traditional imperialist policy of 'divide and rule', the British accepted their demand for equal but separate identities. It was later on sanctified by the Government of India Act 1935. When in 1946, the Constituent Assembly started functioning, and Dr Ambedkar was elected as the Chairman of its drafting committee, he insisted not only on continuing the system of reservation, but also extending it further. He was able to have his demand accepted and incorporated in the Constitution of India, which gave the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes reservations to the extent of 15 and 7.5 per cent respectively. For this purpose, a separate state-wise schedule was annexed to the Constitution. This reservation was provided in respect of the Parliament, the state legislature, public-services and educational institutions.

Dr Ambedkar was probably the only non-Muslim who had supported Jinnah's demand for Pakistan, as it was in consonance with his own demand for separate electorates. At this point, his major argument was that the so-called higher classes of Hindus had separated the Shudras from the Kshatriya class (the second class) and downgraded them lower than even the Vaishya class by creating a fourth category for them. Their social ranking was, thus, lowered from the second to the fourth. Moreover, the people who came from various migrating tribes were deliberately kept out of the varna system and were treated even lower than this fourth class and by keeping them outside the four-fold varna system; they were called the avarnas, the outsiders, and therefore, the untouchables.

Ambedkar's argument was that since these classes have been suppressed, oppressed and exploited and have been treated as the neglected classes, and since Hinduism has never accepted them as one of its part, they should politically, electorally and administratively be kept separate. No section of the high caste Hindus had accepted them as their own integral part. Therefore, to think of integrating them socially and emotionally in the future would also remain a dream. This was the main premise on which he had totally disagreed with Gandhi. Gandhi thought it would be possible for the Hindu society to amalgamate and integrate socially and emotionally in the mainstream, not only the religious minorities, but also the variety of socially, educationally and economically weaker castes. However, by maintaining this, Gandhi was simply giving vent to his idealism, forgetting his own recurrent measures in the direction of restoration of communal unity, including his Hindu-Muslim unity fasts had, at best, received only a temporary success, and despite devoting a major part of his life to the amelioration of Hindu-Muslim, he had miserably failed to bring about communal unity on a durable basis, the most horrible aftermath of whose failure had resulted into the partition of India on communal lines and the bloody events that followed thereafter.

One of Gandhi's closest sabarmati ashramites, G. Rama Chandra Rao (Gora), went on to observe in his book entitled *An Atheist with Gandhi* that if Gandhi was not

assassinated in 1948 and was allowed to live for a few months or years more, he himself might have become an atheist.

Ambedkar was probably more realistic than Gandhi in thinking that those who have been kept separated for centuries would ever remain separated. They would never be able to get assimilated either in the mainstream of Hinduism or in the mainstream of Indian society, in view of the inflexible attitude of the so-called high caste Hindus, especially its militant section. Hence, the only way to bring up the so-called Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes on an equal footing was to keep them as a distinct and separate class or entity. Hence, as a champion of the depressed classes, Ambedkar stood for the philosophy of 'Equal but Separate'. This he thought was the only way to ensure to them the benefits of the high ideals of justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and the rule of law, which were the basic values on which the very edifice of our Constitution was created.

Unfortunately, once these classes emerged as separate entities, the political parties competed with one another to treat them as their vote-banks, rather than working for their all-round welfare and solving their problems.

Subsequently, this question not only got politicized, but was also taken to the courts. The Supreme Court, in its historical verdict, declared that it is the prerogative of the State to make reservations for any class or classes of citizens, but justice demands that the total number of reservations should not exceed 50 per cent. When V.P. Singh became the Prime Minister, he sought to extend the reservation to an extent which was far in excess of the Supreme Court's upper limit of 50 per cent. Not only did the politicians and political parties vie with each other to increase the quota of the reservation, but some states wanted to increase reservations to the extent of even 70 per cent or more. Yet, these steps temporarily resulted in unprecedented acts of violence, including acts of self-immolation by students who believed that 'merit' was being downgraded and being subordinated to the 'caste' factor. This instance was an unforeseen consequence of V.P. Singh's attempt to extend the benefits of reservation to the other backward classes as well, i.e., the socially and economically backward classes and other Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

3.3.5 Hindu Code

Ambedkar was of the view that in India, there is a uniform civil code of laws covering almost every aspect of human relationship, except marriage and succession. The Hindu Code Bill drafted by him introduced only four new factors in the existing law. These were:

- Abolition of the doctrine of rights by birth
- Absolute right over property to women
- Equitable share to daughter
- Provision for divorce not only to men, but equally to women as well

If the Hindu Code Bill, with these provisions, could be adopted, it would be consistent with the provisions of Article 15 of our Constitution which directs the State not to discriminate against any citizen on ground of 'birth', it would also be in accordance with the Article 13 of the UN Charter which lays down 'encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification.'

Dr Ambedkar, along with sixteen other members of the Select Committee of the Constituent Assembly, which was entrusted with the job of amending and codifying

certain branches of the Hindu law, presented to the Constituent Assembly its report on 12 August 1948. The report contained nine points: preliminary; marriage and divorce; adoption; minority and guardianship; joint family property; women and property; succession, maintenance and miscellaneous.

Later on, he drafted the Hindu Code Bill along with these subjects. It was aimed at removing the legal obstacles in the social advancement of women. However, it was opposed by the orthodox section of the members of the Parliament, including a number of Congressmen. The Congress Party did not support the Hindu Code Bill. Prime Minister Nehru permitted the Congress members to vote on the Bill according to their conscience. This resulted in the dropping of the Hindu Code Bill and this marked the occasion for Ambedkar's resignation from the Nehru Cabinet.

3.3.6 Conversion to Buddhism

For Ambedkar, Buddhism was important not only because he agreed with its tenets and institutions, but also because it enabled him to reconstruct more scientifically and satisfactorily the history of ancient India, says K. Raghavendra Rao, the author of *Makers of Indian Literature: Babsaheb Ambedkar*. According to Ambedkar, 'ancient Indian history must be exhumed. Fortunately, with the help of the Buddhist literature, ancient Indian history can be dug out of the debris which Brahmin writers have heaped upon it in a fit of madness.' He characterized Buddhism as a revolution almost as great as 'The French Revolution'. Starting off as a religious revolution, Buddhism grew into a multi-pronged revolution: social, cultural and political. He suggested that the distinctiveness and profundity of the Buddhist revolution could be seen from an examination of the pre-revolutionary system, the ancient regime of India.

Ambedkar paints a sketch of the degraded condition to which the Aryan civilization had sunk, prior to the advent of the revolution. It was, in short, a society riddled with social evils such as gambling, drinking and sexual immorality of all varieties. Buddha was the first and perhaps the greatest of the social reformers India had produced. His religion spread everywhere, spilling beyond the borders of India. It succeeded not only because of the content of its teachings, but also because of the charismatic personality of its founder, who himself lived by his teachings. Through his own example, he showed what a pure life was, what was right conduct, and by implication, exposed the impurity and the immorality of the Aryan Brahmanical life of his time.

There are five principle of Buddhism, known as panch shila. These are:

- Not to kill
- Not to steal, lie, be unchaste
- Neither to drink intoxicant liquor nor to eat at forbidden times
- Not to dance, sing or attend theatrical or other spectacles, use garlands, scents and ornaments
- Neither to receive money, nor to use high or broad beds

These apparently negative virtues stemmed from the cardinal virtues of love and wisdom. These Buddhist precepts constituted a direct challenge to the caste system that had defiled the essence of the Aryan Brahmanical order. Buddha preached against the caste order and freely admitted Shudras to his Bhiku order. He also opposed the lower status accorded to women in the ancient regime and admitted them to the highest ranks in his order. Buddhism opened up its educational system to both, the Shudras and women.

It was in this context and due to these compelling reasons that Dr. Ambedkar embraced Buddhism and advocated it as an ideal, not only for India, but for the whole strife-ridden world. His acceptance of Buddhism was not merely a negative gesture of leaving Hinduism, but was a positive act of commitment to a superior religious way of life. This is why he was hailed 'Nav Buddha'.

3.3.7 Political Ideas

Though Ambedkar was not primarily a political theorist, he did work with a fairly definite political and legal thinking, which is widely reflected in the views he expressed on a variety of subjects, especially on the floor of the Constituent Assembly of India. Ambedkar regarded the State as a necessary institution, which he thought, exists for the performance of the following three sets of goals:

(i) In the first place, it has individualistic functions as its goals. He subscribed to the view that 'The right of every subject to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness and to free speech and free exercise of religion' is sacred.

(ii) In the second place, he also expected the state to perform judicial functions and maintained social, political and economic justice within the society, by eliminating or at least reducing inequalities of class, caste and religion. It must ensure the maintenance of law and order functions.

(iii) In the third place, the state is required to see that every individual citizen enjoys 'freedom from want and freedom from fear.'

By performing these functions, the state would act as a servant and an instrument of public welfare and would thus, essentially be democratic.

Ambedkar had a marked preference for democracy, not only because it gives largest possible participation to the people in the governance, but also because it ensures immense opportunities of challenge and change, without necessarily shedding unnecessary blood. It is a system which is neither hereditary, nor does it allow political power to be vested in or to be identified with a particular person. People elected through the system of universal adult franchise hold the reins of power.

Ambedkar was generally in favour of the parliamentary form of democracy because he thought it to be the best available system. However, in view of the then prevailing extraordinary and highly abnormal circumstances in India, he personally preferred a presidential form of government as that would protect and promote India's security, unity, integrity and sovereignty. It would be a highly centrifugal system, as it would not only divide powers between the Centre and states, but would also effectively ensure political stability. Hence, in his view a presidential form of government, unlike the parliamentary system, would imply a kind of federal system ensuring not only division of powers, but also encourage the strengthening of democratic federalism. He had come to this conclusion by studying the views of the thinkers and writers like Alexander Pope, who had publically expressed his view that 'Power corrupts its possessor and absolute power corrupts absolutely.' Hence, ideally speaking, the State would be good or viable that is based on the division, decentralization and maximum diffusion of power. Such a system would protect not only a strong central government, but also the rights and freedom, of the minorities who would generally be treated at par with others.

Citizens' rights and freedoms

Ambedkar was of the view that a democratic federal framework would ensure that every citizen has minimum set of equal rights and freedoms and would not deprive them

of the benefits of their profession. He also believed that the guarantee of minimum freedom and rights alone would not make any state an ideal state. In his view, each and every citizen should be able to enjoy all the freedoms and rights in consonance with similar freedoms and rights available to all others in the State. He believed that however rich a state may be, it will have to provide these basic rights equally to one and all.

The rights and freedoms which Dr Ambedkar wanted the citizens of every liberal democracy to possess and enjoy are the rights which he succeeded to include in the list of Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in our Constitution. These are, in fact, the rights which are intended to improve the quality of democracy and also help people in improving the quality of their own. However, the most important of these rights, which he was able to think of and provide, was the right to constitutional remedies which enables every citizen to have his violated rights restored by approaching the Courts to issue appropriate writs. He believed that if this right is not ensured to the citizens, all other rights would lose their importance as the state would go on delimiting and restricting these rights and these would, one day, virtually disappear. He regarded fundamental rights as the very soul of democracy, the fountain of democracy and the fragrance of democracy.

Reservation for backward sections of society

Ambedkar was eager that not only elaborate sets of rights be available to all citizens, without discrimination, but that, by itself, would not meet the ends of justice. This is because in India there are a number of classes and sections of people that have been historically, socially, educationally and economically backward. These include the Shudras, the avarnas, the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and the other socially, economically and sexually backward citizens of India. These have always been kept apart and away from the society and have never been allowed to get themselves assimilated in the mainstream of the Indian society. Therefore, the state will have to make special efforts to ensure these rights to them on the basis of priority, so that they are also able to come up to a normal level to enjoy the rights and freedoms which others would ordinarily be enjoying in any case.

Linguistic reorganization of the state

In order to promote the cause of unity of India on the one hand, and reduce social tensions on the other, he was eager to reorganize Indian provinces on a national linguistic basis. Such a reorganization would curb casteism, communalism, regionalism and fundamentalism. He was not willing to allow the state to reorganize itself on any other basis, as that would seriously threaten the unity and integrity of India. Here, it may be recorded that Ambedkar was also eager to encourage the various scripts and languages, whether regional, provincial or sectional. The scripts may vary, but in the interest of the unity of India, the language should be one, so that it may serve as a cementing force, and not a divisive force. That is why, of all the languages spoken in India, he wanted Hindi to be the official language not only of the Central government, but also of all the provinces, so that it becomes a strong denominator of India's unity and integrity.

Views regarding India's partition

As stated earlier, Ambedkar was probably the only non-Muslim leader of India's struggle for freedom who openly defended the Partition of India into India and Pakistan on

communal grounds. He was of the considered view that every community should have the right and the autonomy to preserve, protect and enrich its culture and religion, and to that end, every community which has all the essential elements of a nation should have the right to secede and declare itself as an independent sovereign state. Therefore, he not only supported Jinnah's demand for Pakistan, but also asked the creation of an independent sovereign Dalitistan. He declared that those who have deliberately been kept separate for decades and centuries should have the right to live separately so that they are no longer oppressed, suppressed and exploited.

Religion and politics

Ambedkar was strongly in favour of a secular state, i.e., a state which does not accord to any religion the status of a state religion. This view of Ambedkar was in contravention of his defence of Pakistan which, in any case, was to be an Islamic state. This is indicative of a clear contradiction in his views.

However, apart from his defence of Pakistan, Ambedkar wanted the state to accord to every religion the status of equality and did not advocate its interference with any religion. He also did not want the state to impose or levy a religious tax, nor did he want the state to force people's conversion to others religions, because otherwise, a citizen would lose the freedom of voluntary conversion. Hence, he wanted every province, having a distinct majority—religion of its own, to protect, preserve and enrich its religion, as that would be in accordance with, and not opposed to, the spirit of federalism.

3.3.8 Critical Evaluation

During his life time, Dr Ambedkar ventured to bring about a total change in the social, economic and political realm of Indian society, and in this effort, he succeeded to a very large extent. He dedicated his life towards the eradication of untouchability and related issues. Like the Indian liberal moderates of the First World War era of our freedom struggle, like Naoroji, Ranade and Gokhle, he gave precedence to social reform and considered the task of political independence only as a second priority. His position was the condition of Indian women as he had done for raising the status of the Dalits. The oppression, suppression and exploitation that Dalits and women had to suffer at the hands of the male and Brahmin dominated society was, in fact, a blot on the face of India. Just as he wanted reservation for the Dalits, he was equally eager to bring about the Hindu Code Bill to improve the condition of women. And, when he thought he would not be able to reform Hinduism during his lifetime, he got disgusted and left Hinduism labelling it as un-curable and un-reformable. He not only adopted Buddhism, but also encouraged his followers to adopt Buddhism.

Dr Ambedkar would be remembered by the generations to come as a great social reformer, a jurist and one of the most prominent framers, rather, the guiding spirit of the Constitution of India. For his unprecedented contribution and services, not only to Dalits and women, but to the nation as a whole, that he was posthumously decorated with the highest civilian award of India, the Bharat Ratna.

Check Your Progress

4. When and where was B.R. Ambedkar born?
5. What, according to Ambedkar, was the first problem of the Hindu social order?
6. For Ambedkar, what was the status of the Shudras?
7. What is the meaning of untouchability?

3.4 IDEAS OF JAYPRAKASH NARAYAN

Jayaprakash Narayan was born in a middle class Kayastha family on 11 October 1902. He was the fourth child of Babu Harsoodayal and Phool Rani. He began his eventful life in a small village on the border between UP and Bihar. Traditionally, the Kayasthas of UP and Bihar were known for their loyalty to the government and were very service-minded. It was for this reason that Babu Harsoodayal, who himself was an officer in the canal department, could not think of any career for his sons other than government service. Jayaprakash was sent to the village school for primary education and to Patna for matriculation and further education. In school, Jayaprakash proved to be a remarkable child due to his calm, thoughtful and reserved nature. He had sharp intelligence and mature expression. At the age of twelve, he completed his primary education at Sitabdiara and proceeded to Patna for further studies.

Jayaprakash had an eventful life in school at Patna. He came in contact with national activities through his association with Saraswati Bhawan, which was then a centre of national leaders. It was there that he got the inspiration to think about national problems. Jayaprakash proved to be a brilliant student. He was courageous, and resisted unjust authority from the beginning of his life. He studied science at Patna, up to the intermediate examination.

The period between 1914 and 1922 proved to be particularly significant in Jayaprakash's life. He was attracted towards Gandhi due to the latter's simplicity and support in favour of non-violence. Gandhi made the first experiment of his method in 1917, in the Champaran district of Bihar. Jayaprakash was so inspired by the non-violent movement of Gandhi that he made up his mind to lead a simple life and work for the national interest.

Jayaprakash was married to Prabhabati Devi when he was hardly eighteen years of age. His father-in-law, Brij Kishore Babu, was an established nationalist leader of Bihar. Through him, Jayaprakash came into contact with some important political leaders of Bihar and was introduced to the national problems.

The non-cooperation movement was launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1921. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru visited Patna and gave a call to the people to join the movement. Inspired by this call, Jayaprakash left his studies to take part in the movement, although he was scheduled to appear for his F.A. examination. This marked the beginning of his long political career. Jayaprakash resumed his studies in 1922 when Gandhi called off the movement due to mob violence. An important fact which strikes our attention is that Jayaprakash passed his F.A. in science with a first class in 1922. Besides Gandhi, Jayaprakash was attracted towards Bal Gangadhar Tilak who had called upon Indians to follow the ideals of the *Gita*.

Jayaprakash had a longing to pursue higher studies in science. He thought of going abroad to fulfil this desire, as he disliked the idea of studying in government-run institutions. With the consent of his parents and wife, he left for the US on 16 May 1922. He was there till 1929. He had to undergo great hardship to carry on his studies. He enrolled in California University as a science student, but due to financial reasons, he had to shift from one university to another. He had to work at different places to support himself. He studied in the Universities of California, Chicago, Iowa, Ohio and Wisconsin. He made many friends in America and became very popular.

In the United States, Jayaprakash Narayan met East European intellectuals and was attracted towards Marxism. He wrote that it was at 'Madison, Wisconsin, the home of Follette progressivism, that in the company of Jewish and European born fellow students I drank deep at the fountain of Marxism.' Simultaneously, he was influenced intensely by the writings of M.N. Roy, which completely converted him to Marxism.

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Jayaprakash was impressed by the Marxian philosophy of revolution. He said: 'The Marxian science of revolution seemed to offer a surer and quicker road to it than Gandhiji's technique of civil disobedience and non-cooperation.'

The writings of Anatole France, Ibsen and Gorky also had a great impact on his thinking. His interest in Marxism gradually increased and he started taking a keen interest in the activities of the American Communist Party. He then decided to change over to the study of social science. He felt that knowledge of social science was essential to deal with the real problems of India, which pertained to socio-economic development. Hence, he decided to make a complete study of the socialist theory and joined Ohio University to study the social sciences. By then, he had made friends with many Marxist intellectuals. He did his MA in sociology and wrote a thesis on Social Variations.

Jayaprakash returned to India in 1929 and played a significant role in the struggle for freedom. In spite of his Marxist convictions, Jayaprakash had a high personal regard for Gandhi and his leadership. At the Lahore session of the Congress, he was attracted towards Jawaharlal Nehru and joined the Congress as secretary of the Labour Department. Very soon, he became such an important leader of the Congress that the British government arrested him in 1932. As a revolutionary thinker, he was not happy with the functioning of the Congress. In 1934, Jayaprakash organized the Congress leaders. He did this to force the Congress to adopt a radical programme. In spite of his extreme approach, he was liked by many Congress leaders including Mahatma Gandhi. The government, however, considered Jayaprakash as a regular law-breaker. In a resolution submitted to the Ramgarh Congress of 1940, he pleaded for collective ownership and control of all large-scale and heavy production. He asserted that the state should nationalize heavy transport, shipping, mining and heavy industries.

Jayaprakash was imprisoned by the British from 1940 to 1946. He became a hero during the 1942 revolutionary movement. In 1942, he escaped from Hazaribagh jail, along with five of his comrades, by scaling the high prison wall. He then secretly organized the struggle for freedom. He was arrested again in 1943 and kept in the Lahore Fort along with Dr Ram Manohar Lohia as a 'state prisoner'. In April 1946, he was released from prison. In 1946, Mahatma Gandhi proposed the name of Jayaprakash for presidency of the Congress, but the proposal was not accepted by the Working Committee. In 1948, Jayprakash broke away from the Congress and formed the Praja Socialist Party. From 1948 to 1951, Jayaprakash and Ram Manohar Lohia worked hard to build the Praja Socialist Party. However, they were comprehensively defeated in the first general elections for independent India.

Jayaprakash became disillusioned by the defeat of the socialists in 1952. In 1953, there were talks and discussions between Jawaharlal Nehru and Jayaprakash on the issue of increasing cooperation between the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party in the areas of national reconstruction and development. But the talks could not yield any concrete result. In 1954, he resigned from the national executive of the Praja Socialist Party and offered himself as a Jivan-Dani to the sarvodaya movement. He founded the India-Pakistan conciliatory group in 1962. He worked successfully to bring about the ceasefire in Nagaland in 1964. The prestigious Ramon Magsaysay Award was given to Jayaprakash in 1965, as a symbol of recognition for his services to the people.

During 1960 to 1974, Jayaprakash remained engaged in the work of sarvodaya. The founding of the Gandhi Vidya Samaj at Banaras and Tarun Shanti Sena, Shanti Sena Vidyalaya were some of his notable works. In 1972, he created a conducive climate for the large number of dacoits to lay down arms unconditionally.

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In 1973, he advocated the idea of mass action for a complete change in the political and economic life of India. He tried to make the people conscious of the socio-political situation. He appealed to the members of the Indian Parliament to change their ways, but there was no response. He thought of organizing people, especially the youth, to save democracy by means of total revolution. In November 1974, he gave a call for total revolution or 'sampoorna kranti'.

He asked the political leaders of the opposition parties to create a strong basis for total revolution. When the Janata Party was formed before the Lok Sabha elections in 1977, it was clear that they had accepted the advice of Jayaprakash. Towards the closing years of his life, he gave a message to the nation in which he stressed the building of a free, progressive and Gandhian India.

3.4.1 Socialist Ideas

Jayaprakash Narayan was an Indian socialist intellectual. He had a clear idea about the economic foundations of politics. Mahatma Gandhi regarded him as the most leading authority on socialism.

The Indian National Congress had passed a resolution on fundamental rights and economic policy at the Karachi session in 1931. The resolution said 'The state shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, water- ways, shipping and other means of public transport.' Jayaprakash was the general secretary of the Congress in 1931. He had conducted the Civil Disobedience Movement effectively when all other important leaders were arrested. In 1932, he himself was arrested and sent to Nasik Jail. Along with him were other important leaders like Ashok Mehta, N.G. Gore, S.M. Joshi and Masani. It was in Nasik Jail that the blueprint of the Congress Socialist Party was worked out. Jayaprakash was the moving spirit behind the idea and became the main organizer of the movement.

After his release from Bihar Jail, he organized the All India Congress Socialist Conference at Patna in 17 May 1934. By that time, he had come to believe that dictatorship under the grab of revolutionary Communism could not be the proper alternative to capitalism. He decided to work out his own interpretation of Marxism, taking into account India's culture, together with the prevailing social and economic conditions. The first annual session of the Congress Socialist Party (a group within the Indian National Congress) was held in Mumbai on October 21-22, 1934. Among other things the programme of the Bombay session included: (i) transfer of all power the producing masses; (ii) economic life of the country to be planned and controlled by the state; (iii) socialisation of key and principal industries; (iv) state monopoly of foreign trade; (v) redistribution of land to peasants; (vi) encouragement and promotion of co-operative and collective farming by the state; (vii) recognition of the right work or maintenance by the state; (viii) non-discrimination between the sexes by the state; and (ix) repudiation of the so-called public debt of India.

Before Independence, Jayaprakash said that the establishment of the Socialist Party within the Congress was justified as the programme of the Congress did not include the socialist ideas of the time. Jayaprakash criticized khadi and charkha, disregarding Gandhi's views on it. He was also equally critical of Communist strategy and differentiated it from Marxist principles. He began to think that the Congress was under the control of important capitalists and could do no good for the common man. He thought that Marxism provided the real solution to India's problems. As a Marxist, he was opposed to Parliamentary democracy and the institutions of ballot boxes and the

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party system. He wanted the end of exploitation of the cultivator by landlords and pleaded for the redistribution of land. He was critical of Gandhi's ideas of class collaboration and trusteeship.

In due course of time, his views on communism changed and he became critical about some of the views of the communist. After careful thinking, he came to the conclusion that social change should come about through conscious revolution involving the masses instead of by violent revolution. He was a great supporter of human freedom. He considered centralisation of political and economic authority as dangerous for the establishment of socialism. He emphasized the purity of means. He thought of socialism as a new social order in which the precious human values of liberty, equality and fraternity were to be ensured. Jayaprakash realised that socialism could be the real basis for India's freedom. He advocated collective ownership and control of all large-scale and heavy industries. He asserted that the state should nationalize public transport, shipping, mining and heavy industries. It is clear that his earlier socialism was influenced by the ideas of American and British Socialists.

Jayaprakash had tried to organize a guerrilla movement against the British after escaping from Hazaribagh Jail. He was re-arrested in September 1943. From 1943 to 1946, while he was in jail, he developed a dislike for Marxism and he came out of jail as a convinced social democrat.

Jayaprakash was in search of a political faith for the sake of freedom and human progress. He was always prepared to revise his ideas to suit the political and economic conditions. He considered socialism as a complete theory of socio-economic reconstruction. He was of the view that socialism is much more than a theory of personal ethics. As a socialist, he pointed out that the rampant inequality in the social and economic fields was due to the disproportionate control over the means of production. Hence, he insisted that society provide a kind of arrangement where the economic obstacles that hindered the power and facilities of man were removed. He stood for social and economic equality in life and not for psychological standardization. According to him, socialism is a theory and technique of widespread planning. He stated that its aim is a 'harmonious and well balanced growth of the whole society.' On the basis of the personal experiences, it became quite clear to him that in a society where it was possible for the people to bring about social change by democratic means, it would be 'counter-revolutionary' to resort to violence. He was also convinced that real socialism could not exist in the absence of democratic freedom. Consequently, he rejected the theory of the dictatorship of a bureaucratic oligarchy.

In his book *From Socialism to Sarvodaya*, he laid down the objectives of socialism. These referred to: (1) elimination of exploitation and poverty; (2) provision of equal opportunities to all for self-development; (3) full development of the material and moral resources of society and utilization of these resources in accordance with the needs and wishes of society as a whole, rather than in accordance with the dictates of the profit motive; (4) equitable distribution of national wealth and social, educational and other services between all who work and serve the society; and (5) a system of social organization which serves these ends. He stated, 'My picture of socialist India is the picture of an economic and political democracy. In this democracy, man will neither be a slave of capitalism nor of a party or the state; he will be free. He will have to serve society which will provide him with employment and the means of livelihood, but within limits he will be free to choose his vocation and station in life. He will be free to express his opinions and there will be opportunities for him to raise his moral stature.'

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Jayaprakash elaborated his views on democratic socialism. According to him, 'In the socialist society of our conception, the individual, i.e., the worker is free and the state has no power to deprive him of his rights and privileges, except through the due process of law.' He stated that the Gandhian method could be the only way of realizing the ideal of democratic socialism. This means that he favoured democratic methods and realized the necessity for decentralization. He emphasized the importance of means in relation to the end of social reconstruction. In other words, means must be morally consistent with the ends. He stated 'I for one have come to believe that for the achievement of socialism, a strict regard for means is of the highest importance. Socialism means a form of society in which the individual is a cultured, civilized being, is free and brave, kind and generous, by strict adherence to certain human values and standards of conduct.'

He interpreted socialism in the context of Indian needs and important values in Indian culture. He advocated the reduction of land revenue, limitation of expenditure and nationalization of industries. According to him, the fundamental, social and economic problem in India was to eliminate the exploitation of the masses, and this could be achieved if the people, through their own efforts, could control their political and economic destiny. He realised the need for village reorganization and insisted like Gandhi that villages should be made self-governing and self-sufficient units. This involved an extreme reform of land laws. He believed that the land should belong to the actual cultivator and he supported co-operative farming. In his book *Towards Struggle*, he wrote 'The only solution is to clear away all the vested interests that lead in any manner whatever to the exploitation of the tiller of the soil; liquidate all agrarian debts; pool the holdings and establish co-operative and collective farming, state and co-operative credit and marketing system and co-operative subsidiary industries.' He was of the view that co-operative efforts could only provide the balance between agriculture and industry. The fundamental economic problem in Asia, particularly in India, is agrarian reconstruction. Hence, the state has to set up its own industries and also explore the other avenues of economic rehabilitation. He considered the present individualistic organization of agrarian sector was dependent upon 'co-operative and collective farming.'

Jayaprakash held the view that democratic socialism is preferable to revolutionary socialism. He said that the aims of the socialist order was not the establishment of a party dictatorship, but the creation of a society of free and equal people, a society based on certain values of human and social life, values which could never be sacrificed in the name of theory of the party line. He made a number of suggestions for the solution of basic problems of society by means of socialism. According to him, a socialist should aspire to some basic values. A decentralised state is essential to make socialism realistic from the political point of view. Nationalisation of industry is not enough, decentralisation of economic power is necessary, and peaceful democratic means must be used to achieve the objective of a socialist state. He tried to reconcile Marxism with Gandhism.

Jayaprakash openly pleaded for Gandhism on the basis of its emphasis on the essential values of life, stress on purity of means and decentralization of political and economic power. Emphasising Gandhian socialism he declared, 'Socialism in this country would neglect Gandhism at its peril.'

Jayaprakash worked as a socialist for nearly twenty-four years, i.e., from 1930 to 1954. He was a leading spokesman of Indian nationalism and his socialism was not opposed to the important values of Indian culture. He considered socialism to be a way of life. He gave top priority to the solution of the economic problems of the country. He pleaded for the creation of conditions necessary for the realization of equality of

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opportunities. Jayaprakash stressed upon popular initiative and mass involvement for achieving social change.

3.4.2 Sarvodaya: Participatory Democracy

In the general election of 1952, the Praja Socialist Party suffered a defeat throughout the country; searching for answers for the defeat, Jayaprakash began to be criticized by his colleagues for giving up the strategy of class struggle. Even his close friends doubted his sincerity. However, he did not lose heart. He carried on his struggle to realize the long desired goal. He tried to convince Jawaharlal Nehru to introduce socialistic measures and offered co-operation. But as his attempts did not yield any result, thus he decided to leave party and power politics. At that time, Vinoba Bhave had started his campaign of bhoodan and sarvodaya in the country. Jayaprakash saw in bhoodan a practical solution to the land problem. A new idea of revolution in the form of sarvodaya, without any reference to power, struck his mind. He was persuaded to believe at the Bodhgaya Sarvodaya Sammelan (1953) that 'I am persuaded that unless socialism is transformed into sarvodaya, these goals would remain beyond its reach and just as we had to taste the ashes of independence, so future generations might have to taste the ashes of socialism.'

Jayaprakash's great passion for freedom was responsible for bringing him to sarvodaya. He felt that this method was more effective and original compared to the traditional socialist methods. According to him, this was the practical form of Gandhian philosophy for the realization of social revolution. He resigned from the Praja Socialist Party in 1957. He wrote, 'I decided to withdraw from party and power politics not because of disgust or sense of any personal frustration but because it became clear to me that politics could not deliver the goods, the goods being the same old goals of equality, freedom, brotherhood, peace.' He wholeheartedly devoted himself to the work of bhoodan and sarvodaya. It became clear to him that a new social order could not be worked but through the instrument of party and state power.

Jayaprakash believed that the democratic system should involve the masses. Otherwise, the ideals of liberty, equality and justice could not be achieved. He agreed with the view of Harold Laski and said that the worth of democracy must be judged by the amount of voluntary activity within it. The formal institutions like Parliament, assemblies and elected governments alone do not constitute democracy. There cannot be true democracy unless it lives in the life of the people. There can be hardly any democracy if differences on the basis of economic status, social status and castes persist. In the year 1959, Jayaprakash prepared his thesis 'Reconstruction of Indian Policy' which was published by the Bharat Sarvaseva Sangha. The thesis showed the striking impact of his experience in Yugoslavia. He was particularly attracted by the experiments which were being carried out in Yugoslavia. There he found that the leadership still thought in terms of the traditional Marxist ideal of a classless society and wanted to evolve a society free from the burdens of administrative power. They had started the decentralisation of authority, and for that purpose, they had changed the name of the Communist Party to the League of Communists. They had strong workers' councils and these councils managed their own factories and made their own appointments. The people's committees managed their local municipalities which had immense powers including those of the police and the running of factories. The elections were indirect. All these things led Jayaprakash to believe that Yugoslavia, despite its leadership at the top, had the maximum participating democracy and maximum participating socialism.

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In his thesis 'The Reconstruction of Indian Polity' Jayaprakash rejected the theory of Parliamentary democracy with a multi-party system, and advanced the view of a 'party-less democracy' or 'participating democracy'. He made a fervent plea for the reconstruction of Indian polity in the light of Gandhian principles. His main purpose was to broaden and deepen democracy by strengthening its foundations. He did not suggest any alternative democracy, but made an attempt to evolve a fully participating democracy.

Jayaprakash maintained that democracy, as introduced in India, had a weak and narrow base. He wrote 'It is an inverted pyramid that stands on its head. Our obvious task is to set this picture right and stand the pyramid on its base. It was an example of swaraj from above. People had the feeling of being left out in this swaraj.' He said that the people participate in this democracy only for a short while, at the time of the general elections, and thereafter they have no contact or access to the government. Only a few people had benefited from the attainment of swaraj and these few who belonged to the educated middle class, constituted a narrow base of Indian democracy.

Jayaprakash was a great humanist and human considerations were always uppermost in his mind. He argued that the western concept of democracy, as government by consent, is inadequate. His criticism of the parliamentary system of democracy was mainly based on the belief that the common man is reduced to a non- entity in such a system. The benefits of such a system reached only the economically and politically powerful sections. Jayaprakash urged for immediate contact between the government and the people and this was possible only through decentralization of authority. However, mere extension of local self-governing institutions was not his only idea as a guide for future generations of India. He said 'The problem of present day civilization is social integration. The problem is to put man in touch with man, so that they live together in a meaningful, understandable, controllable relationship. In short, the problem is to recreate the human community.' He emphasized that the human community should become the ideal of future social reconstruction.

He elucidated his concept of participating democracy in his pamphlet 'Swaraj for the People' which was published in 1961. He wrote 'In order that the people might participate in the government, the government must be brought as near to the people as possible. This would require a thorough-going system of political and economic decentralisation.' Jayaprakash set forth the necessary conditions for the realization of participating in democracy. He said that the principles of education of the people, non-interference by political parties in the functioning of decentralised political units like panchayats, trust in people, availability of resources with local bodies, control over administration by the panchayats and acceptance and adoption of Panchayat Raj should be recognised by all. He asserted that the panchayat is the only way to the evolution of a participating democracy. He laid down some conditions which were to be fulfilled before panchayati raj could lead to the evolution of a participating democracy.

For the assemblies and the Lok Sabha, Jayaprakash suggested a procedure for selection of the representatives. Each gram sabha should send two delegates to the Electoral College after seeking general consent. The electoral college should set up candidates for election. In such a system, the multi-party system which has corrupted the politics of the country should be abolished. He contended that parliamentary democracy based on the multi-party system had vitiated the Indian society. Therefore, he advocated that this system be replaced by the real democracy, involving the masses in its working.

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Jayaprakash observed that political decentralization is bound to remain nominal unless followed by economic decentralization.

Jayaprakash analysed the evils of party politics. He saw sarvodaya as the only way out of the prevalent decadent situation. Re-organization of life on the basis of self-reliant, self-governing people was highly essential. His picture of 'Gram Raj' was nothing but self-dependent small units of society with a completely decentralised system of political power and production. While Jayaprakash had put his faith in the traditional socialist methods of bringing about social revolution, he became conscious of the importance of the Gandhian method when the bhoodan movement was started.

Jayaprakash was actively engaged in the work of sarvodaya and other works of social reconstruction during the period from 1960 to 1974. He founded the Gandhi Vidya Samaj, Tarun Shanti Sena and Shanti Sena Vidyalayas. The Gandhian type of non-violent satyagraha on a mass scale appeared to him as a more effective method of social change. He started a weekly *Every Man* in 1973. He explained 'The journal will stress the following freedoms as being essential to any democratic society: freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom of peaceful protest, demonstration and of other forms of peaceful social action including satyagraha.' He stressed on the importance of moral values and individual freedom and warned the people against the growing social evils.

Jayaprakash said that sarvodaya is people's socialism. He observed 'The remedy is to create and develop forms of socialist living through the voluntary endeavour of the people, rather than seek to establish socialism by the use of the power of the state. In other words, the remedy is to establish people's socialism rather than state socialism.' He insisted on a band of selfless workers who would be prepared to live and move in the midst of the masses and help them reorganize their lives on a self- reliant and self-controlling basis.

3.4.3 Total Revolution

In the 1950s, Jayaprakash withdrew from party and power politics and was engaged in the work of social reconstruction through non-violent means, but the growing moral degeneration in Indian social and political life made him very unhappy. It pained him to see India languishing in social and economic slavery. Though he had grown old, Jayaprakash was young in spirit. In 1973, the idea of massive action was popularized by him, for a radical change in the political and economic life of India. He made efforts to enlighten the people about the decadent social situation and appealed to the members of the Indian Parliament to take positive steps. His appeal got a poor response. As a result, he thought of organizing people, especially the youth to save democracy, and for a total revolution in the country. By that time the students' agitation in Gujarat was in full swing. The agitation forced the dissolution of the state assembly. This kind of agitation encouraged Jayaprakash in his thinking. He could see great strength in the uncommitted youth of the country.

He was of the view that in a democratic system, if a political party continues in power over a long period of time, it gets corrupted, because power corrupts even the most incorruptible. He thought that the Congress Party was no exception to this. He sensed a danger to the country on account of unchecked degeneration of values in the social, political and economic life of the people. Jayaprakash was convinced that only a massive effort by the people themselves could stop the process through which democracy was slowly degenerating into a one-party dictatorship. He contended that the people in general, particularly the young and enlightened sections of the country, could take on the

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responsibility of replacing the corrupt system by a cleaner, less authoritative and more participating form of democracy, leading to total revolution.

Jayaprakash with his long political experience had come to the conclusion that a complete change in the social and economic structure of the country could be brought about only by using Gandhian methods. Vinoba Bhave had already taken up the work of non-violent to carry on Gandhian thought. But it could not become an active movement for social revolution. There were some obvious reasons for this. Vinoba preferred to remain away from pressing social problems. The Bhoodan movement and Gram Raj could have resulted in a great social revolution had Vinoba acted like Mahatma Gandhi. Jayaprakash felt that no movement could be successful without the involvement of the masses. In March 1974, the students of Bihar had started an agitation. Jayaprakash took this opportunity to turn it into a people's movement for complete social change.

The students' stir in Gujarat provided encouragement to the students of Bihar who organized themselves to launch a movement against corruption, injustice, unemployment, high prices and misrule. The students of Bihar made an appeal to Jayaprakash to lead the movement in the interest of the people of Bihar and in the greater interest of the country. Jayaprakash thought that the Bihar student's agitation could be converted into a popular revolution. He also planned to broad-base the movement for saving democracy in India from its gradual degeneration into dictatorship.

Jayaprakash had strong faith in Gandhian ideas and methods. He conducted the movement peacefully by virtue of well-known techniques of satyagraha, picketing and disobedience of unjust authority. He advised the students of Bihar to give due respect to the wishes of people. But the government of Bihar resorted to repressive measures. Within a short period, the student's movement spread to the whole state, involving various cross-sections of the people. Large numbers of workers in the rural and urban areas jumped into the movement. It developed into a mass movement. Jayaprakash made tours of the country to awaken the people to the ideals of the movement. The people of the country watched the movement with great interest. Jayaprakash made it clear that he was leading the movement for total revolution and complete change. It was not intended only to remove the Bihar Government from office.

When the Bihar movement had developed into a massive people's movement in October 1974, Jayaprakash announced a four-fold programme of action. By this, he wanted to paralyse the administration, introduce gram swarajya, and establish people's legislative assembly and peoples' government. A massive demonstration was organized at Patna on November 4, 1974, to express popular support to his programme. Jayaprakash wanted that the people should themselves take up the responsibility of administration. He said 'People or Janata sarkar will be a small unit of democracy at the village, panchayat or block level, at all three levels, if possible. These small units of democracy are conceived as instruments of people's power both in their peaceful struggle against injustice and tyranny and for the reconstruction of society on the basis of equality, and the elimination of poverty, oppression and exploitation.'

Jayaprakash gave priority to social reconstruction. For this purpose, he called upon the people of Bihar and the people of India in general to rise above individual and party interests. His purpose in leading the Bihar students' movement was to prepare the ground for a complete change in the prevalent structure and system of Indian polity and society. This is the reason why he gave the clarion call for total revolution.

He believed that only through a peaceful revolution could the conditions of the people be improved. He placed before the people of the country a very comprehensive

ideal in the form of total revolution. As he was committed to socialism and humanism, he wanted to direct his energy for eradicating corruption from the political and social life of India. He was determined to create conditions for fulfilling the minimum basic needs of the people. His total revolution was an attempt to bring about the Gandhian humanist vision of an ideal society.

He called upon the people to be prepared for a long struggle. He presented a detailed strategy of the movement that included propaganda for public education and constructive programmes for creating consciousness about social evil such as the dowry system, caste conflicts, communalism and untouchability.

He had asked the people of India to revise their thinking and attitude towards democratic function in India. He urged upon the necessity of a strong opposition in the country. He called upon the political leaders of the Opposition parties to create a sound basis for total revolution. But the Janata Party, which came to power in 1977 as a result of this movement was unable to abide by its unanimous pledge taken at the samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi, due to international squabbles. This made the country slip back into the old older of political in-fighting. The dream of Jayaprakash remained unfulfilled despite his life-long struggle.

3.4.4 J.P.'s Contributions to Indian Political Thought

Jayaprakash is the most outstanding personality in the field of Indian socialism. His socialism is not only a philosophy of social and economic reconstruction of Indian society, but also a philosophy of moral and spiritual rebirth of life.

Jayaprakash was a great humanist revolutionary. Towards the closing years of his life, he gave a message to the nation in which he explained why he had been struggling all along. He said 'The India of my dreams is a community in which every individual and every resource is dedicated to the service of the weak community, dedicated to 'Antodaya' to the well-being of the poorest and weakest. The India of my dreams is a community in which every citizen participates in the affairs of the community.' Jayaprakash pleaded for the maintenance of conditions which are necessary for the realization of equality of opportunities. In his opinion, the economic minimum was a precondition for the resplendence of the fruits of culture.

The idea of the participatory democracy conceived by Jayaprakash is a valuable one. It constitutes an important contribution to political theory. It is an extension of the Gandhian system of decentralization and Vinoba's idea of gram swarajya.

In terms of foreign relations, Jayaprakash accepted the idea of a world community. He said that the world community alone could do justice to the suppressed sections of humanity. He felt that it is the task of the intellectuals to enhance the concept of the world community.

Check Your Progress

8. What did Jayprakash Narayan mean by total revolution?
9. What was the concept of socialism according to Jayprakash Narayan?

3.5 IDEAS OF RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Ram Manohar Lohia was born in Akbarpur village in Ambedkar Nagar district, Uttar Pradesh. He was influenced and initiated into the freedom struggle by his father Hira Lal, with whom Lohia attended numerous protest assemblies during his formative years. At the age of 10, Lohia contributed in his own way to the freedom struggle – on the death of Lokmanya Tilak, he organized and led a strike comprising his school mates.

Lohia's father was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi, which contributed to his son's inclination towards swaraj. Gandhi's spiritual maturity and self-control influenced Lohia to follow his footsteps. As a 10-year-old, he had already proved his allegiance to Gandhi and the independence movement by participating in a satyagraha march. In 1921, Lohia met Jawaharlal Nehru and over the years, both Gandhi and Nehru contributed immensely to the development of Lohia's personality and political ideas. What began as only an acquaintanceship with Nehru transformed into close friendship. However, even as a young man, Lohia never minced his words. He admired Nehru, and at the same time, disagreed with him over many key ideological issues.

In 1928, as a student leader, Lohia organized a protest against the Simon Commission which had been sent by the British government to prepare a report on granting dominion status to India without considering the opinion of its citizens. Lohia studied for his PhD in Berlin, Germany. In Europe, Lohia attended the League of Nations Assembly in Geneva where India was represented by the Maharaja of Bikaner, an ally of the British Raj. Lohia took a strong exception to this and launched an immediate protest from the visitor's gallery. As a result, Lohia became popular in India overnight. In Berlin, he helped in the formation of the Association of European Indians and became the secretary of this club. The organization's focus was on preserving and expanding Indian nationalism abroad.

After receiving his doctorate, Lohia returned to India and joined the Indian National Congress. Lohia was inclined towards socialism and played an important role in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party, an organization within the Indian National Congress, in 1934. He wrote extensively on the possibility of a socialist India for the party's journal, *Congress Socialist*. In 1936, upon his election to the All India Congress Committee, Lohia revived the party's near-defunct foreign affairs department. Nehru himself appointed Lohia as the secretary of this department. During his tenure of two years, Lohia helped concretize India's foreign policy.

During the Second World War, Lohia saw an opportunity to topple the British Rule in India. He travelled across the country, instigating the citizens through his speeches to boycott all government institutions. As a result, Lohia was arrested on May 24, 1939. However, the British authorities feared his arrest could cause a youth uprising and, thus released him from prison just a day later.

A determined Lohia then wrote an article titled *Satyagraha Now* in Gandhiji's newspaper *Harijan* on June 1, 1940. Six days later, he was re-arrested and imprisoned for two years. While passing the judgment, the magistrate had observed: 'He (Lohia) is a top-class scholar, civilized gentleman, has liberal ideology and high moral character.' In a meeting of the Congress Working Committee following Lohia's imprisonment, Gandhi had said, 'I cannot sit quiet as long as Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia is in prison. I do not yet know a person braver and simpler than him. He never propagated violence. Whatever he has done has increased his esteem and his honour.'

In prison, Lohia was severely tortured and harassed by the jailors. In December 1941, all imprisoned Congress leaders, including Lohia, were released in a desperate attempt by the British authorities to stabilize the country which was reverberating with the demands for independence. In 1942, the Indian National Congress launched the Quit India Movement under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. Prominent leaders, including Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad, were put behind bars to muzzle nationalistic voices. The responsibility to guide and lead the struggle of the nation towards independence fell on the shoulders of the Socialist cadre, which

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included senior leaders like Lohia. He went underground to escape arrest and from there, published posters and documents to awaken the people's spirit of 'do or die'.

Along with freedom fighter Usha Mehta, Lohia started a secret radio station called Congress Radio from Bombay to inspire people towards revolution. He also edited *Inquilab* (Revolution), a monthly publication of the Congress. Other senior leaders like Aruna Asaf Ali, Abdan Shaikh and Madiha also took active part in the Quit India Movement. While remaining underground, Lohia visited Calcutta to revive the movement in the state. He changed his name to escape arrest even as the police was closing in on him. Lohia then fled to Nepal's dense jungles. There, Lohia met many Nepalese revolutionaries, including the Koirala brothers, who remained his allies for the rest of their lives.

Lohia was finally captured in May 1944 from Bombay and was taken to the notorious Lahore prison, which was known to perpetrate torture on prisoners. Lohia too was subjected to inhuman treatment by jail authorities to extract information from him. He was released in 1946 under the pressure put on the British authorities by Mahatma Gandhi.

As India's tryst with freedom approached, the antagonism and clashes between the Hindus and Muslims increased. Lohia vehemently opposed Partition and wrote extensively against it. He appealed to the two communities in the regions affected by riots to stay united, ignore the divisive forces and adhere to Gandhi's ideals of non-violence. On August 15, 1947, as political leaders hovered in Delhi to take over the reign of the country, Lohia stayed by Gandhi's side who was lamenting the consequences and killings brought about by Partition.

3.5.1 Goa and Nepal

In 1946, soon after his release from prison by the British authorities, Lohia went to Goa for rest. He was accompanied by his communist friend Juliao Menezes, the author of the anti-Catholic and anti-Portuguese work *Contra Roma e além de Benares* (Against Rome and Returning to Benares). Menezes had later revealed that he had invited Lohia to Goa to disturb peace and encourage revolution in the state which was under the Portuguese rule. On the other hand, Nehru had publicly stated that Goa was a foreign territory and Indian politicians would not intervene in its internal affairs. He had said: 'Eighteen years ago, a Congress committee was started in Goa by Mr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, and for some years, he was a member of the All-India Congress Committee. Later, under the constitution of the Congress, such foreign committees were not affiliated.'

Thus, despite being a tourist and clearly an outsider as far as the Congress leadership was concerned, Lohia inspired struggle and launched a satyagraha in Goa. He began intervening in the local political affairs, influenced the small Goan Communist movement and fostered sedition. He was arrested by the Portuguese administration, while delivering a public speech, was imprisoned and later sent to British India. Gandhi supported Lohia and responded to his arrest stating, 'The little Portuguese settlement, which merely exists on the sufferance of the British government, can ill-afford to ape its bad manners. In free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free state. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free state. The present Portuguese government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of the British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese government of Goa to recognize the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with the inhabitants, rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British government.'

Gandhi added, 'It is ridiculous to write of Portugal as the Motherland of the Indians of Goa. Their mother country is as much India as is mine. Goa is outside British India, but it is within geographical India as a whole. And there is very little, if anything, in common between the Portuguese and the Indians in Goa.'

Amid growing support, Lohia tried to re-enter Goa on September 28, 1946, but was arrested at the Colem Railway Station, put into solitary confinement. He was banned from entering Goa for the next five years. Lohia desisted from entering Goa for the third time on the advice of Gandhi and Nehru.

In Nepal, with support of his socialist and communist friends, Lohia initiated a struggle to bring the country within the Indian domain and free them from the clutches of monarchy. However, contradictions failed his attempts; while on one hand, the Koiralas supported him, on the other hand, the Nepalese citizens were not keen on merger with India.

Lohia was not only influenced by socialism, but also practiced it. He deeply favoured the use of Hindi as the official language of India. Lohia argued that the use of English hindered people's thoughts, 'was a progenitor of inferiority feelings and deepened the gap between the educated and uneducated public'. He called upon the people: 'Come, let us unite to restore Hindi to its original glory.' He also recognized the importance of a nation's economic strength and encouraged the citizens to join the post-freedom reconstruction activities. Lohia urged people to construct canals, wells and roads voluntarily in their neighbourhood. He volunteered to build a dam on the river Paniyari, which stands strong till date and is also known as the 'Lohia Sagar Dam'.

Lohia once said, 'Satyagraha without constructive work is like a sentence without a verb.' He felt that public work could unite and bring a sense of awareness in the community. Lohia felt that as a democracy, the Parliament was obliged to listen to the citizens who elected them. He, thus helped create a day called 'Janavani Day' on which people from around the country could assemble and express their grievances to the members of Parliament. The tradition still persists.

In 1963, when Lohia entered the Parliament for the first time, the country had evolved a one-party government through three general elections. He wrote a pamphlet titled '25000 Rupees a Day', the amount spent on Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's daily activities. Lohia felt this was an obscene sum spent on a leader in a country whose majority population lived on 3 annas (less than one-quarter of a rupee) a day. Lohia called it an important issue, one which required a special debate in Parliament. The controversy is still remembered as the Teen Anna Pandrah Anna (3 annas 15 annas) controversy.

Lohia was neither a Marxist nor an anti-Marxist. Unlike Marxist theorists, Lohia argued that caste, more than class, was the prime deterrent to India's progress. Caste, according to Lohia, was a form of class in the Indian context. He said that class was a mobile caste since the country was anyways dominated by ideas of the upper castes constituted by the Brahmins and the Baniyas. Lohia said caste restricted one's social and economic opportunities, which in turn constricted people's ability. This, he argued, further restricted opportunity. Where caste prevails, Lohia said, opportunity and ability were restricted to ever-narrowing circles of people. In his own party, the Samyukta (United) Socialist Party, Lohia promoted lower caste candidates by giving them electoral

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tickets and senior party positions. With this, Lohia aimed to ensure people accepted and voted for his party's candidates, irrespective of their caste.

3.5.2 Lohia's Views on Capitalism and Marxism

Lohia argued early that Marxism and capitalism were similar in as far as their views on industrialization were concerned. He stated that industry was no solution for the Third World. In fact, in 1951, Lohia had warned the Americans that their lives would soon be taken over by big industries. He called Marxism the 'last weapon of Europe against Asia' and propounded the 'Principle of Equal Irrelevance', declining both Marxism as well as capitalism. He perceived capitalism as the doctrine of 'people living upward of 40 degrees north of the equator'. Lohia preferred search for an appropriate technology, which could reduce hard work, but at the same time, not put the common man at the mercy of machines. He considered capitalism to be 'the doctrine of individual, free enterprise, mass production and balance of power based- peace'. Lohia rejected capitalism and believed it encouraged only poverty and war. According to Lohia, capitalism could destroy national freedom. He further perceived communism as part of capitalism and said that 'it only seems to smash the capitalist relations of production'. According to him, both capitalism and communism were 'part of a single civilization as both are driven by continuous application of science to economy and rising standard of living'.

3.5.3 Revolutionary Thinker

Lohia was always concerned with the welfare of the masses. Besides his revolutionary ways during the civil disobedience movement, his concern was to bridge the divide between the rich and the poor, and the elimination of caste and irrelevant industry, Lohia also sought to promote equality between the sexes, discourage discrimination on the basis of colour and preservation of individual privacy. Lohia also believed in joint action. He supported the overthrow of a government which misused its power, even if it had to be done before the completion of its official term. Lohia gave action to his words. He was the first parliamentarian to move a no-confidence motion against the Nehru government, which had by then been in office for 16 years.

Lohia is popularly known as a maverick socialist. He often surprised his supporters as well as opponents through his words and actions. In one instance, he astounded everyone by calling on the Indian government to produce the bomb, after the Sino-Indian War of 1962.

3.5.4 Lohia's Anti-English View

Ram Manohar Lohia wanted that the nation's administration, its judicial system and its elite professions should not remain alienated from the masses. He thus argued against the continuation of English as the medium of administration, the judiciary and higher education, including education of the professions. However, there are some wrong notions about his views on language. Many considered him a zealot of the Hindi language. However, this is an incorrect view. Lohia was not per se opposed to the English language, but warned that it was impossible to make the colonial language the lingua franca of men and women in India.

People, especially in the South, were vary of his so-called anti-English views, however, when he explained that he wanted English to be replaced by regional languages, that prejudice did not remain. Lohia understood that as the link language, English could be replaced by Hindi only, and he offered reservations in Central jobs for non-Hindi

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speaking people. Many scholars are of the opinion that the fact that a significant proportion of people in India are illiterate has to do with opposition to Lohia's language policy.

Lohia was in favour of abolishing private schools and establishing better municipal (government) schools, which would be open to students from all castes. He saw this approach as a mean to abolish the caste system. At the annual convention of the Socialist Party, Lohia formulated a plan to decentralize the power of the government and give more powers in the hands of the people. He also set up the Hind Kisan Panchayat to give ear to the problem of the farmers.

As a socialist, Lohia sought to unite socialist from across the world to form a potent global platform. He died on 12 October 1967 in New Delhi and left behind no property or bank balance.

ACTIVITY

Conduct a comparative study of Gandhi and Ambedkar's view on caste.

DID YOU KNOW

M.N. Roy founded the Mexican Communist Party

3.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learned that:

- Manabendra Nath Roy was a unique personality in the history of modern India.
- M.N. Roy propounded a different school of thought. From a nationalist, he became a Marxist, and later, he changed to a radical humanist.
- M.N. Roy was at first deeply impressed by the philosophy of Karl Marx. He considered Marx as a merciless critic of social injustice in the traditions of the great Jewish Prophets.
- In the later years, Roy had serious differences of views with Stalin. He became a great critic of Marxism and came to the conclusion that communism provided no solution to worldly problems.
- In Roy's book, Reason, Romanticism and Revolution, he observed, 'The abolition of private property, state ownership of the means of production and planned economy, do not by themselves end exploitation of labour nor lead to an equal distribution of wealth.'
- According to Roy, the principal defect of Marxism is its denial of individual freedom.
- The concept of radical humanism is the greatest contribution of M.N. Roy to modern Indian political thought.
- Roy called this radical humanism as 'new humanism'. It aimed at a secular, rational morality for opening a new perspective before the world.
- In the initial stage, M.N. Roy had paid glowing tributes to Mahatma Gandhi. However, in the later years, he became a critic of Gandhi.
- M.N. Roy called Gandhism as a 'mass of platitudes and self-contradiction.' He regarded Gandhian philosophy as status quoist in nature. Roy had also criticized Mahatma Gandhi's concept of non- violence.

Check Your Progress

10. Who and what all influenced Lohia in his formative years?
11. What was Lohia's contribution in Goa?

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- B.R. Ambedkar dedicated his life to the eradication of untouchability and the issues with which it had identified itself.
- Like the Indian liberal moderates of the First World War era of our freedom struggle, that were in line with Naoroji, Ranade and Gokhale, he would give precedence to social reform and consider the task of political independence only as a second priority. His position was 'reforms first, freedom afterwards'.
- Ambedkar dedicated his life as much to improve the condition of Indian women as he had done for raising the status of the Dalits.
- Jayaprakash Narayan was born in a middle class Kayastha family on 11 October 1902. He was the fourth child of Babu Harsoodayal and Phool Rani. He began his eventful life in a small village on the border of UP and Bihar.
- Jayaprakash was a socialist intellectual. He had a clear idea of the economic foundations of politics. Mahatma Gandhi regarded him as the most leading authority on socialism.
- Jayaprakash interpreted socialism in the context of Indian needs and important values in Indian culture. He advocated the reduction of land revenue, limitation of expenditure and nationalization of industries.
- Jayaprakash's great passion for freedom was responsible for bringing him to Sarvodaya. He felt that this method was more effective and original compared to the traditional socialist methods.
- Jayaprakash is the most outstanding personality in the field of Indian socialism. His socialism is not only a philosophy of social and economic reconstruction of Indian society, but also a philosophy of moral and spiritual rebirth of life.
- Ram Manohar Lohia was born in Akbarpur village in Ambedkar Nagar district, Uttar Pradesh.
- Lohia argued early that Marxism and capitalism were similar in as far as their views on industrialization were concerned. He stated that industry was no solution for the Third World.
- Lohia was always concerned with the welfare of the masses. Besides his revolutionary ways during the civil disobedience movement, his concern was to bridge the divide between the rich and the poor, and the elimination of caste and irrelevant industry, Lohia also sought to promote equality between the sexes, discourage discrimination on the basis of colour and preservation of individual privacy.
- Ram Manohar Lohia wanted that the nation's administration, its judicial system and its elite professions should not remain alienated from the masses. He thus argued against the continuation of English as the medium of administration, the judiciary and higher education, including education of the professions.

3.7 KEY TERMS

- **Radical humanism:** Humanism propounded by Roy that accepted man as the centre of that humanism that banishes every type of supernatural agency from the human world.
- **Chatur-varna:** It refers to the four caste systems in the Indian society.
- **Shudras:** It refers to the lowest stratum in Indian society, often considered untouchables due to their menial jobs.
- **Sarvodaya:** It refers to the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity promoted by Jayprakash Narayan.
- **Bhoodan:** It was a movement started by Vinoba Bhave where wealthy landowners were persuaded to give a portion of their land to poor farmers.
- **Total revolution:** A mass movement against corruption, injustice, unemployment, high prices and misrule, started by Jayprakash Narayan.

3.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. M.N. Roy was a unique personality in the history of modern India and he was deeply influenced by the philosophy and works of Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra and Dayananda Saraswati. He is treated as one of the extremists in India's struggle for independence.
2. Roy advocated for a new philosophy called new humanism or radical humanism. It is found in his later works like *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution*, *New Humanism*, and *The Problems of Freedom*. Radical humanism provided the philosophical foundation to both organized democracy and cooperative economy.
3. Radical humanism brought Roy nearer to Gandhi. Both accepted the individual as the central point of all social thought and action. Both stood for decentralization of political and economic power.
4. B.R Ambedkar was born on 14 April 1891 at a place called Mhow near Indore in Madhya Pradesh and in 1913.
5. According to Ambedkar, the very first problem of Hindu social system was the one relating to the origin of the Shudras.
6. According to Ambedkar, the Shudras had the last place in the social order and their life had no value and anybody could kill him, without having to pay any compensation.
7. Untouchability means pollution by the touch of certain persons by reason of their birth in a particular caste or family.
8. Jayaprakash Narayan was convinced that only a massive effort by the people themselves could stop the process through which democracy in India was slowly degenerating into a one-party dictatorship. He contended that the people in general, particularly the young and enlightened sections of the country, could take on the responsibility of replacing the corrupt system by a cleaner, less authoritative and more participating form of democracy, leading to total revolution.
9. Jayaprakash Narayan's socialism constituted that the economic life of the country needed to be planned and controlled by the state, there had to be state monopoly of foreign trade, land needed to be redistributed to peasants and such an arrangement had to be provided by society where the economic obstacles which hindered the power and faculties of man were removed.
10. Ram Manohar Lohia was highly influenced by his father Hira Lal, a Gandhian, with whom he attended freedom protests. Gandhi's concept of swaraj, self-control and satyagraha influenced him so much that he followed his footsteps. A close

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association with Nehru too contributed to the development of Lohia's personality and political ideas.

11. Lohia went to Goa after coming out of jail in 1946. He went on to inspire the freedom struggle and launched a satyagraha in Goa. He began intervening in the local political affairs, influenced the small Goan Communist movement and fostered sedition. He was later arrested and sent back to British India.

3.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note comparing M.N. Roy and Gandhi's political philosophies.
2. What were the phases of Ambedkar political life?
3. Who was Jayprakash Narayan? Why was he attracted towards Marxism?
4. Write a short-note on sarvodaya from Jayprakash Narayan's viewpoint.
5. What was Lohia's contribution to the Indian freedom struggle?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe M.N. Roy's views on democracy.
2. Discuss M.N. Roy's concept of radical humanism or new humanism.
3. Discuss M.N. Roy's critique of Marxism.
4. Discuss the main ideas of Ambedkar on untouchables.
5. Critically discuss the main political ideas of Ambedkar.
6. Explain the concept of total revolution propounded by Jayaprakash Narayan.
7. Discuss Lohia's political ideology.

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UNIT 4 RELIGION AND COMMUNAL POLITICS IN INDIA

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4.0 INTRODUCTION

Briefly, communal politics in India refers to conducting politics for the benefit of one's religion, rather than the wider society. India has had a long history of communal politics. It was the British colonialists, following the policy of divide and rule, who first sowed the seeds of communal politics in India. It eventually resulted in India's partition into two separate nations.

Despite the Partition, India's independence leaders were fervently against the ideas that communalism entailed. They dreamed of a secular society, where all religions would be treated equally. In the post-independence era, the ideas of secularism were adopted by all major political parties. However, the last twenty years have seen a spectacular disintegration of the old political patterns and parties that had ruled the politics of the Nehruvian period. It has resulted in a rise of communal politics. Therefore, it is of upmost importance for the scholars of political science to gain an understanding of the ideas and origins of communal politics.

The mixing of religion and politics is a risky thing because the religious approach is diametrically different to democratic outlook. Religion is a personal matter and if it is permitted to feature in public associations, it will distort politics and be harmful to society at large. Thus, if we want to strengthen democracy and provide a concrete base to it and make its functioning successful, it is essential that the people do not mix their religion with politics. It is not right to think that legal ruling will help separate politics from religion. Until the outlook of the public undergoes changes and people rise higher than their trivial beliefs and differences, it is impossible to keep religion and politics away from each other. However, only by keeping them away from each other, will it be possible to keep a democratic system intact.

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In this unit, we will learn about the growth of communal politics in India from the early 19th century to 20th century.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Elaborate on the main ideas of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar
- Explain the beliefs of Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar
- Summarize the theories of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
- Discuss the main ideas of Mohammad Ali Jinnah

4.2 MAIN IDEAS OF VINAYAK DAMODAR SAVARKAR

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was born in Bhagur, Nashik, in Maharashtra on 28 May 1883. Savarkar was a famous poet, writer and a playwright, who became an Indian revolutionary and politician. He propounded the idea of liberty as the ultimate ideal. He instigated the movement for religious reforms against the caste system in Hindu culture and promoted reconversion of the converted Hindus back to the Hindu religion. He coined the term 'Hindutva', which he emphasized as being distinctive from Hinduism. His concept of Hindutva was associated with social and political disunity. Hindutva was based on following 5 elements:

i. Utilitarianism
ii. Rationalism and Positivism
iii. Humanism and Universalism
iv. Pragmatism
v. Realism

Savarkar began his revolution while continuing with his education in India and England, where he was a proud associate of the India House and laid the foundation of student societies such as Abhinav Bharat Society and the Free India Society. His publications promoted the cause of complete independence of India through revolutionary means. One of his publications *The Indian War of Independence*, which was dedicated to Indian rebellion of 1857, was banned by British authorities. He was taken into custody for his connections with a revolutionary group, The India House, in 1910. During his imprisonment, Savarkar made a failed attempt to run away while being moved from Marseilles and was given two life term sentences for a total tenure of 50 years and moved to the Cellular Jail of Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

While in jail, Savarkar continued with his work explaining the concept of Hindutva. He was freed in 1921 under certain restrictions, and after signing a plea of clemency, in which he gave up revolutionist activities.

After his release from jail, Savarkar travelled extensively and became a forceful orator and writer and promoted Hindu political and social unity. In later years, he took the charge of president of Hindu Mahasabha and propagated the idea of India as a Hindu Rashtra. He also opposed the Quit India movement in 1942, naming it a 'Quit India but keep your army' movement. He fiercely criticized the Indian National Congress for accepting the country's partition and was also one of the prime suspects in its leader, Mahatma Gandhi's, assassination which however, could not be proved.

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4.2.1 Life and Works

Savarkar had two brothers—Ganesh and Narayan—and a sister, Mainabai. His elder brother, who took over the family's welfare after their parents died, became a major influence on Vinayak's teenage life. Vinayak had formed a group of youths named Mitra Mela that boosted revolutionary and nationalist activities.

In 1901, he got married to Yamunabai, the daughter of Ramchandra Triambal Chiplunkar, who supported his university education. Subsequently, he got into Fergusson College of Pune in 1902. His sources of inspiration were radical political leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai, and incidents such as, the political struggle against Bengal partition and the growing Swadeshi campaign. Later years saw him getting involved in various nationalist activities at various levels. In 1905, during Dussehra, he organized a bonfire of foreign goods and clothes. He formed a group with his fellow students and friends called Abhinav Bharat. Due to his involvement in such activities, he was barred from college. However, he was still allowed to continue with his Bachelor of Arts degree. After graduation, the nationalist activist Shyam Krishana Verma encouraged him to study law in England on a scholarship. This was the period when Tilak, upon splitting from the Indian National Congress, formed a group called as Garam Dal. The Garam Dal, did not acknowledge the moderate Indian National Congress leadership agenda, which favoured dialogue and reconciliation with the British Raj.

At India House

Savarkar visualized a guerrilla war for independence on the lines of the renowned revolution of 1857. While writing his book *The History of the War of Indian Independence*, he analysed the circumstances of the 1857 of armed uprising. He criticised British rule in India and found it unjust and oppressive. Eventually, he became the first writer to term the uprising as India's 'First War of Independence'. His book was banned from publication throughout the British Empire. However, Madame Bhikaji Cama, an expatriate Indian revolutionary got the book published in Netherlands, France and Germany, which was heavily smuggled and circulated among rising young Indians. Savarkar was looking for revolutionary methods and eventually came in contact with a veteran of Russian Revolution of 1905, from whom he learnt the process of bomb-making and circulated the same in the form of a printed manual, amongst friends. This process was in line with other methods of guerrilla warfare. Later in 1909, one of his keen followers and friend, Madan Lal Dhingra, assassinated the British MP, Sir Curzon Wylie, at a public meeting.

Arrest in London and in Marseilles

In India, Savarkar organized an armed revolt against the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. The British police implicated Savarkar in the investigation for allegedly plotting the crime. Savarkar, anticipating evasion of arrest, moved to Madame Cama's house in Paris. However, he was arrested on 13 March 1910. He wrote a letter to a close friend planning his escape. Anticipating that he would most likely be transported back to India, he asked his friend to track the ship he would be routed through. When the ship, S. S. Morea, reached the port of Marseilles on 8 July 1910, Savarkar escaped from his cell through a

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porthole and dived into the water, swimming across the shore anticipating his friend to receive him in a car. The friend got delayed in arriving, while alarms were raised and he was re-arrested.

Trial and Andaman

After reaching Bombay (Mumbai), he was taken to Yerwada Central Jail in Pune. He was sentenced to 50 years in prison that was to be carried out in the Cellular Jail in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. He was deported on 4 July 1911. Savarkar demanded for clemency in 1911. During the visit of Sir Reginald Craddock in 1913, the leaders of Indian National Congress Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Bal Gangadhar Tilak demanded his unconditional release. Before Savarkar was finally released on 6 January 1924 under stringent restrictions, he and his brother were transported to the jail in Ratnagiri and thereafter back to Yerwada Central Jail.

Hindutva

During his imprisonment, he became a devoted follower of Hindu culture and from thereon, he remained devoted towards this cause. While he remained in the Ratnagiri jail, he wrote *Hindutva – Who is a Hindu*, got it smuggled out of jail and published under his alias 'Maharatta'. In his publication, he argued that a Hindu was a patriotic inhabitant of Bharatvarsha venturing beyond religious recognition.

Works

Savarkar has written more than ten thousand pages in Marathi language which include *Kamala* and *Mazi Janmathep* (My Life Sentence), amongst many and also the most renowned *1857 – The First War of Independence*, which was written when he was a member of India House. His other contributions include:

1. *Saha Soneri Paane* (Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History)
2. *1857 che Svatantrya Samar*
3. *Hindupadpaatshahi*
4. *Hindutva*
5. *Jatyochhedak Nibandh*
6. *Moplyanche Banda*
7. *Maazi Janmathep* (My Life Imprisonment)
8. *Kale Pani*
9. *Shatruchya Shibirat*
10. *Londonchi batamipatre* (London News Letter)
11. *Andamanchya Andheritun*
12. *Vidnyan nishtha Nibandha*
13. *Josheph Mazzini*
14. *Hindurashtra Darshan*
15. *Hindutvache Panchapran*
16. *Kamala*
17. *Savarkaranchya Kavita* (Poems by Savarkar)
18. *Sanyasta Khadg*

Arrest and acquittal in Gandhi's assassination

NOTES

Subsequent to Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, Nathuram Godse was arrested along with his alleged accomplices and conspirators. He was then the member of Hindu Mahasabha and also a Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) Swayamsevak. Savarkar was arrested in 1948 charged with murder, conspiracy to murder and abetment to murder in Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. However, he was acquitted due to a lack of evidence.

On 8 November 1963, Savarkar's wife, Yamuna died and on 1 February 1966, he decided to go on atmaarpan (fast until death). Before his death, he wrote an article which was titled 'atmahtya nahi atmaarpan', where he argued that when one's life mission is accomplished and ability to serve the society is left no more, it is better to end the life at will instead of waiting for the death to come of its own.

4.3 MAIN IDEAS OF HEDGEWAR

Dr Keshav Baliram Hedgewar was an individual devoted to the cause of the Hindu community. He believed that Hindus only were the sons of India, and the existence and future of the nation was not independent to their existence in the future. He worked towards this throughout his life to achieve this goal. He founded the Hindu nationalist organization the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

4.3.1 Life and Works

Dr Hedgewar was born on 1st April 1889. While in Neel City High School in Nagpur, he was allegedly expelled for stridently singing the nationalist song Vande Matram and violating the conditions issued by the British government. However, he did not stop here, intending to participate in the freedom struggle, he went to Yeotmal for higher studies. After returning to Nagpur, he became an active member of the Indian National Congress. As a member, he participated in various movements and revolts and was imprisoned on several occasions.

Revolutionary preparations

During the First World War, all revolutionaries from across the country and abroad consented to utilize the opportunity of attacking the British who were involved in war with the Germans. Under the direction of Bhaoji Kavre and Dr Hedgewar, the revolutionaries began to collect arms and money throughout the country for the proposed revolution. Dr Hedgewar had once put on a military uniform and took away the British stock of guns stored at Nagpur Railway Station to distribute the same to Gadar activists spread across the country. He also made an attempt to transport arms sent by revolutionaries abroad through a steamer, to be received at the Goa Port in 1912, with the help of his trusted colleague, Vaman Rao Dharmadhikari. However, the British came to know of it and the shipment was seized before it could reach the terminus.

The Germans were defeated badly, which also had resulted in the annihilation of the plans of an Indian revolution within the country.

National movement

Dr Hedgewar stated that the indiscipline and disorganized coordination within revolutionary groups and the absence of political and national awareness in the common masses were the basic reasons for their failure in India. He realized that bravery and

Check Your Progress

1. What were the different occupations of Savarkar?
2. Which publication of Savarkar, dedicated to Indian rebellion of 1857, was banned by the British authorities?
3. Name some of Savarkar's works in the Marathi language.

NOTES

self-sacrifice of some daring and patriotic individuals will not lead to independence. Hence, he was attracted towards the national movement started by the Indian National Congress.

In his association with the Indian National Congress, he participated in the freedom struggle, especially the non-cooperation movement of 1921 and was imprisoned. He came out of jail on 12th of July 1922. His pure character, sacrificial and amiable nature, patriotism and devotion towards the noble cause of Indian freedom earned him lot of love from the leaders of nationalist movement in Central Province and he rose up to a higher rank in the Congress Party. This was the time when all extremist leaders were apprehended for the all-out support by Mahatma Gandhi to the Khilafat Movement in an attempt to exploit the discontent amongst the Indian Muslims. Dr Hedgewar felt it as a sort of appeasement of Muslim communalism and was sceptical that it would sow the seeds of separation in the long run and result in the country's disintegration.

Important incident

In 1920, the All India Congress Committee (AICC) meeting was moved under the presidential heading of Sri Vijayaraghavachari, with a resolution for cow protection. This resolution was opposed by Mahatma Gandhi in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity. Hedgewar, being an orthodox Hindu, became disillusioned due to this incident. The incident made him fear for the ruinous outcome of Hindu-Muslim unity and the supposed 'Muslim appeasement policy' of Gandhi and the Congress.

Foundation of RSS

Dr Hedgewar, for long, felt that a lack of unity and patriotism amongst Hindus was the reason for failures of various movements and that without establishing national consciousness, discipline, self-less service and self-realization, Hindus would be unable to attain freedom.

Subsequent to this realization, Hedgewar promised to remain bachelor throughout his life and decided to organize people under the banner of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh on Vijayadashami of 27 September 1925. He started the organization with a selected group of young boys who used to assemble in an open field every day for one hour. During an hour of daily meeting at this '*shakha*', the group used to be inculcated with patriotism, unity, discipline, love and respect for the country and selflessness through patriotic songs and stories of patriotic heroes.

On 7 April 1926, a *baithak* (meeting) was organized wherein 26 people participated and proposed three names:

1. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)
2. Jaripataka Mandal
3. Bharatoddharak Mandal

Out of these names, RSS was selected unanimously.

Bharat Mata as common deity

Hedgewar realized the necessity of having a common deity to be worshiped by every member of the shakha and also a common ideal. Consequently, he declared that regardless of caste, religion or language, everybody is the son of 'Bharatmata'. Henceforth, Bharatmata would be the common deity of India and would help them strive for all-round progress, national development and to take the nation to the pinnacle of glory. From that moment, the RSS incorporated this objective with their prarthana which starts with Namaste Sada Vatsale Matrubhume (Oh my beloved motherland, salutation to thee) and ends with Param Vaibhavamnetu Metat Swarasthram (Oh God, please give us strength and bless us to enable us to take our nation to the pinnacle of glory). The prayer concludes with unifying slogan 'Bharat Mata ki Jai'.

Idea behind starting the shakha

Hedgewar's idea behind starting shakhas was to inspire swayamsevaks, that is, the RSS members, to dedicate themselves to the noble and generous task of nation building. He proposed the swayamsevaks to attain higher education and move out at different places for the purpose and spread the work of RSS across the country.

4.3.2 Death

Hedgewar was ill for a long time. His condition worsened on 21 June 1940 and his doctors decided to go for lumber puncture. Before lumber puncture could be performed on him, he called Sri Guru Golwalkar and other important workers of the Sangh and expressed his last wish for Guru Golwalkar to take over the responsibilities of the Sarsanghchalak (head) of the sangh. He took his last breath on 21 June 1940.

4.4 MAIN IDEAS OF SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, commonly known as Sir Syed, was born on 17 of October 1817. He was a social activist and Muslim philosopher in India in the 19th century. Born into the Muslim nobility, Sir Syed was bestowed with the title of Javad-ud- Daulah by Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II in 1842.

During the Indian Revolution of 1857, he was accused of being loyal to the British. Subsequent to the Indian rebellion, he wrote *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind*, a daring critique of the policies of British, which he blamed was the reasons for the rebellion. He was a strong believer that the future of Muslims was at risk because of their conventional mind-set. As a result of this, he started encouraging the western style of scientific education by launching modern schools and journals e.g., the establishment of the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College (Aligarh Muslim University) in 1875. This university was established on the sole objective of advancing social and economic development of Indian Muslims.

4.4.1 Early Life and Works

He was born in Delhi, which was then the capital of the Mughal Empire and became an educator, politician, an Islamic reformer and modernist. He and his family had migrated first to Iran from Saudi Arabia and then to Afghanistan, at the time of Akbar.

His elder brother initiated the city's first printing press in the Urdu language, along with a journal called the *Sayyad-ul-Akbar*. He pursued with his studies of medicine for many years but could not complete them because of financial constraints that occurred after his father's death. He rejected employment in the Mughal court and accepted the editorship of his brother's journal.

Check Your Progress

4. Name the organization founded by Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar.
5. When did RSS get its name?

NOTES

Career

Social reforms within the Muslim society was started by Abdul Latif, who started the Mohammedan Literary Society in Bengal. Sir Syed founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College. He fought against ignorance, superstitions and evil customs prevailed in Muslim society and believed that they would not progress unless they acquired western education and science. Realizing the political decline of the Mughals, he got enrolled into the British East India Company's civil services where he was appointed as *Serestadar* in the court of law at Agra. He was promoted as a Munshi in 1840 and in 1858, was appointed to a high-ranking position in the courts of Muradabad.

Causes of the Indian Revolt

While working in the courts of the East India Company, Sir Syed obtained some close information pertaining to colonial politics which he accumulated and shared as the root cause of Indian revolution in his renowned booklet, *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind*, in 1859. He rejected the contribution of Muslim elites in the conspiracy, who feared the diminishing influence of the Muslims. On the contrary, he suggested the British Government appoint Muslims in the administration to assist the government.

Scholarly works

Sir Syed's career as an author began at the age of 23, while he was working as a jurist. He wrote around 6000 pages in Urdu. His contribution came out in a series of publication in Urdu on religious subjects. In 1842, his work brought him the recognition of a great scholar on religious and cultural subjects. His writings helped in creating cordial relations between the British and the Muslim community.

Syed Ahmad throughout his life, spared time for literary and scholarly pursuits, which had wide range and scope that included — history, politics, archaeology, journalism, literature, religion and science. Some of his works are as follows:

Legal Works

1. Act No. 10 (Stamp Act) 1862
2. Act No. 14 (Limitation) 1859-1864
3. Act No. 16 (Regarding registration documents) – Allyson, 1864
4. Act No. 18 (Worked for Women Rights) Act 1866

Religious Works

1. *Ahkam Tu'am Ahl-Kitab, Kanpur* – 1868
2. *Al-Du'a Wa'l Istajaba, Agra* – 1892
3. *Al-Nazar Fi Ba'z Masa'il Imam Al-Ghazzali, Agra*
4. *Izalat ul-chain as Zi'al Qarnain, Agra* – 1889
5. *Zila al-Qulub ba Zikr al-Mahbub Delhi*, 1843
6. *Khulq al-Insan ala ma fi al-Quran, Agra*, 1892
7. *Kimiya-i-Sa'dat, 2 fasl*, 1883
8. *Mazumm ba nisbat tanazzul ulum-i-diniya wa Arabiya wa falsafa-i-Yunaniya, Agra*, 1857
9. *Namiqa fi Bayan Mas'ala Tasawwur al-Shaikh*, Aligarh, 1883
10. *Rah-i-Sunnat dar rad-i-bid'at*, Aligarh, 1883
11. *Risala Ibtal-i-Ghulami*, Agra, 1893
12. *Fisala ho wal Mojud*, 1880
13. *Risala Tahqiq Lafzi-i-Nassara*, 1860
14. *Tabyin-ul-Kalam fi Tafsir-al-turat-wa'l Injil ala Mullat-al-Islam* (The Mohomedan Commentary on the holy Bible)
15. Tafsir-ul-Qura'n
    Vol. I Aligarh, 1880
    Vol. II Aligarh, 1882, Agra – 1903
    Vol. III Aligarh, 1885
    Vol. IV Aligarh, 1888
    Vol. V Aligarh, 1892
    Vol. VI Aligarh, 1895
    Vol. VII Aligarh, 1904
16. *Tafsir al-Jinn Wa'l Jan ala ma fi al-Qur'an,* Rahmani Press, Lahore, 1893, Agra, 1891
17. *Tafsir-a-Samawat*, Agra
18. *Tahir fi Usul al-Tafsir*, Agra, 1892
19. *Tarjama Fawa'id al-afkar fi amal al-farjar*, Delhi 1846
20. *Tarqim fi qisa ashab al-kahf wal-Raqim*, Agra, 1889
21. *Tasfiyad al'Aquid* (being the correspondent between Syed Ahmed Khan and Maulana Muhammad Qasim of Deoband)
22. *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind* (Reasons for the Indian Revolt of 1857) 1875

Historical Works

1. *A'in-e-Akbari* (Edition with Illustration), Delhi
2. *Asar-us-Sanadid* (i) Syed-ul-Akhbar, 1847, (II) Mata-i-Sultani, 1852
3. *Description des monument de Delhi in 1852*, D'a Pre Le Texte Hindostani De Saiyid Ahmad Khan (tr. By Garcin De Rassy), Paris, 1861
4. *Jam-i-jum*, Akbarabad, 1940
5. *Silsilat-ul-Muluk*, Ashraf ul Mataba', Delhi, 1852
6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Edition), Asiatic society, Calcutta, 1862
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (edition Aligarh, 1864)

Biographical Works

1. *Al-Khutbat al-Ahmadiya fi'l Arab wa'I Sirat al-Muhammadiya*: Aligarh, 1900, English translation, London – 1869-70
2. *Sirat-i-Faridiya*, Agra, 1896
3. *Tuhfa-i-Hasan*, Aligarh, 1883

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Political Works

1. *Asbab-i-Bhagwat-i-Hind*, Urdu 1858 and English edition, Banaras
2. *Lecture Indian National Congress Madras Par*, Kanpur, 1887
3. *Lectures on the Act XVI of 1864*, delivered on the 4th Dec, 1864 for the Scientific Society, Aligarh, 1864
4. *Musalmanon ki qismat ka faisla* (taqarir-e-Syed Ahmad Khan wa Syed Mehdi Ali Khan etc.) Agra, 1894
5. *On Hunter's: Our Indian Mussulmans'* London 1872
6. *Present State of Indian Politics* (Consisting of lectures and Speeches) Allahabad, 1888
7. Sarkashi Zilla Binjor, Agra 1858

Lectures

1. Iltimas be khidmat Sakinan-i-Hindustan dar bad tarraqi ta'lim ahl-i-Hind, Ghazipore, 1863
2. Lecture dar bab targhib wa tahris talim itfal-i-Musalmanan, in 1895, Agra 1896
3. Lecture Madrasaat ul-Ulum Aligarh Key Tarikhi halat aur jaded Waqi'at Par, Agra, 1889
4. Lecture Ijlas Dahum Muhammadan Educational conference, Agra, 1896
5. Lecture Muta'liq Ijlas Yazdahum Muhammadan Educational Conference, Agra, 1896
6. Majmu'a Resolution Hayd Dah sala (Resolution passed by the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational conference from 1886 to 1895) ed. By Sir Syed Ahmad, Agra 1896
7. Report Salana (Annual Report of the Boarding House of Madrasat-ul-Ulum 1879-1880)

4.4.2 Political Career

In 1878, Sir Syed was nominated for the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and in the same year, he laid the foundation of the Muhammadan Association to promote political cooperation within Muslims across the country. Later, in the year 1883, he instituted the Muhammadan Civil Service Fund Association to promote and facilitate the entrance of Muslim graduates in the Indian Civil Services.

All India Muslim League (AIML)

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan supported the organization of All India Muslim League and his educational propositions and political activism motivated elite Muslims to help AIML. The foundation of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference was originally laid in 1886 to promote western education, science and literature, in particular amongst Muslims in India.

4.4.3 Legacy

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the most powerful Muslim politician in India and was a renowned mentor of 19th and 20th century entrepreneurs and politicians of the Muslim

community. He spent the last 20 years of his life in Aligarh. He was also nominated for the membership of the Civil Service Commission in 1887, by Lord Dufferin and awarded with LL.D Honoris Causa from Edinburgh University.

The Aligarh Muslim University was one amongst the most recognized universities. Pakistan also honoured him by establishing Sir Syed University of Engineering and Technology in Karachi, a leading technical institute in the country. Sir Syed Government Girls College in Karachi was also named in his honour. Sir Syed died on 27th March 1898, and was buried besides Sir Syed Masjid, inside the campus of the University.

4.5 MAIN IDEAS OF MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a lawyer and politician who is known today as the founder of Pakistan. He was a member of the Indian National Congress, however, he split from it in the 1920s believing it to be a 'Hindu party' who could not protect Muslim interests in India. He later joined the Muslim League, becoming its main leader, and led the demand for the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. His split from the Congress came about as a result of the Nehru report and his own 14 point proposals.

Jinnah submitted a proposition of 14 points as a constitutional reform plan to protect the political rights of Muslims in independent India, wherein he tried to get more rights for Muslims. His proposals were in contrast with the Nehru report (1928) that was prepared by leading members of the Congress including Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose. By in large, the majority of the recommendations of the Nehru report were rejected by the Muslim League. Jinnah presented his 14 points which covered the interests of Muslims and stated that he was 'parting ways' with the Congress and expressed his inability to work with it in the future. Leaders of the Muslim league prompted him to revive the Muslim League and give it a direction. As a result of this, these points became their demand, ultimately paving way for the creation of Pakistan as a separate country.

Background

Muslim leaders, Aga Khan and Mohammad Shafi were critical about the Nehru Report claiming it to be a death warrant due to the manner in which some of its points were formulated. After Jinnah's return from England, in March 1929, the Muslim League organized a session under his presidential leadership. While addressing the members of the group, he amalgamated Muslim perspectives under 14 items which later became known as Jinnah's 14 points.

4.5.1 Fourteen Points

1. The form of the constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces
2. All cabinets at central or local level should have at least 1/3 Muslim representation
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality
4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one third

Check Your Progress

6. Which title did Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II bestow upon Sir Syed?
7. Name the university that was established by Sir Syed.
8. Why was the objective of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference?

5. Representation of communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present, provided it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate
6. Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority
7. Full religious freedom, i.e., freedom of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities
8. No bill or resolution or any part, thereof, shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose it as being injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases
9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan on equal footing as in the other provinces
11. Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the services of the state and in local self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency
12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institution and for their due share in the grants-in-aid, given by the state and by local self-governing bodies
13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers
14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the state's contribution of the Indian Federation

Reactions

Jinnah's fourteen points evoked mixed reactions throughout the nation. The Indian National Congress unanimously rejected Jinnah's suggestion, with Nehru referring to it as 'Jinnah's ridiculous 14 points'. The Muslim League brought these points to the notice of common masses of the Muslim community. The British, sensing an opportunity to divide the Indian freedom struggle on religious lines, invited Jinnah to attend the round table conferences (1930-1932) where Jinnah supposedly represented the 'Muslim' point of view.

Jinnah's fourteen points played a significant role in the Partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. In these points, he advocated the protection of Muslim rights, however, at the same time, contradictorily, he also suggested protection of the rights of all religious groups.

ACTIVITY

Select any one historical figure discussed in this unit. Write about the policies that you agree or disagree with and why.

DID YOU KNOW

The patriotic song *Saare Jahan Se Achcha*, was written by Muhammad Iqbal, who was a philosopher, poet and politician in British India.

4.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Communal politics in India refers to conducting politics for the benefit of one's religion, rather than the wider society.
- India has had a long history of communal politics. It was the British colonialists, following the policy of divide and rule, who first sowed the seeds of communal politics in India.
- Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was born in Bhagur, Nashik, in Maharashtra on 28 May 1883. Savarkar was a famous poet, writer and a playwright, who became an Indian revolutionary and politician.
- Savarkar coined the term 'Hindutva', which he emphasized as being distinctive from Hinduism.
- While in jail, Savarkar continued with his work explaining the concept of Hindutva.
- Savarkar was freed in 1921 under certain restrictions, and after signing a plea of clemency, in which he gave up revolutionist activities.
- Savarkar was arrested in 1948 charged with murder, conspiracy to murder and abetment to murder in Mahatma Gandhi's assassination.
- Dr Keshav Baliram Hedgewar was an individual devoted to the cause of the Hindu community. He believed that Hindus only were the sons of India, and the existence and future of the nation was not independent to their existence in the future.
- Dr Hedgewar, for long, felt that a lack of unity and patriotism amongst Hindus was the reason for failures of various movements and that without establishing national consciousness, discipline, self-less service and self-realization, Hindus would be unable to attain freedom.
- Subsequent to this realization, Hedgewar promised to remain bachelor throughout his life and decided to organize people under the banner of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh on Vijayadashami of 27 September 1925.
- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, commonly known as Sir Syed, was born on 17 of October 1817. He was a social activist and Muslim philosopher in India in the 19th century.
- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the most powerful Muslim politician in India and was a renowned mentor of 19th and 20th century entrepreneurs and politicians of the Muslim community.
- Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a lawyer and politician who is known today as the founder of Pakistan.
- Jinnah was a member of the Indian National Congress, however, he split from it in the 1920s believing it to be a 'Hindu party' who could not protect Muslim interests in India.

Check Your Progress

9. Why did Mohammad Ali Jinnah submit a proposal of 14 points?
10. How did Nehru react to Jinnah's fourteen point proposition?

NOTES

- Jinnah submitted a proposition of 14 points as a constitutional reform plan to protect the political rights of Muslims in independent India, wherein he tried to get more rights for Muslims.
- Jinnah's fourteen points evoked mixed reactions throughout the nation. The Indian National Congress unanimously rejected Jinnah's suggestion, with Nehru referring to it as 'Jinnah's ridiculous 14 points'.
- Jinnah's fourteen points played a significant role in the Partition of India and the creation of Pakistan.

4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Communalism:** It means loyalty and commitment to the interests of your own minority or ethnic group rather than to society as a whole.
- **Playwright:** A playwright is a person who writes plays.
- **Hindutva:** A political ideology that reinforces a strong or aggressive sense of Hindu identity and seeks the creation of a Hindu state, as opposed to a secular state.
- **Utilitarianism:** The doctrine that actions are right if they are useful or for the benefit of a majority.
- **Rationalism:** It is a belief or theory that opinions and actions should be based on reason and knowledge rather than on religious belief or emotional response.
- **Pragmatism:** It is an approach that assesses the truth of meaning of theories or beliefs in terms of the success of their practical application.

4.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Savarkar was a poet, writer and a playwright, who later became an Indian revolutionary and politician.
2. Savarkar's publications, *The Indian War of Independence*, which was dedicated to Indian rebellion of 1857, was banned by British authorities.
3. Savarkar has written more than ten thousand pages in Marathi language which include *Kamala and Mazi Janmathep* (My Life Sentence), *Saha Soneri Paane* (Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History), *1857 che Svatantrya Samar*, etc.
4. Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar founded the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).
5. On 7 April 1926, a baithak (meeting) was organized wherein 26 people participated and proposed three names:
   - Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)
   - Jaripataka Mandal
   - Bharatoddharak Mandal
   - Out of these names, RSS was selected unanimously.
6. Sir Syed was bestowed with the title of Javad-ud-Daulah by Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II in 1842.

7. Sir Syed established the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College (Aligarh Muslim University) in 1875.
8. The foundation of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference was originally laid in 1886 to spread western education, science and literature, in particular amongst Muslims in India.
9. Mohammad Ali Jinnah submitted a proposition of 14 points as a constitutional reform plan to protect the political rights of Muslims in independent India, wherein he tried to get more rights for Muslims.
10. Jawaharlal Nehru referred to Jinnah's fourteen point proposal as 'Jinnah's ridiculous 14 points'.

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the five elements of the philosophy of Hindutva?
2. Why was Savarkar arrested in Marseilles?
3. What was Hegdewar's role in the National Movement?
4. List the legal literary works of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.
5. Which is the most prominent part of the legacy of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the main ideas of Vinayaka Damodar Savarkar.
2. Discuss the beliefs of Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar in detail.
3. Discuss the role played by Sir Syed in the education of the Muslim community in India.
4. Describe the fourteen point proposal of Mohammad Ali Jinnah as well as the reaction to it.

4.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THOUGHTS IN INDIA

Structure

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5.0 INTRODUCTION

In India, the communist movement emerged from the freedom movement. The Communist Party of India was set up in Tashkent by migrant Indian revolutionaries. However, the seeds of its origins lay in the Indian subcontinent. The idea for the Indian Communist movement took root after the socialists in India heard about the October Revolution in Russia. From the very beginning, the colonial powers tried to ruthlessly curb the communists. The proofs of this are the conspiracy cases in Peshawar, Lahore and Kanpur. These were meant to nip in the bud communist ideas in India.

However, communism did not die out and left its mark on other reformers and reform movements. In fact, communism lay behind the emergence of radical trends inside the Congress after the First World War. A large number of young Indians were inspired by the anti-imperialist and fierce ideology of the communists and became militants, including the Gadar fighters of Punjab, the colleagues of Bhagat Singh, the revolutionaries of Bengal, the militant working class fighters of Bombay and Madras presidencies and radical anti-imperialist Congressmen from different parts of the country.

The communist movement played a great role in shaping the freedom movement. After Independence, it continued to have an influential role in Indian politics. This unit will look at the ideas of three important Indian communist thinkers, i.e., Shripad Amrit Dange, E.M.S. Namboodiripad and R.P Dutt.

Shripad Amrit Dange was the founder of the Communist Party of India (CPI) and a committed activist of the Indian trade union movement. Before independence, he played a great role in the freedom struggle and after Independence, became a leading opposition party politician. Elamkulam Manakkal Sankaran Namboodiripad, was a communist leader, a Socialist-Marxist logician, an activist, writer, historian, social analyst and the first chief minister of the state of Kerala. Namboodiripad led major land and academic transformations in Kerala that are now being replicated by

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other states of India. It was mainly due to his pledge and leadership that the Communist Party of India (Marxist), of which he was a principal policy-making member and general secretary for 14 years, had turned out to be such a dominant political force in India, playing an imperative role in India's new epoch of alliance politics. Ranjani Palme Dutt was the son of an Indian physician. He was one of the leading figures in the Communist Party of Great Britain from the 1920s to the 1960s. He was a loyal follower of Leninism and Stalinism and saw the British state as inclined towards fascism, proved by the British Empire.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the beliefs of S. A. Dange
- Discuss the life and works of E. M. S. Namboodiripad
- Describe the thoughts of R.P. Dutt

5.2 S.A. DANGE

Shripad Amrit Dange was the founder of the Communist Party of India (CPI) and a committed activist of the Indian Trade Union Movement. Under the British imperialists, Dange was placed under arrest communist and trade union activities and was imprisoned for a period of 13 years. After Independence, the Communist Party became the main opposition party to the Congress with Dange becoming the leader of opposition. In the 1960s, a sequence of happenings like the Sino-Soviet split and the Sino-Indian war in 1962 and the revelation that while in jail, Dange had written letters to the British Government, offering them collaboration, resulted in a split in the Communist Party of India in 1964. The separate Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) turned out to be even stronger in terms of both, strength and performance in the Indian elections.

Dange, who continued to be the chairman of the CPI till 1978, was removed from office that year because most of the party workers were against his politics of providing support to the Indian National Congress and Indira Gandhi. He was disqualified from the CPI in 1981. He joined the All India Communist Party (AICP), and later on, United Communist Party of India. By the end of his life, Dange had become side-lined in the Indian Communist movement. Nevertheless, Dange was an eminent writer and founder of the *Socialist*, the first socialist weekly in India. He also played an important role in the formation of Maharashtra state. Dange's contribution to Indian political thought is thus of great significance.

5.2.1 Early Life and Works

Dange was born on 10th October 1899 in a village called Karanjgaon in Niphad Taluka of Nashik in Maharashtra. He belonged to a wealthy landowning family. He went to Pune for his studies, but was expelled from the college for organizing a movement against the compulsory teaching of the *Bible*. When he took voluntary assignment in textile mill areas of Bombay (Mumbai), he had a first-hand experience of the working conditions of the workers. His active involvement in politics took place when he participated in the nationalist movement against British rule. He was deeply inspired by Bal Gangadhar Tilak who was a veteran leader of Indian National Congress from

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Maharashtra. Dange discontinued his education and joined the Non-cooperation Movement in 1920 led by Mahatma Gandhi. The Russian Revolution of 1917 acted as a catalyst and fuelled his interest in Marxism.

Gandhi vs Lenin

Dange published a pamphlet under the title of *Gandhi vs Lenin*, bringing out a comparison between the approaches of Mahatma Gandhi with that of Lenin. In this work, Lenin, emerged the better amongst the two. His work proved to be a landmark. The prominent Marxist leader M. N. Roy read the article and came down to Bombay to meet him. An entrepreneur owning a flour mill in Bombay, Ranchoddas Bhavan Lotvala also read the content and was overwhelmed by it. Lotvala sponsored his studies for many years and they jointly built up a library of Marxist Literature and published renditions of classics. In 1922, they came out with an English weekly known as the Socialist.

Influence of Bolshevik Revolution

The second decade of the 20th century witnessed an economic crisis known as the Great Depression. Britain, in particular, witnessed industrial strikes. In India too, the workers movement started gaining steady momentum in this period. There was a great influence of Bolshevik ideas, subsequent to the Russian Revolution in 1917, evident from the political events in many countries outside Russia.

Meeting with M.N. Roy

The ex-member of *Anushilan Samiti* M. N. Roy visited Moscow in April, 1920. The Anushilan Samiti, early in the 20th century, was supposedly the most significant secret revolutionary organization operating in East Bengal. The Lenin Government in Russia expressed interest in Roy and urged him to form an Indian Communist Party. Roy and other Indian emigrants formed a party known as the Communist Party of India on 17th October, 1920 in Tashkent. Upon his return to India, Roy read the article *Gandhi vs Lenin* and went to meet Dange. Dange in those days was associated with Lotvala and both were interested to spread Marxist philosophy in India. Dange, by that time, had already attained popularity as an important Indian Marxist.

5.2.2 Foundation of the Communist Party of India

The British colonial government viewed the communist movement in India as a threat. In the 1920s, they imposed conspiracy cases against people who they suspected were involved in the communist movement.

In December 1925, different communist groups jointly organized a meeting in Kanpur under the chairmanship of Singaravelu Chettiar and Dange; Muzaffar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta and Shaukat Usmani were the other organizers. The meeting came out with a resolution to form a Communist Party of India with its headquarters in Mumbai and also opt for a more open and non-federated platform under the name of Workers and Peasants Party (WPP).

Initial years of the labour movement in India

N. M. Joshi, who was a philanthropist, had sympathy with the working class and therefore formed the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) along with Lala Lajpat Rai. Dange, writing about the AITUC founding session, stated that initially, the AITUC did not have cohesive thoughts about the direction of the trade union movement amongst its members, but it was sympathetic to the Indian National Congress.

In Bombay, in the year 1923, workers came together and formed the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal. This group entered into a long textile strike in 1924. This Mahamandal, along with its activists, were brought by Dange under the umbrella of the Communist party. Later, the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal split. The communists formed their own union, known as the Girni Kamgar Union, at the time of general strike in 1928, under the leadership of Dange as general secretary. Dange, along with his associates, Muzaffar Ahmed and Shaukat Usmani, were arrested by the British because of their active involvement in the strikes.

The CPI and the Independence Movement

The viewpoint of the international communist organization, known as the Comintern (Communist International), deeply influenced the responses of Communist Party of India to the freedom movement. The policies of the Comintern were directed by Joseph Stalin, who in turn, was mostly concerned about Russian geo-political interests. Consequently, the CPI had to oppose popular nationalist sentiments on many occasions, which led to its popular base being battered.

Until 1934, the CPI regarded the Indian National Congress' movement against British rule as a bourgeois reactionary movement. It carried out its own subversive activities against the British. CPI declared its support to the Congress only in 1938 after the Comintern assumed Georgi Dimitrov's thesis of popular front against imperialist oppression. Communist leaders like Dinkar Mehta, Sajjad Zaheer, E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Soli Batliwala took up membership of the national executive of the Congress Socialists Party. The CPI, in 1939, was banned by the British for its initial anti-War or inactive stance against Adolf Hitler and his policies. However, when Hitler attacked Poland, the CPI declared the Second World War was an 'Imperialist War'. Later, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, they termed it as 'People's War'. The Communist Party of India was legally recognized by the British colonial government when the Soviet Union sided with Great Britain in the war.

CPI on the eve of Independence

CPI was not in a political dominant situation when the British Government decided to surrender power to Indians for two reasons:

i. Their dissociation with the Quit India Movement resulted in them losing public support

ii. The CPI portrayed the Congress as a bourgeois party despite its mass base and support

The CPI also lost its international image during Second World War. As a result, it fell into confusion and looked for advice. P. C. Joshi arranged Dange's visit and meeting with Soviet leaders Andrei Zhdanov and Mikhail Suslov, on the day India got freedom, i.e., 15th August 1947.

Internal strife within CPI in the 1950s

Since Independence, the party relentlessly argued over the issue of support to the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Jawahar Lal Nehru. P. C. Joshi, the then general secretary of the party, was in favour of the support, but was disregarded and cornered by radicals who claimed 'Ye Azaadi Jhooti Hai'. Joshi, who favoured collaboration with the Congress was side-lined and B.T Ranadive became the new general secretary on 28 February 1948, in Calcutta (now Kolkata).

Stalin's intervention

In the beginning of 1950, members of the CPI were at odds over the issue of 'How to acquire political power in India'. The radical group promoted the 'Chinese Path' to capture power through violence, while Dange's group demanded the acceptance of the 'Indian path', i.e., to adopt a moderate path to capture power within the limits of the Indian Constitution. The debate resulted in an open fight between C. Rajeshwara Rao belonging to the 'Chinese Path' and Ajoy Ghosh belonging to the 'Indian Path' Both of them established their own centres. Subsequently, the CPI was on the verge of a split. On 30 May 1950, Soviet Communists leaders mediated and invited both the leaders to Russia for discussions with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1951. As a result of the discussion, the CPI decided to follow the Indian path to achieving political power.

5.2.3 Formation of Maharashtra

Post-independence, most of the princely states merged into the Indian Union. Some of the Deccan States, including Kolhapur, merged into the Bombay state that was created from the former Bombay Presidency in 1950. The States Re-organization Committee was appointed by the Government of India to establish states based on linguistic lines. This committee suggested the formation of Bombay as the bi-lingual state for Maharashtra and Gujarat, making Bombay the capital. Bombay state, though created on November 1, 1956, raised political conflict in both the areas. The CPI advocated the creating of a state of Maharasthra.

In the all-party meeting of political parties in Pune under the leadership of Keshavrao Jedhe, a joint Maharashtra Council (Samykta Maharashtra Samiti) was formed. Dange, who had been elected to the 2nd Lok Sabha in 1957 from Bombay City (Central), along with S. M. Joshi, N. G Gore and P. K. Atre struggled for Samyukta Maharashtra. Their movement resulted into the birth of the Marathi dominant state of Maharashtra.

5.2.4 Birth of CPI(M)

The CPI split in October 1964 when the left faction of the CPI openly since challenged the preparation of a party programme. The conflict erupted on 11th April 1964 when 30 members from the left faction and two centrist leaders, Namboodiripad and Jyoti Basu, walked out of the National Council Meeting of the CPI and submitted an appeal to all Indian communists to renounce Dange's leadership. The National Council suspended these 32 leaders from their membership of the CPI.

The ousted leaders decided to form a separate party in the Tenali convention and resolved to hold a party congress of the left faction of the CPI at Calcutta. Consequently, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was formed in Calcutta and adopted its own political programme under the leadership of P. Sundarayya, who was elected as the general secretary of the CPI (M).

Later on, the Communist Party of India began to strongly oppose the Congress and collaborated for the purpose with the CPI (M), but soon their difference resurfaced and they once again parted their ways. Since 1970 onwards, the Communist Party of India along started supporting Congress again and Dange played a major role in this amalgamation. However, Dange's support of the emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi disillusioned supporters of the party. Dange was later sidelined and expelled from the CPI. After his expulsion, Dange and his wife Ushatai formed the All India Communist

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Party. It did not get much reclaim and merged into the United Communist Party of India. On 22 May 1991, Dange died in a Bombay Hospital at the age of 92.

5.3 E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

Elamkulam Manakkal Sankaran Namboodiripad was born on 13 June 1909. Popularly known as E.M.S, he was elected as the first chief minister of Kerala. He was the first Indian politician not belonging to the Congress party to be elected into office in post-Independence India and also was the leader of the first democratically elected communist government anywhere in the world. He initiated revolutionary land and educational reforms in Kerala that had far reaching impact on the society in the state.

Personal Life

E.M.S was born in Peritalmanna taluk of the Malappuram district, into an upper caste Brahmin family. In the early years, he was associated with many leaders and fought with them against casteism and conservatism that existed in the Namboothiri community. During his college days, he was deeply associated with the Indian National Congress and the Indian independence movement. He wrote several books and was the author of several literary works and history of Kerala.

Socialism

He was one of the founder leaders of the Congress Socialist Party, an organization within the Indian National Congress, and was elected as its All India Joint Secretary from the year 1934- 1940. In the year 1939, he was also elected for the Madras Legislative Assembly. E.M.S was always committed to his passion of the socialist ideal and worked towards the economic upliftment of the unfortunate working class population. These inclinations within him made him join the ranks of the Indian communist movement. During the Sino-India war in the year 1962, he was among the leaders who aired China's view on the border issue. Before becoming the general secretary in 1977, E.M.S served as a member of the central committee and the politburo of the CPI(M). He held the post of general secretary of the CPI(M) until 1992. He died in 1998.

Election to state government

During his political career, EMS was defeated only once in public elections when he lost to K.P. Kuttikrishnan Nair of the Indian National Congress. EMS led the communists to victory in the first election for the state government in 1957, making him the first communist leader in the world to come to power in a democratic manner. EMS was appointed as the first chief minister of Kerala on 5th April 1957. As he took charge, his government introduced the land reform ordinance and the education bill; two bills that changed the course of the state. The Central government under Nehru controversially dismissed EMS's government in 1959, allegedly under pressure from the United States.

EMS again became the chief minister of Kerala in the year 1967, as a leader of a seven party coalition that included the Muslim League. As chief minister, EMS established a factory which was Asia's first mechanized coir factory named as Floorco in Pozhikkara, Paravur.

EMS was a leader of the opposition in the Kerala legislative assembly twice for the years 1960-1964 and 1970-1977. He influenced society in Kerala through his vision on decentralization of power and people's planning. He also started the Kerala literacy

Check Your Progress

1. Who laid the foundation of the Communist Party of India (CPI)?
2. When and where was Dange born?
3. In which pamphlet did Dange compare Gandhi and Lenin?

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movement. He also wrote many books and was the author of several literary works in Malayalam. Kerala published all his books under the title *EMS Sanchika*. He was a well-known journalist as well.

In his personal life, EMS was married to Arya Antharjanam and had two sons and two daughters. He died at the age of 79 on 19 March 1998.

5.4 R.P. DUTT

Rajani Palme Dutt was born on 19 June 1896 in Cambridge, England. He was a leading journalist and theoretician in the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). His father Upendra Dutt was an Indian surgeon, and his mother Anna Palme Dutt, was Swedish and the great aunt of the future prime minister of Sweden Olof Palme. Dutt completed his education at the Perse School, Cambridge, and Balliol College, Oxford, where he obtained a first class degree in classics. Dutt married an Estonian, Salme Murrik, the sister of Finnish writer Hella Wuolijoki in 1922. His wife came to Great Britain in 1920 as a representative of the communist international.

Political Career

In 1919, Dutt joined the Labour Research Department, a left wing statistical bureau. In the following year, he joined the newly formed Communist Party of Great Britain and in 1921 founded a monthly magazine called *Labour Monthly*, which he edited until his death. In 1922, Dutt was named as editor of the CPGB's weekly newspaper, *The Workers Weekly*. He acted as a co-ordinator between the Communist Party of India and the Communist International. From 1923 until 1965, he was a member of the executive committee of the CPGB and was the party's chief theorist for many years. In 1923, Dutt first visited Soviet Russia where he attended deliberations of the executive committee of the Communist International.

In 1924, he was elected as an alternate to the ECCI presidium. In 1925, due to some illness, he was forced to step down as editor of the *Workers Weekly*. Dutt spent several years in Belgium and Sweden as a representative of the Comintern.

Dutt advocated Stalin's line of communism. In 1939, when Harry Pollitt, the general secretary of CPGB supported United Kingdom's entry into the Second World War, Dutt supported Stalin, forcing Pollit to resign temporarily. After Stalin's death, Dutt's reaction to Khrushchev's secret speech attacking Stalin downplayed its significance.

According to historian Geoff Andrews, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was still paying the CPGB around 15,000 pounds a year 'for pensions' into the seventies, recipients of which 'included Rajani Palme Dutt'.

R.P Dutt and the Indian freedom struggle

RP Dutt did not believe in Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence. Though he was critical of Gandhi's ideology, he acknowledged Gandhi's contribution to the India's national movement. According to Dutt, swaraj or liberation signifies economic liberation which would bring about a classless society. Dutt emphasized the need to focus more on peasants and workers. He believed that independence was not simply freedom from foreign domination, but the end of class divisions and exploitations. He was critical of western form of parliamentary democracy for it was a 'mockery of popular representation and whose so called liberties are an obvious sham.' Dutt was of the

opinion that the Indian struggle for independence should be a struggle of the working class against the political and economic exploitation of the British capitalists and the Indian bourgeoisie, who had entered into an alliance with the former. Hence, he considered it to be a 'dangerous delusion' to think of the capitalist development in India as a national development. He believed that India's struggle for independence should be the struggle for 'social liberation.'

Through the journal, *Labour Monthly*, Dutt continuously raised the demands of the workers and peasants in India and also supported India's demand for independence. In India, R.P. Dutt functioned as a correspondent of *The Daily Worker* and conducted interviews with the leadership of the Congress Party.

Some important books written by him were—*Modern India* in 1926, *Fascism and Social Revolution* in 1934, *India Today* in 1940, *World Politics 1918-35*, *Crises of Britain and British Empire* in 1949, *The Problems of Contemporary History* in 1963 and the *Internationale* in 1964. In the book, *Modern India*, he explained the tactics and methods that the Indian Communists should adopt to achieve his ideal of swaraj.

ACTIVITY

Talk to people in your neighbourhood or society and find out how many have communist preferences and why.

DID YOU KNOW

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) was in power continuously from the year 1977 to 2011. It has also been in power intermittently in the state of Kerala and Tripura.

5.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learned that:

- In India, the Communist movement emerged from the freedom movement.
- From the very beginning, the colonial powers tried to ruthlessly curb the communists. The proofs of this are the conspiracy cases in Peshawar, Lahore and Kanpur. These were meant to nip in the bud communist ideas in India. However, communism did not die out and left its mark on other reformers and reform movements.
- The communist movement played a great role in shaping the freedom movement. After independence, it continued to have an influential role in Indian politics.
- Shripad Amrit Dange was the founder of the Communist Party of India (CPI). Under the British imperialists, Dange was placed under arrest communist and trade union activities and was imprisoned for a period of 13 years.
- Dange published a pamphlet under the title of *Gandhi vs Lenin*, bringing out a comparison between the approaches of Mahatma Gandhi with that of Lenin.
- The viewpoint of the international communist organization, known as the Comintern (Communist International), deeply influenced the responses of Communist Party of India to the freedom movement.

Check Your Progress

4. Who became the leader of the first democratically elected communist government in India?
5. When was Namboodiripad elected for the Madras Legislative Assembly?
6. When was EMS elected as the first chief minister of Kerala?
7. When and where was Rajani Palme Dutt born?
8. Which monthly magazine did Dutt edit from 1921?

- Elamkulam Manakkal Sankaran Namboodiripad was born on 13 June 1909. Popularly known as E.M.S, he was elected as the first chief minister of Kerala.
- E.M.S. was the first Indian politician not belonging to the Congress party to be elected into office in post-Independence India and also was the leader of the first democratically elected communist government anywhere in the world.
- Rajani Palme Dutt, best known as R. Palme Dutt, was a leading journalist and theoretician in the Communist Party of Great Britain.

5.6 KEY TERMS

- **Trade union movement:** An organized attempt by workers to improve their status by united action (particularly via labour unions) or the leaders of this movement.
- **Socialism:** It is an economic system based on the state ownership of capital.
- **Leninism:** A political theory that advocates the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by a revolutionary vanguard party.
- **Stalinism:** The ideology and policies adopted by Stalin, based on centralization, totalitarianism, and the pursuit of communism.

5.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Shripad Amrit Dange was the founder of the Communist Party of India (CPI).
2. Dange was born on 10th October 1899 in a village called Karanjgaon in Niphad Taluka of Nashik in Maharashtra.
3. Dange published a pamphlet under the title of *Gandhi vs Lenin*, depicting a comparison between the approaches of Mahatma Gandhi with that of Lenin.
4. Elamkulam Manakkal Sankaran Namboodiripad became the leader of the first democratically elected communist government in India.
5. E.M.S was elected for the Madras Legislative Assembly in the year 1939.
6. E.M.S was appointed as the first chief minister of Kerala on 5th April 1957.
7. Rajani Palme Dutt was born in 1896 on Mill Road in Cambridge, England.
8. In 1921, Dutt founded a monthly magazine called *Labour Monthly*, which he edited until his death.

5.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the factors that influenced the early life and works of S. A. Dange?
2. How did Dange compare Gandhi with Lenin?
3. How was the Communist Party of India founded?
4. What were Namboodiripad's socialist ideals?
5. What were the activities of R. P. Dutt from 1923 till 1925?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the beliefs of S. A. Dange.
2. Discuss the life and works of E. M. S. Namboodiripad.
3. Describe the views of R.P Dutt on Indian independence.

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UNIT 6 SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

Structure

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6.1 Unit Objectives
6.2 Socio-religious Reform Movements in British India
- 6.2.1 Characteristics of Social Movements
- 6.2.2 Causes
- 6.2.3 Types
- 6.2.4 Social Reform Movements
- 6.2.5 Religious Movements
- 6.2.6 Backward Classes and Dalit Movements
- 6.2.7 Agrarian and Peasant Movements

6.3 Economic Critique of British Colonialism
6.4 Early Constitutional Reforms—Indian Council Acts of 1861, 1892, 1909
6.5 Summary
6.6 Key Terms
6.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.8 Questions and Exercises
6.9 Further Reading

6.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the ideas of some Indian communist thinkers. In this unit, we will discuss the social, economic and political impact of British rule in India.

British rule in India effectively began in 1757 after the Battle of Plassey; it ended in 1947 with India becoming an independent country. These 190 or so years witnessed the most dramatic changes in Indian society, in the economic, social, as well as the political sphere. The unit will begin with a discussion on the social movements that occurred during British rule.

A 'social movement' represents a social phenomenon that assumes great importance in the study of not only collective behaviour, but also of social change. Sociologists study with great interest the role of social movements not only in bringing about changes in society, but also in resisting them. Asocial movement is, in fact, a generator of social change. Social movements have played an important role in human history by throwing light on the dynamic aspect of the human society and human behaviour. Members of society are not always content to be the passive playthings of social forces. They attempt to influence the course of human events by collective action. However, this does not mean that all social movements become successful in achieving their objectives. Social movements represent a powerful instrument of social change. Some movements have brought about many social changes. They may last for years or even decades. Various social movements have been taking place in most of the societies of the modern world. India is no exception.

After discussing the social movements during British rule, the unit will go on to discuss the devastating economic impact of British colonialism on the Indian economy. According to Oxford historian Angus Maddison, during British rule, India's share of the world's gross domestic product declined from 25 per cent to less than 1 per cent. The unit discusses the reasons for India's economic decline during colonialism. The unit will conclude with a discussion on the different constitutional reforms brought in by the British.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the major social reform movements in India
- Explain the significance of backward class and Dalit movements in India
- Discuss the important phases of peasant movements in India
- Discuss the view of various economists about British colonialism in India
- Discuss early constitutional reforms under British rule

6.2 SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS IN BRITISH INDIA

According to Rudolf Herberle, 'A social movement is a collective effort to transform established relations within a particular society.' Turner and Killian opined that, 'a social movement is a collectively act with some continuity to promote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part'. Neil J. Smelser argues that social movement is 'an organized group effort to generate or resist social change'.

6.2.1 Characteristics of Social Movements

The following are the main characteristics of a social movement:

1. **Collective action:** This kind of activity is called a movement only when it sustains for a considerable period of time. It may or may not be a formal organization, but even if it is informal in nature, it should be relevant to a large number of people and arouse widespread interest, in a considerable number of people.
2. **Oriented towards social change:** This type of movement could be complete or partial. While it is usually directed at changing the very values and ideologies of an existing system, it is always faced with opposition from strong forces that want to maintain the status quo. The forces that oppose such movements are usually made by the established system itself, which resists change. The countering movement tends to be defensive, rather than innovative or pro-change.
3. **Ideology behind the movement:** The ideology of a movement is what distinguishes it from the existing collective mind-set. Therefore, the ideology is a significant part of any movement. For example, in any kind of student strike, there is collective mobilization that is aimed at change. However, if there is no underlying ideology, the student strike is just one event, rather than a movement. However, if there is an underlying ideology behind the student strike, it may last longer and take the shape of a movement.
4. **Organizational framework:** For a social movement to be successful or at least to continue, it should be supported by a certain level of organizational framework. The purposes of the framework are that it helps create a hierarchy among leaders and followers, it specifies the objectives of the movement and it helps finalize the strategy that the movement will follow.
5. **Techniques and results:** The methods of a social movement distinguish it from the rest— it may be peaceful or violent, compulsive or persuasive, democratic or undemocratic.

In a nutshell, the following features of the social movement are noted:

- It is an effort by a group.
- Its aim is to bring or resist a change in society.
- It may be organized or unorganized.
- It may be peaceful or violent.
- Its life is not certain; it may continue for a long period or it may die out soon.

6.2.2 Causes

Social movements do not just happen. It is social unrest that gives rise to a social movement. The social unrest may be caused by the following factors:

1. **Cultural drifts:** The society is undergoing constant changes. The values and behaviour are changing in all civilized societies. In the course of cultural drift, most of the people develop new ideas. To get these ideas operative in society, they organize a movement. The development of a democratic society, the emancipation of women, the spread of mass education, removal of untouchability, equality of opportunity for both the sexes, growth of secularism are the examples of cultural drift.
2. **Social disorganization:** A changing society is to some extent disorganized because changes in different parts of society do not take place simultaneously. One part changes more rapidly than the other, producing numerous lags. Industrialization has brought urbanization, which has in its turn led to many social problems. Social disorganization brings confusion and uncertainty because the old traditions no longer form a dependable guide to behaviour. The individuals become rootless. They feel isolated from the society. A feeling develops that the community leaders are indifferent to their needs. The individuals feel insecure, confused and frustrated. Confusion and frustration produce social movements.
3. **Social injustice:** When a group of people feel that injustice has been done to them, they become frustrated and alienated. Such feeling of injustice provides fertile soil for social movements. The feeling of social injustice is not limited to the poor. Any group, at any status level, may come to feel itself the victim of social injustice. A wealthy class may feel a sense of injustice when faced with an urban property ceiling act or high taxes intended to benefit the poor. Social injustice is a subjective value judgment. A social system is unjust when it is so perceived by its members.

Thus, social movements arise wherever social conditions are favourable. It may be noted that in a stable and well-integrated society, there are few social movements. In such a society, there are very few social tensions or alienated groups. The people are contented. But in a changing and continuously disorganized society, the people suffer

from tensions. They are not fully contented. In such a society, they perceive social injustice and become dissatisfied. It is dissatisfied people who build social movements. The modern society is more afflicted by social movements.

The people who are more susceptible to social movements are those who are:

(i) Mobile and have little chance to become integrated into the life of the community

(ii) Not fully accepted and integrated into the group i.e., are marginal

(iii) Isolated from the community

(iv) Threatened by economic insecurity and loss of social status

(v) Free from family responsibilities or are estranged from their families

(vi) Maladjusted

Sequence pattern of social movement can be summed up as follows:

(i) There is unrest and discontent in some part of the population. A small group of individuals become conscious of the need for a change, voice their feelings and opinions, and set out to influence the opinions and emotions of others and prepare them for a reform.

(ii) There is a period of growth in a preliminary organization, and the programme is restated in more popular and appealing terms.

(iii) A more systematic effort to gain supporters. There is a formal campaign.

(iv) Backed by the enlarged following and increased propaganda, the leaders eventually exert pressure on those in authority. The programme is either accepted or rejected, or partly accepted and partly rejected. If accepted, necessary institutional changes are made; if rejected, the movement either collapses or reorganizes for a new trial of strength at a later date.

Thus, most completed movements pass through the four stages of unrest, excitement, formalization and institutionalization.

6.2.3 Types

Sociologists have categorized social movements into the following types based on their aims:

1. **Reform movements:** Such movements do not aim to change the existing social order, but do want some particular aspects to be eliminated. The reformers want to change some elements of the existing system. Some examples of the reform movements include the Civil Rights Movement, Women's Liberation Movement, the Arya Samaj Movement, Brahmo Samaj Movement and so on.
2. **Revolutionary movements:** These movements do not believe in the existing system and want to change it from its very roots. They call for radical changes in the system. Their aim is basically to reorganize society as per the ideology they believe in. These movements are usually not violent, but sometimes may resort to violence in desperation. A few examples of revolutionary movements include the Protestant Reformation Movement, the Socialist Movement, the Communist Revolution of Russia and China, and the Indian National Freedom Movement.
3. **Reactionary/revivalist movements:** The objective of these movements is to bring back an older ideology. The reformers believe that the changes that have come about are not right and try to reverse them. They try to bring out the value of traditional lifestyles, ideologies and institutional arrangements. Some examples include the Catholic Counter Reformation, the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, the Sarvodaya Movement, and Khadi and Gramodyog Movement of Gandhi.
4. **Resistance movements:** Such movements aim to fight back against a change which is being implemented in society. For instance, traditional Indians find the changes brought about by the Western influence to be disturbing and unwanted. Various modern resistance movements express their apprehension at the path down which the youth of India is going. Some examples include anti-abortion movements, anti- Hindi movement, anti-reservation movement, and the movement towards economic liberalization.
5. **Utopian movements:** Such movements aim at bringing a certain section of the society or collection of people to the Utopian ideal. The reformers envision a blissful state radically different from the existing order of things. Such movements usually aim to start at a small scale and then absorb larger sections of the society as they go along. While the Utopian ideal is not defined accurately anywhere, the movements aiming for Utopia usually have set agendas for social change.

6.2.4 Social Reform Movements

During the 18th century, and afterwards, a great change swept across India. The Hindu mind that had been moulded for centuries by a fixed set of religious ideas and social conventions, was exposed to new ideas and new ways of thinking. It was the result of the Western impact on India. As a result of that impact, the rigid rituals in religion and traditional beliefs started losing their influence on the masses. Western contact opened the Hindu mind to the social evils and set in motion a social reform of its time honoured institutions in the new light. Several traditional beliefs and practices dysfunctional to society were discarded and many new customs, practices, institutions and values were adopted.

Indians who came under the influence of the new values and practices became aware of many of the existing social evils like child marriage, taboos against widow remarriage and inter-caste marriage, inter-caste dining, seclusion of women, untouchability, and so on. This awareness led to a revolt against tradition and that was the first step towards reforms in social, religious and political spheres of life. This awareness led to the launching of a series of social reform movements right from Raja Rammohan Roy down to Mahatma Gandhi. Raja Rammohan Roy's Brahmo Samaj, Swami Dayanand Saraswati's Arya Samaj, Swami Vivekananda's Sri Ramakrishna Mission, Annie Besant's Theosophical Society, Gandhi's Sarvodaya Movement and crusade against Untouchability, and many other movements, not only served to eradicate some of the social evils but also to enlighten people regarding modern values.

Brahmo Samaj

Rammohan Roy was the first to draw the consciousness of the Indian people to the social ills prevalent in Indian society and bring them towards modernity. His ideas impacted every important domain of collective life including politics, society, religion, education, literature, language, and so on.

Roy was essentially a religious leader. He accepted religion as the basis of society, but it was free from the fetters of orthodoxy. He had assimilated the spirit of nationalism and was consonant with the spirit of modern times. His religious outlook was shaped, on the one hand, by the comparative study of various religions like Hinduism, Buddhism,

Islam and Christianity; and by a creative perception of the scientific achievements of the West, on the other.

Roy was convinced that in point of vices, the Hindus were not worse than the generality of Christians in Europe and America. More than this, he found that Hinduism had a hard, solid core in the intellectual concept of Brahman, the one absolute godhead, which could be sustained rationally, and to whom adoration could be made and devotion paid without taking recourse to any irrational faith or myth or apocryphal legend or meaningless religious rites and observances. He also thought that here was a concept that agreed with the fundamental concepts of both Islam and Christianity, and which could, therefore, form the basis of his vision of a universal religion.

Indeed, it was this vision or dream that seems to have led him to the establishment of the Brahma Sabha where he introduced a faith and a mode of worship which sought to integrate the fundamentals of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity and quite a few of the practices of all the three major religions of India. Rammohan perceived that there was a constant struggle between reason, scriptures and common sense, on the one hand, and wealth, power and prejudices on the other. But he was certain that the first three forces would be successful. Roy was for the promotion of universal religion. Roy thought that such a religion would destroy the differences and dislikes between man and man, and would help bring in peace and the union of mankind. He was also of the firm opinion that the original scriptures of all the religions are revelations of the Universal Reason, they are not the arbitrary products of priest-craft.

Roy's religious liberalism was a splendid exercise in rationalizing and humanizing religion. Simultaneously, it was a staunch criticism of the existing state of affairs in the realm of religion where ignorance, dogmatism, hypocrisy and priest-craft prevailed. As society and religion are so closely interrelated, change in society may necessitate a change in the religious principles. Roy held that the motivation or the criteria for such a change should be the political advantage or the social comfort of the people.

Keeping this in view, Roy forcefully asserted that the religious and the social customs of the Hindus like idolatry, subjection of women, the practice of Sati, polygamy, caste and other customs destroyed the texture of Hindu society. Roy argued that the unnatural distinctions of caste and its subdivisions deprived the people of patriotic feelings. The multitude of religious rites and sacrifices, ceremonies and laws of purification totally disqualified the Hindus from undertaking any difficult enterprise. He arrived at the conclusion that corrupted religion produced a degraded society. It protected and perpetuated inhuman and soul-killing customs and practices. Both Hindu religion and Hindu social structure were in need of reform. Any religious reform was bound to lead to social reform since society and religion are inseparable. Roy launched a movement against Sati, polygamy, unnatural divisions of caste and for widow remarriage a movement comprehensive in its scope and remarkable in its influence.

One of Roy's unique contribution to the Hinduism was to give it back — its own essence and make it stand on its fundamental truth, viz., the Upanishads as the one and only object of devotion and adoration. This essentially intellectual concept of Godhead had become obscured by layer upon layer of false, irrelevant and irrational ideas, myths and legends which had led to the worship of countless number of gods and goddesses in their anthropomorphic and other forms, complex rites and rituals of doubtful significance and meaningless, sometime inhuman, practices and observances.

In India, he was, thus, the pioneer in introducing into the intellectual life of the land, modern attitudes and tools and techniques in regard to the study and understanding

of religion. Rammohan vehemently opposed the practice of Sati. But he was somewhat and somehow reluctant to have the practice abolished by and through legislation enacted by a foreign colonial political authority. His method was to have Sati wiped out through educating and rousing public opinion against the practice. He wrote and argued ceaselessly towards that objective. He knew that legislation by a foreign authority would drive the practice underground, which it actually did, in Bengal as elsewhere, for quite some time. But if a strong, knowledgeable public opinion could be created against the practice, for which the time was ripe, it could be wiped out altogether.

A significant reform measure that Rammohan was interested in and pleaded for, was the right to property for Hindu women, an item of activity in his life that had not received the attention it deserved at the hands of scholars and intellectuals. He was the first to draw the attention of his countrymen in this regard, but it was not until Independence that any attention was paid to this pitiable and helpless situation of Hindu women.

In 1828, Rammohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj, a theistic society opposed to polytheism, mythology and idolatry. This was the first influential religious movement in India. Throughout its long history, the Brahmo Samaj has remained rigorously theistic and opposed to idolatry and has always advocated progressive social reform. In the beginning, Brahmo Samaj was neither a well-established organization nor had any regular membership. It was a weekly gathering, where people met to pray and worship in a bid to revive the ancient character of the Hindu religion.

Rammohan called upon his countrymen to discard idolatry and to come to the worship of one true God. He did not believe in transmigration of souls and the incarnation of God appearing on earth. Rammohan questioned the religious sanction for the practice of Sati. He opposed child marriage, stood for the remarriage of widows, and for the equal rights of man and woman. While championing these causes, he maintained that neither Hindu religion nor the ancient history of the country justified the continuation of these social evils. Rammohan also opposed the system of hereditary priesthood. He considered the caste system as undemocratic, inhuman and anti-national. Under his guidance, the Brahmo Samaj spread these views and its members tried to practise them.

Brahmo Samaj made a direct attack on many aspects of orthodox Hinduism. One such notable fact was Rammohan's publication of a Bengali translation of some of the source literature of Hinduism and his studies on the Upanishads. Since then, the sacred books of the Hindus have ceased to be a secret preserve Brahmins. He was, naturally, vigorously criticized by Hindu pundits of Madras and elsewhere.

Rammohan also expressed himself strongly in favour of introducing a modern educational system in the country. He opposed the views of those who contended that the indigenous and Sanskrit system of education should be continued in India. In his view, the Sanskrit system of education would be best calculated to keep Indian society in darkness. He emphasized the need of a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing mathematics, natural sciences, philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's Reform Movement

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar introduced a new technique of learning Sanskrit more easily, and was responsible for a series of Sanskrit primers. His contribution to Bengali pose constituted a landmark in the development of the Bengali language and literature. Vidyasagar was not only a Bengali and Sanskrit scholar of great repute, but was also an educational and social reformer. It was he who had thrown the open Sanskrit college to

non-Brahmins and arranged for some English education to the classical scholars. As the government inspector of schools, he founded as many as 35 girls' schools and 20 model schools during the British rule. He was an advocate of higher education for women.

Although never a Brahmo himself, Iswar Chandra resumed the best traditions of Rammohan's crusade against social evils and the uplift of the socially oppressed. Vidyasagar raised his voice against child marriage and polygamy, but his most memorable stand was his bold advocacy of 'widow remarriage' in the teeth of strong conservative opposition. Although the *Bengal Spectator*, the organ of Young Bengal Group, had advocated widow remarriage, it was Vidyasagar's bold advocacy of the cause that made it a real issue, and although the government at first preferred not to initiate any legislation in this regard, it finally passed the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act of 1856.

The spirit of Independence and the strength of character and high moral quality that Vidyasagar possessed and displayed in his dealings with the government at a time when Indians were rather weak, made a deep impression on the public mind.

Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj movement was an outcome of the reaction to Western influences. It was revivalist in form, but not in content. The founder, Swami Dayanand, rejected Western ideas and sought to revive to unite India religiously, socially and nationally—Aryan religion to be the common religion of all, a classless and casteless society, and an India free from foreign rule. He considered the Vedas as India's 'Rock of Ages', the true original seed of Hinduism. His motto was 'Go back to the Vedas'. He gave his own interpretation of the Vedas. He disregarded the authority of the later Hindu scriptures like the Puranas and described them as the work of lesser men and responsible for the evil practices of idol worship and other superstitious beliefs in Hindu religion. Dayanand condemned idol worship and preached unity of Godhead. He decried untouchability and casteism as not sanctioned by the Vedas. He advocated widow remarriage and a high status for woman in society. His views were published in his famous work *Satyartha Prakash* (The True Exposition). While the Brahmo Samaj and the Theosophical Society appealed to the English educated elite only, Dayanand's message was for the masses of India. The movement has taken deep roots in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

Arya Samaj's programmes

1. **Education:** Dayanand wanted to revive the knowledge of Sanskrit literature. He made it the responsibility of Arya Samaj to run Gurkulas, where Indian young minds could be educated in terms of Indian culture and civilization. He wanted that these young men should be taught the value of high moral character. They should be nourished, brought up and developed in an atmosphere where patriotism was above everything else. Gurukuls should be centres of Vedic study and research. The Arya Samaj should rise against social evils.
2. **Social reforms:** Dayanand felt that orthodoxy was bound to oppose such regeneration in Hindu society. He made it obligatory on the part of Arya Samajis to stand for widow re-marriage and to oppose child marriage or caste system and other evils, or similar institutions vehemently which had corrupted the Hindu society. Keeping in view the trend of the time, Dayanand asked the Arya Samajis to expose what was unwanted in the religious doctrines and books of other religions so that missionaries were demoralized, and they hesitated from condemning and criticizing Hindu religious teachings and philosophy. Dayanand propagated shuddhi, by which he meant that those who wanted to willingly re-embrace Hindu religion should not be forbidden to do so.
3. **Democratic constitution:** Dayanand introduced the elective system in the Constitution of the Arya Samaj, which was then unknown to the religious institutions of those days. He laid down that Arya Samaj should be organized on democratic lines. Arya Samajis were obliged to see that their office-bearers were elected by their members and that there were no hereditary or nominated members.
4. **Political reforms:** In the political field, Dayanand made the Arya Samajis aware that it was obligatory for them to preach and propagate the use of Swadeshi and also to demand self-government. There should be decentralization of authority and a desire on the part of Government to place the individual above everything else.

Arya Samaj was responsible for political, social and economic resurgence in India. It had deep influence on many contemporaries. Most of the national leaders closely studied the doctrines of Arya Samaj. The influence of Arya Samaj is evident from the fact that among those who were influenced by it were persons like Lala Har Dayal, Har Krishan Lal, Krishan Lal, Krishan Verma, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindra Nath Tagore. Mahatma Gandhi was so much influenced by Dayanand, that he called him his political guru, and so did Rabindra Nath Tagore.

It was due to the work and contribution of Arya Samaj that ancient Indian glory was revived and a network of Gurukuls set up for educating young men and women of India. It was under the influence of Arya Samaj that social evils were checked and the influence of Christianity on Hindu society considerably lessened.

Ramakrishna Mission

This movement was started by Sri Ramakrishna Paramhamsa in Bengal. Sri Ramakrishna was a simple village priest. Yet the entire Western-educated middle class Bengali community made him their national hero. Men like Keshav Chandra Sen, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (the novelist), and Girish Chandra Ghosh (the dramatist), recognized his greatness and regarded him a saint. It is strange that Ramakrishna, whose early upbringing had been among people untouched by English ideas, stood as the inspirer of a whole generation.

The movement which Sri Ramakrishna set in motion is important because he justified the claim of the Hindus that God can be worshipped and realized by following the traditional methods of India, which the Christian missionaries had characterized as superstitions. This fact gave the rising national consciousness a weapon with which to fight the West. Indians should now claim that their religion was good enough for them. Since they did not want any other religion, they were capable of looking after themselves. In the same way, politically Indians were quite capable of governing themselves without foreign interference.

Sri Ramakrishna also created a movement for social reform, which carried political consequences with it. The cult of 'bhakti' or devotion, always had a special appeal to the Bengali mind. The restlessness of the Bengali mind, gradually manifesting itself both in a new outburst of literature and in grave religious doubts had reached a stage when it was marked by an inner agony that could not be controlled. An unsympathetic foreign government, unable to realize the depth of these emotions, only exasperated the youth of Bengal. Together with an almost complete disbelief in religion, there had come something

of the helplessness or despair. Ramakrishna showed them the way towards self-expression. He made a stirring call for social service. This provided an outlet for this pent up feeling of dissatisfaction. Many young men came forward and took vows of celibacy, and dedicated their lives with joy to the service of the poor and the needy.

The merit of this movement lay in the fact that although Ramakrishna had never gained any scholastic distinction, it became stronger and grew in importance among the educated-classes. The steadiness with which it spread not only in India, but also abroad was a thing of wonder.

After Ramakrishna's death in 1886, Vivekananda became the leader of the Ramakrishna Mission. He had a character altogether different from that of his master. He was forceful and uncompromising and he soon proved his organizing abilities. The activities of Ramakrishna Mission remained predominantly reformist in the sphere of social service.

Vivekananda intended to make it an institution for turning out workers devoted entirely to the cause of national service. He established homes of social service and religious discipline at different places in the country. These were and are used by the monks who are made to go through a period of training and discipline before they are permitted to be initiated into the order. Sewa ashramas had grown all over the country. The Ramakrishna Mission differed from other social and religious movements in this respect that it lay emphasis on that aspect of Vedanta which encourages universalism in its religious conception. Vivekananda, by his interpretation of Hindu religion, raised it to a universal status.

Vivekananda's intrepid patriotism gave a new colour to the nationalist movement throughout India. The monk and the patriot were curiously blended in him. Annie Besant described him as a warrior-monk, and it is true that he had been deeply influenced by the political thinking of his time. His preaching of Hinduism had more references to the immediate condition of the people than those of Sri Ramakrishna. More than any other single individual of that period, Vivekananda had made his own contribution to the new awakening of India.

Theosophical Society

The founders of the Theosophical Society were Westerners. However, the ideology of the society was inspired by Indian thought and culture. The society was founded by Madame H.P. Blavatsky, who had Russo-German ancestry, in the United States in 1875. Later, she was joined by Colonel M.S. Olcott of the US Army. In 1882, the headquarters of the society were moved to a town in India—Adyar, on the outskirts of Chennai. The members of this society attempted to align with God by means of spiritual ecstasy, direct intuition or special relations formed through meditation. The society agreed with Hindu ideas of re-incarnation, karma and relies on the philosophy of the Upanishads and Samkhya, Yoga and Vedanta schools of thought. The main aim of the society was universal brotherhood.

As a result of its Hindu orientation, the Theosophical Movement joined hands with Hindu Renaissance. The movement gained popularity after Mrs. Annie Besant was elected as its President when Colonel Olcott died in 1907. Annie Besant became associated with the movement after she lost faith in Christianity, divorced her husband and decided to join the theosophists. She joined the society formally in 1889. After Madame Blavatsky died in 1891, Mrs. Besant was feeling lost once again and decided

to come to India. She was already familiar with Indian ideas and values and embraced the Vedic beliefs naturally. She also translated the *Bhagvad Gita*. While Madame Blavatsky had mainly focused on occult rather than spiritualism, Mrs. Besant made an attempt to combine the two. Eventually, Besant converted to Hinduism and embraced it wholeheartedly in terms of her dress, food, company and social manners. She became the force behind the revival of Hinduism in the shape of Theosophism.

The beliefs of the Theosophical Society were a strong mixture of religion, philosophy and occultism. These had four essential factors: (i) unity of God head, (ii) threefold emanation of God, (iii) hierarchy of beings—gods, angels, human spirits etc., and (iv) universal brotherhood.

Annie Besant set up a Central Hindu School at Benaras for achieving her objectives. This school developed into a college and ultimately into the Hindu University of Benares with her patronage. The Theosophical movement led to a great revival of Hindu spirit and there was growth of individual and organized efforts for social reforms. One of the most important organizations was the Deccan Education Society, founded under Ranade's patronage in 1884. It was started with the aim of remodelling education of the young in a way as to fit them for the service of the country, which the then existing education system failed to provide. The Fergusson College of Poona and Willingdon College in Sangli were two other famous institutions set up by the Theosophical Society. Among the life-workers of the society, the most name was Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Miscellaneous Reform Movements

Young Bengal Movement: It was started by an Anglo-Indian, Henry Vivian Derozio, considered as the first nationalist poet of India. He became teacher at Hindu College (Calcutta) in 1826. His followers were known as Derozians. Unlike the Brahmo Samajis, the Derozians were radical in their approach.

Rahnumai Muzdyayan: An association for the socio-religion reform among the Parsis was founded in 1851 at Bombay by Dadabhai Naoroji, Furdunji Naoroji, K.R. Cama and S.S. Bengales. They opposed evil social practices like, child marriage, dependence on astrology and orthodoxy in the Parsi society in India. *Rust Goftar* (Truth Teller), published in Gujrati, was issued by Dadabhai Naoroji. It was the mouthpiece of this association.

Singh Sabha: It was founded in 1873 at Amritsar by Thakur Singh Sandhwalia and Giani Gian Singh, with the following objectives:

- To bring the Sikh Community the benefits of western education.
- To counter the proselytizing activities of the Christian missionaries as well as Hindu revivalists.
- To open Khalsa Schools and Colleges throughout Punjab. The Akali Movement was an off-shoot of the Singh Sabha.

6.2.5 Religious Movements

Religious movements in India have mainly been anti-orthodox Hindu ideology, anti-Brahmin, pro-Muslim, pro-Christian, or pro-Sikh movements. These movements were either protest movements, or movements focusing on separate identity, or for justifying changes in the existing order of social relationship. Some movements protested against the orthodox ideology of leaders of their faith, some against Brahminical Hinduism and the caste system, some attacked the notions of purity and pollution and the corrupt practices of the Brahmins, and so on.

Religious movements in India may be classified in three groups: (i) movements which started essentially as protest against Hinduism and came to be established as independent religions, such as Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism; (ii) Bhakti movements which attempted to purify Hinduism of its evils and fought against the tyranny of the caste system but subsequently crystalized as sects, such as Arya Samaj; and (iii) movements oriented to opting out of the Hindu fold, conversion to other religions.

The first religious protest movements in India were Jainism and Buddhism. Jainism denied the authority of the Vedas and revolted against sacrifices. Buddhism also denounced Vedic sacrifices and Brahminic supremacy. Vaishnavism and Shaivaism movements, and those initiated by Kabir, Chaitanya and Nanak sought to abolish the intermediary between man and God, i.e., Brahmin.

An important aspect of religious movements was the conversion movements. Conversion movements lay stress on the following points:

- Conversions were group phenomena.
- Individual or family conversions, as against mass conversions, were usually confined to upper or intermediate castes.
- If in a region, the lower castes got converted first and experienced distinct socio-economic improvement and gained definite political advantage, the demonstrative effect, often prompted non-Brahmin castes to get converted.
- Conversion of a section of a caste generated tensions among the converts and the non-converts.
- The strategy of conversions followed by different religious groups differed. Muslims converted the elite first, while Christian missionaries first converted the low caste people.
- The converted people were not treated on absolute 'social equality' basis.
- Over a period of time, the intensity of conversion movements declined. Today, the emphasis is on reconversion to Hindu faith.

Causes of rise of religious movements

Originally, Vedic dharma was not complex and people believed in equality. It was simple in belief and practice. In the course of time, however, many complexities and intricacies were introduced in it. In the 6th century BC, as a result of it, the new movements for religious reforms, like Buddhism and Jainism started. The cause of the rise of both these new religions—Buddhism and Jainism—was weakness and shortcomings that had entered Hinduism. Some of them are given as follows.

1. **Complication in ritualism in Hinduism:** In the beginning, the Aryan Religion was very simple and anyone could understand its basic principles. Gradually, many complications crept into it. It became difficult for the common man to understand the religion which had become a sort of burden on them. They could not understand the principles and forms of their religion without the help of the Brahmans. The truth was disappearing from the religion, while the external show and rituals were increasing day by day. No one could get rid of these rituals all through their life—from birth to death. A lot of energy and time was spent in the performance of these rituals but to no avail. Much emphasis was laid on useless religious intricacies and formalities, whereas the chastity of character and purity of heart were altogether neglected. For this reason, the people longed eagerly for a new religion that may be simple and full of straightforward rites and ceremonies.

2. **Expensive religion:** Again, in the beginning, the Vedic religion was quite simple. The yajnas were so simple that everybody could himself perform them without any help. Neither the priests nor any valuable material was needed for the proper performance of these sacrifices. However, later on, this religion became not only difficult to understand, but it was also expensive. The importance of sacrifices (yajnas) and the havana had grown very much. The sacrifice, havana, rites and ceremonies had become not only difficult and mysterious, but they also required a good deal of money for their performance. These sacrifices necessitated participation of many priests and hence required a lot of money to be spent on them. Some of the sacrifices continued for 12 years at a stretch. A good deal of money had to be spent over them. For this reason, a movement against this religion was started as the performance of these sacrifices was beyond the capacity and financial means of the common man.
3. **Animal sacrifice:** The people could not bear the burden of such expensive sacrifices of different kinds. In addition to it, they began to be perturbed at the sacrifice of animals. Innumerable animals were sacrificed in these yajnas and sometimes even human sacrifice was offered. Though animal-sacrifice was then common, yet a large number of people rose against it. They began to doubt that God was pleased with the sacrifice of speechless animals and helpless human beings. The people were, therefore, in quest of a non-violent, simple and pure religion.
4. **Faith in magic and charms:** In the course of time, the simplicity and purity of the Vedic religion vanished and people began to have faith in various kinds of charms and magic. In every matter, they began to consider an auspicious hour (time) and their belief in evil spirits was increasing. The people even began to believe that the Vedic hymns had magic effect and illness (disease) could be cured by only chanting of these hymns. They further believed that victory could be gained, children could be had and gods and goddesses could be captivated by the effects of Vedic hymns. However, many men of progressive ideas and independent views were not prepared to believe in such blind faiths. They were giving up their faith in the brahman dharma gradually. Though, they were after a simple and pure religion.
5. **Predominance of Brahmans:** Originally, the society was divided into varnas according to the occupations. People who were really learned, were given the dignity of a Brahman. However, later on, any man by virtue of his birth began to be called a Brahman even though he was without learning. The Brahmans declared publicly that they held the highest position in the social sphere and that they were the most learned and well-versed of all. The educated men of other varnas could not accept such kind of announcement by the Brahmans. The educated Kshatriyas, in particular, greatly opposed the authority of the Brahmans. They rebelled against the special rights and many concessions enjoyed by the Brahmans. In this way, they proved themselves to be the initiator of the movement for a new religion.
6. **Moral degradation of priesthood:** The priestly order (class) enjoyed special rights and privileges, which they could have continued to retain them with the purity of their life and high character. However, these priests, who claimed exclusive mastery in religion, had morally degraded. They ignored learning, good conduct

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and a life of high character and they lost themselves in the marshes of the worldly and earthly objects. That is why they have been called 'strays' in the Jain and Buddhist books. Owing to this moral degradation, Brahmans lost respect in the eyes of the people. The people even lost faith in the Brahman Dharma (religion) and began to entertain thoughts of revolt against it.

7. **Difficult language:** Hinduism was not only full of difficult, mystic and false display of shows, but also its sacred books like the Vedas, the Upanishads, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and so on, were written in Sanskrit. Sanskrit language was not the spoken language of the common man. Hence, it was beyond his comprehension, yet the common man was compelled to have recourse to it in religious ceremonies. People wished to use the popular language in religious ceremonies. Consequently, counteraction against Sanskrit had also been initiated as the people in general were eager for the use of common language in such ceremonies.

8. **Caste system:** The greatest evil of Hinduism was that it was based on discrimination and distinction. Owing to it, all the people could not be regarded as equal. Those of higher varnas hated the people of the lowest varna (Shudra). A Brahman, though engaged in the meanest occupation, was given respect in the society, while a Shudra was the object of hatred. People could no longer bear that the most degraded Brahman should be respected owing to his birth, while the ablest Shudra should be disregarded on account of his varna. The Shudras were not allowed to enter the temple. Most of the Hindus considered themselves as polluted by the very touch of a Shudra. They did not let them draw water out of their wells. In this way, the society was divided into many sections, classes, owing to the varna-distinction and there was unrest in it everywhere. The stern attitude of Brahmans became unbearable to the other people and they resented it generally. It was, therefore, natural that they should yearn for a religion that knew no caste system.

9. **Freedom of thought:** In 6th century BC, many kingdoms in India like Kapilavastu and Vaisali had been set up. In these democracies, the people enjoyed sufficient freedom to express their thoughts in the political field. They could discuss different problems and could give vent to their feelings without any restraint. This trend of thoughts in the political field was the cause of the rise of new religions.

10. **Effort of the intellectual:** The principles underlying the distinction between the high and the low caste, rituals and the sacrifices were above the comprehension of the common man. No intelligent man could ever bear that a characterless man should command respect simply because he was born in a high family. On the other hand, it equally looked awkward that another man, much better than others in many respects, may be treated worse than animals. Such anti-human principles could not be acceptable to a man possessing even little intelligence. In this way, hatred against Hinduism was arising in the minds of the masses. In these circumstances, some social reformers like the Buddha and Vardhaman Mahavira made vigorous efforts to eradicate these anti-human laws. They raised their voice against the inhuman practices prevalent in the Hindu religion with all possible force at their disposal. These reformers tried to lay before the people such religions which were devoid of outward show.

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Social and religious effects of Jainism

Jainism influenced the social and the religious fields in the following ways:

1. **Hinduism was purified:** Such complicated ideas had been introduced into Hinduism that could not easily be understood by the common man. Moreover, the importance of the yajna and havana had grown much. These yajnas had become so expensive that a common man of society could not perform them. The number of animal sacrifices increased daily, but the useful consequence of the emphatic and forceful preaching of the doctrine of Ahimsa by Jainism was that the bloody sacrifices slowly began to disappear from Hinduism. Not only this, it began to check other weaknesses also and thus the Hindu religion regained its original purity. In this way, Jainism did a useful service in the fields of religion and social welfare.

2. **Caste system weakened:** Jainism put up strong opposition against the caste system. All the members were now brought on equal level. The result of this opposition was that the rigidity of the caste system slowly began to lose ground. When many men began to confess Jainism and it cast a slur on the Brahmans, they realized their mistake. They had to relax the restrictions of caste system in order to improve their position before the public.

3. **Works of public utility:** The most important doctrine of Jainism is Ahimsa. The Jains believe in the existence of soul in all living beings—men, animals and even in insects and trees. On this score, no harm or injury should be done to any living being. On the other hand, every possible effort to promote their happiness should be made. The Jains, therefore, played a big role in providing public beneficent institutions and works. The Jains set up dharamshalas in principal cities and places of pilgrimage throughout India and opened schools and colleges. They started hospitals for human beings as well as for animals, and thereby did much good in social sphere to the public at large.

4. **Indian art enriched:** The Jains built beautiful temples in almost all parts of India. On account of their great wealth, the Jains left no stone unturned in making these temples and dharamshalas beautiful. The idols and statues of Mahavira and other gods were made. In this way, the art of architecture and other arts developed in India.

Buddhism as a reform movement

Buddhism originated in the 6th century BC, as a reform against Brahmanism. It spread rapidly in Magadha where Brahmanic influence was less predominant and where the Kshatriya was regarded as superior to the Brahmin. Buddha, whose original name was Siddhartha was the founder of Buddhism.

By carefully looking into the main principles of Buddhism, it becomes evidently clear that Gautam Buddha was not the founder of a new religion. He was only a reformer whose aim was to purify Hinduism of its drawbacks and defects. Moreover, whatever he taught was already given in the Upanishads of the Hindus. The difficulty was that the Upanishads were written in the Sanskrit language which the people could not understand. Buddha gave the people an easy version of the Upanishads in a very simple language. He himself led a pure and pious life which served as an example for others to follow.

He laid the foundations of a firm Sangha of missionaries who carried his message to every nook and corner of the country. In this way, by both precept and example, his

religion was spread across the country. Thus, it is obvious that the Buddha had no idea of founding a new religion. If Buddhism became a distinct religion, separate from Hinduism, it became only after his death, when the bhikshus began to lead a life in a way quite different from that of the Brahmans. Even Buddhism is not different from Hinduism. According to V.A. Smith, 'Buddha can hardly be said to have intended to found a new religion. He did not give any divine book to his followers, quite did he condemn any fundamental belief of the Brahmanical religion. He himself was a Kshatriya prince who drew his inspiration from the teaching of the Upanishads and preached his sect in the common language of the people'.

Buddha wished to reform Hinduism by removing its drawbacks. The apparent differences between Hinduism and Buddhism are, in fact, not the signs of separation of one from the other. They were meant to purify Hinduism of its drawbacks and defects. In reality, there is no difference between the two religions. Thus, Buddhism did not start as a new religion, it was only a reform movement in Hinduism.

Sikhism as a reform movement

The Sikhs belief in God, condemning the worship of other deities; They prohibit idolatry, pilgrimage to the great shrines of Hinduism, faith in omens, charms or witchcraft, and do not recognize ceremonial impurity at birth and death. As a social system, Sikhism abolishes caste distinctions, and, as a necessary consequence, it opposes the Brahmanical supremacy and usages in all ceremonies, at birth, marriage, death, and so on. But this creed is probably accepted and acted upon by a very small number of people who call themselves true Sikhs.

Sikhism does not pursue conversion as its main religious activity, but it accepts converts to its faith. Such converts comprise members of the depressed classes and castes, agriculturists, washermen, tailors, carpenters, masons, and others. Sikhs are not against widow remarriages and marriage among them takes place quite late. Sikhism emphasizes equalitarianism. Still, it has not been able to remove some of the unwanted elements of the caste system. For example, the lower castes converted to Sikhism are known as 'Mazhahirs' who live in separate hamlets. In their own villages, they are not addressed with the common title 'Sardar'. The Jats, the Kshatriyas, the Brahmins, and the artisan castes have their separate identities within the Sikh community; and they continue to be endogamous.

Muslim reform movements

Some of the Muslim reform movements have been discussed below.

Wahabi Movement: It was started by Syed Ahmad of Rae Bareli (1786–1831). The Wahabi Movement was basically a revivalist movement, started in India under the influence of Abdul Wahab of Arab and Shah Waliullah's teachings. The aim of this movement was modification of Islam and conversion of Dar-ul-Harb into Dar-ul-Islam. Sithana in North-Western border was its headquarter. In the revolt of 1857's, the Wahabis played a notable role in spreading anti-British sentiments.

Aligarh Movement: It is also called Sir Syed Movement because the movement was started by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in Aligarh in the second half of 19th century. It was basically a reformative movement. Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Waqar-ul-Mulk, Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali, Shibli Noamani, Chiraguddin Nazir Ahmad were the other prominent members of Aligarh Movement. The Movement worked for the reformation of Muslim communities in religious, social, moral, cultural and educational field, through their writings, journals and established institutions. In 1864, the Scientific Society was organized by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for the promotion of progressive ideas. Aligarh Movement emphasized modern scientific education. MAO College at Aligarh, which became the Aligarh Muslim University in 1920, has both, modern scientific education and traditional religious education in its curriculum.

The Deoband School: The Deoband School was founded by Muhammad Qasim Nanotvi and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi in 1866, at Deoband in the Saharanpur district in Uttar Pradesh. It was basically a revivalist movement, founded with two objectives:

(i) To propagate among the Muslims the pure teachings of the *Quran* and the *Hadith*.

(ii) To keep alive the spirit of fighting against the foreign rulers.

Deoband School was nationalist in its spirit, and it played an active role in the national movement. It gave the nation its nationalist leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

6.2.6 Backward Classes and Dalit Movements

The backward classes/castes movement started in the early part of the 20th century. The backward classes or castes represent the underprivileged sections of the Indian society. This concept virtually refers to the movement launched by non-Brahmins to fight against caste inequalities, Brahmin domination, socio-economic-religious discrimination and deprivation. The movement aims at removing or lessening the caste inequalities, promoting the economic advancement of the poor, the deprived and the low castes, and to obtain for them equal educational facilities and political opportunities. The backward classes movement first took place during British rule in Maharashtra (in 1860s and 1870s), later on it spread to various southern Indian states like Kerala, Andhra and Karnataka; it still continues today with different dimensions.

The main goals of this movement are as follows:

(i) This movement was a movement launched by the lower sections of the Indian population against the discrimination of various kinds—social, political, religious, economic, educational, and so on.

(ii) This movement aimed at securing greater self-respect, social recognition, prestige and status.

(iii) This movement aimed at finding the avenues of social mobility.

(iv) The intention of this movement was to unify the various non-Brahmin castes.

(v) Promotion of welfare and well-being of the non-Brahmin lower castes was another goal of this movement.

Characteristics of backward classes movement

The term 'backward classes movement' in the Indian social context, is a kind of struggle waged by the lower castes against the supremacy of the Brahmins. It also represents a sincere effort on the part of the lower castes to improve their social, economic, educational and political position. The lower castes realized that what the sociologist M.N. Srinivas called Sanskritization was not enough to attain social mobility. They became more determined to obtain Western education in order to qualify themselves for the new jobs in administration and the new professions like law, medicine, engineering, and so on. Thus, higher caste dominance in education and in the new occupations provided the

conditions for the backward classes movement. A movement of this type was inevitable since only Brahmins enjoyed preponderance in higher education, in professions, and government employment.

The main characteristic features of this movement are as follows:

1. **A caste-based movement:** The backward classes form an aggregate of closed status groups or castes. Caste associations came into existence in different parts of the country to press their claims for new designations and occupations. Many caste-groups published journals devoted to caste welfare, collected funds for giving scholarships and building hostels for students from respective castes, and undertook reform of caste customs. The qualified youths of the lower castes soon realized that it was difficult to get admission in the professional courses and in the postgraduate courses. They could not compete with the upper caste youths. They also failed to get jobs in the government services. They felt that they were discriminated on the basis of caste. This led to anti-Brahmin feelings which inspired the backward classes movement.
2. **A political movement:** The Partition of Bengal in 1905 led to the intensification of nationalism, and also to the rise of communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism. The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 conceded separate electorates to Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. Now, the lower castes also demanded separate electorate. Dr. Ambedkar also fought for it. This made the backward classes movement political. In the Madras Presidency, the Justice Party was formed to protect the interests of the non- Brahmins.
3. **Originated in south India:** The backward classes movement assumed the character of a Dravidian movement and became anti-north Indian, anti-Hindi, anti-Aryan, anti-Sanskrit, anti-Brahmin movement. In course of time, however, the movement spread to North India, and even to the states like Bengal, where the caste consciousness was quite less.
4. **It was not a mass movement:** The backward classes movement was not a popular movement for a very long time. People belonging to the lower castes were not ready to oppose the hegemony of the Brahmins openly. Hence, it did not become a mass movement. But in the rural areas, the forward non-Brahmin dominant castes such as the Reddys and Kammas in Andhra Pradesh, Vokkaligas and Lingayats in Karnataka, Gounders, Padayachis and Mudaliyars in Tamil Nadu, were in the forefront of this movement. Even the Muslims and Christians had joined hands with these dominant castes. Hence, we can call this movement a backward classes movement, rather than a backward castes movement.
5. **Secular nature of the movement:** The awareness on the part of the backward castes that education is inevitable for them to get into government jobs and political offices, helped them to resort to social mobility. They wanted to achieve social equality, on par with other higher castes. In order to attain social equality, it was necessary for them to resort to Western education. Hence, we can consider this movement as a secular movement. This movement also led to a kind of rivalry on the part of lower castes who were interested in the upward social mobility. This movement gave a big blow to the social and cultural domination of the Brahmins.
6. **New polarization within the backward classes:** During the recent years, a new kind of polarization is taking place within the category of backward classes. At present, there are two groups within the backward classes: (i) Dominant Backward Castes, and (ii) Non-Dominant Backward Castes. In order to protect themselves against the atrocities of the dominant backward castes, the non-dominant backward castes are getting themselves organized. In the beginning stage (1916–1969), the non- Brahmin castes made an organized attempt to face the domination of the Brahmins. But now in the second stage (after 1969), the more backward non-Brahmin castes are getting organized to fight against the bossism of the more advanced non-Brahmin castes. There is justification for the more backward non-Brahmin castes to claim themselves as backward classes for they are educationally, socially and economically lagging behind and backward.
7. **Increase in horizontal solidarity of caste:** The backward classes movement has very strongly supported the horizontal solidarity of the caste. It has helped the caste to come out of its local traditional framework. Differences between the sub-castes are becoming minimized and interdependence is increasing. Sub-castes within the bigger castes are getting united to safeguard their caste interests.
8. **An attempt to achieve social mobility:** This movement was started by groups that had lagged behind the Brahmins in westernization. Education, employment in the government, and participation in the new political processes are essential for such mobility. Education is a necessary means for securing the other two involved in it. It led to the self respect movement. It has assaulted the Brahmins' cultural and social dominance and exclusiveness.

Factors contributing to the backward classes movement

The backward classes movement is the cumulative effect of following factors:

1. **Dual effect of politics as pursued by the British:** The growth of the backward classes movement is in no small measure due to the politics pursued by the British Government. The advent of British rule in India had led to many far-reaching consequences. The consolidation of the political regime by the British, introduction of Western-oriented educational system, opening of vast occupational and professional opportunities, produced lot of structural disturbances in the caste structure. Hence, we can say that the British rule in a way caused the following two contradictory effects on Hindu society.

   (a) **British rule further widened the gap between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins:** The British rule led to an increase in the disparities in the distribution of economic and political power. In most parts of the country, Brahmins were the first to benefit from Western education. They also increased their representation in the professional and administrative and managerial services, especially in the first quarter of the 20th century. There was preponderance of the Brahmins among the literates, and particularly the English knowing population in the Madras Presidency, and the then the princely state of Mysore. As Brahmins entered the institutions of higher learning, the professions and the services, everywhere they formed cliques from which non-Brahmins were excluded. In a system which was ostensibly competitive, but in which the scales must have seemed heavily weighed against non-Brahmins, the latter inevitably developed deep feelings of resentment.

   (b) **British support to non-Brahmin Movement to curb Brahmin-led revolutionary activities:** The British, for their own benefit, started supporting the non-Brahmin movement. Though the British used to favour

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the Brahmins in the beginning, they later realized that Brahmins were potentially dangerous. During the first phase of the 20th century, a section of the British in India believed the Brahmin to be their primary enemy.

2. **Role of the census system:** The desire for more mobility among the backward castes came from the census operations as well. The caste sabhas represented to the census authorities the demand of individual castes to belong to a particular varna and not to a lower one. For example, the two peasant castes of Tamil Nadu, the Vellalas and Padaiyachis wanted to be recorded as Vaishyas and Vaniya Kula Kshatriyas respectively, and not as Shudras. Many such claims were made in the 1931 Census. The Sabhas also altered the styles of life of their castes in the direction of Sanskritization. This included the giving up of pork, carrion beef and liquor, and the donning of the sacred thread, the shortening of the mourning period like that of the Brahmins. The upper caste people were mainly indifferent towards these trends. On some occasions, they used force to make the lower caste people to perform their traditional duties. The caste consciousness created by the census system thus favoured the backward classes movement.

3. **Influence of reform movements:** During the British rule, various social reform movements were initiated by enlightened Indians. Most of these movements aimed at eliminating caste disabilities, promotion of education among women, abolition of sati, upliftment of the depressed and the downtrodden castes such as the Scheduled Castes. These movements definitely played their role in the beginning of the non-Brahmin movement. At least in the beginning, these movements were generally led by the learned members of the forward castes themselves. These movements created conditions of self-awareness among the deprived sections of the society. The Brahmo Samaj was more concerned with the emancipation of women and amelioration of the depressed classes, while the Arya Samaj had taken up the cause of untouchables. Arya Samaj sponsored a programme of Shuddhi Movement in 1891 to re-Hinduise those low caste people who had converted to Christianity and Islam. It even gave an opportunity to the untouchables to wear the sacred thread. These movements, though were led by upper caste people, particularly the Brahmins, ultimately created social awareness among the lower castes.

4. **Role of Christian missionaries:** The Christian missionaries who established their churches, convents and other institutions in different places in Madras Presidency created conditions of self-awareness especially among the lower sections. They worked in the midst of lower castes and tribes spreading Jesus Christ's message of love and humanity. Overtly, they pretended to be the benefactors of the depressed classes; and yet their ultimate aim was to convert them into Christianity. In Madras Presidency, 5,000 Nadars were converted to Christianity by 1803. With the active support of British Government, they could expand not only evangelical, educational, medical and welfare activities, but also secure for their new converts basic civil rights and employment in public services. The non-converts to Christianity could see their own caste men who were converted getting the benefits of modern education and employment chances in government service. This created double effect in the minds of the depressed sections. Firstly, it tempted a few more to get converted into Christianity. Secondly, it created a social awakening among the deprived castes. They realized that non- Brahmin movement was one of the powerful instruments

of ameliorating their depressed conditions without necessarily getting converted into Christianity.

5. **Role of education:** The non-Brahmin movement was to a very large extent the result of the general awakening under the impact of British education. The British introduced English education on a uniform basis throughout India. Although they were reluctant to introduce English education in India, Lord Macaulay's *Minute of 1835* made them promote European learning in India through the medium of English. The new education system that was introduced by the British was not only secular in nature but also egalitarian in outlook. Educational opportunities were extended to all the sections of the society including the so- called 'untouchables'. This new education never remained as the monopoly of the Brahmins, nor set any traditional bars for the lower castes to avail of its benefits. The introduction and the spread of modern education helped the non-Brahmin movement to challenge the supremacy of the Brahmins.

6. **Growth of national movement:** The Indian national movement also contributed to strengthening of the non-Brahmin movement. The Brahmins dominated the national movement in the beginning. But the establishment of Indian National Congress and the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the freedom struggle changed the situation. Under the leadership of Gandhi, the Congress gave a clarion call to the people of all sections, to join the freedom struggle and fight against British supremacy. Gandhi was successful in persuading the lower sections of the Indian society, including the untouchables, to join the national struggle. He, in fact, stood for the emancipation of Harijans. He supported their temple entry movement. He made the Congress to commit itself for the eradication of untouchability.

7. **Economic factors:** In the traditional economic system, Brahmins enjoyed a favourable position. The Brahmins, particularly in the South India, were successful in converting their landed resources into more paying resources of the government service and profession. Sizeable number of Brahmins became absentee landlords and exploiters of lower caste people who were working as tenants. The social and economic conditions of the backward castes were miserable and they were exploited at all levels. The Brahmins, in fact, dominated government service, prestigious professions and political leadership.

8. **Provision of modern facilities:** The British during the course of their rule established countrywide communication networks like post and telegraphs, railways and mass circulation of newspapers. These facilities made strong inroads into the isolated caste structure, and enabled the similar caste groups to form caste associations. These changed situations, to a very great extent, diluted the sub-caste distinctions. The caste now assumed a new role much different from what was envisaged in Hindu ethics. Modern communications facilitated Sanskritization, and even militant social reforms. Introduction of adult franchise and provision for mass participation played an important role in the development of backward classes/ castes movement.

Satya Shodhak Samaj

The Satya Shodhak Samaj was established by Jyothirao Phule in Poona in 1873. This movement was, in fact, the beginning of a non-Brahmin movement in India. This movement against the Brahmin supremacy by the lower castes came to be known as Backward Classes Movement. Jyothirao Phule, the son of a gardener, was considerably

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influenced by Thomas Paine's work *The Rights of Man*. The English education that he had received also helped him to emerge as a social reformer.

The sole objective of Satya Shodhak Samaj was to redeem the Shudras and Atishudras from the influence of Brahmanical scriptures under the Brahmin priest who fleeced them, to teach them their human rights, and to liberate them from mental and religious slavery. The main purpose of the Samaj was to assert the worth of man irrespective of caste. The movement of the Satya Shodhak Samaj was comparatively militant in nature, and it carried on an open campaign against the Brahmin dominated caste system. Through his writings and practices, Phule led a revolt against the tyranny of the caste system and the hegemony of the Brahmins.

Phule tried to fight against Brahmin domination in a number of ways. He appealed to the non-Brahmin caste not to engage any Brahmin priest to conduct their marriage ritual. He tried to reduce the enormous ritual system into a simple procedure. Phule was concerned with the eradication of untouchability, illiteracy, exploitation of non-Brahmins by Brahmins, acquiring representation for non-Brahmins in services in local bodies, and so on. Jyothirao extended the membership of the Samaj to all castes including the untouchables. He campaigned vigorously for social equality and abolition of caste. Phule preached against idol worship and superstitions, and was interested in reviving the real Indian culture.

Phule was searching for an ideological justification to fight against Brahmin supremacy. He realized that to unify the masses, it was necessary to attack the Brahmin domination. He used the 'Aryan Theory of Race' which was very popular at that time for this purpose. Phule stated that the low castes were the original inhabitants of the country, and they were enslaved and exploited by the conquering Aryans who formulated a caste based Hinduism as a means of deceiving the masses and legitimizing their power.

Phule wrote a number of books and ballads the important of which were—*Gulamgiri*, *Priestcraft Exposed*, and the *Life of Shivaji*. Phule perceived the necessity of educating the lower caste people. He believed that all the sufferings of non-Brahmins were due to the monopoly of Brahmins in education. He could translate his vision into practice when he opened a primary school for the so-called untouchables in Poona, against all odds of caste tradition and time, as early as in 1848. The school was especially meant for female children belonging to the lowest castes such as Shudras, Mahars, Mangs, and Chamars. This attempt to educate the lowest caste female children was well appreciated by the non-Brahmin community. He was inspired to start three more schools; two were opened in 1851 and the third in 1852.

Phule's movement was not just a revolt against caste; he wanted to cast off the domination of the Brahmins. In his writings he demanded representation for all classes of the Hindus in: (i) all the local bodies, and (ii) all the services and institutions. In fact, he pleaded for communal representation. Phule's demand for special representation for non-Brahmins in the services and local bodies went unheeded till the last decade of the 19th century, when the Maharaja of Kolhapur took up the non-Brahmin cause. The cause of the non-Brahmins and the Satya Shodhak Samaj movement were further carried on by Sri Sahu Maharaj of Kolhapur.

After the death of Jyothirao Phule, the Samaj received a setback and it became a mere fault finding movement with Brahmins. Sri Sahu Maharaj took up the cause of the Samaj and got for it a respectable position. He advocated social reforms and also pleaded for communal representation. It was due to the efforts of Sahu Maharaj that special representation through mixed electorals was conceded to the non-Brahmins in the

Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. In 1923, the Government of Bombay prohibited the requirement of Brahmins and allied castes to the lower services. The measures which Phule advocated in the second and third quarters of the 19th century were to become the main items in the programme of the non-Brahmin parties of Bombay and Madras in the first half of this century. After Phule's death in 1890, the movement spread to other areas, and by 1920, the Samaj changed from a social movement to a political one.

Sri Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) Yogam

Sri Narayana Guru (1854–1928) established this Yogam in Kerala in 1903. The main gospel of the Guru was 'One caste, One religion and One God'. SNDP had two important programmes as discussed below.

1. **Encouraging education by starting educational institutions:** It was meant to uplift the Ezhavas, the community to which Narayan Guru belonged, i.e., a depressed caste group of Kerala. As an important part of the organizational activity, Narayana Guru started a number of schools and colleges throughout Kerala to spread education on a massive scale among the community people.
2. **Building temples and simplifying rituals:** Sri Narayana Guru built a number of temples, simplified the rituals regarding worship, marriage and funerals. He travelled widely for about 15 years throughout Kerala and helped the community people to develop self-confidence, social awareness and sense of cleanliness. Sri Narayana Guru guided them to clean up their houses and streets and cultivate clean habits.

He did not make any attempt to establish a new religion. His approach was not propaganda oriented. He was a silent worker who had great conviction and commitment in his mission and action. He was born a Hindu and remained a Hindu until his death. He only struggled to correct some of the irregularities involved in the Hindu society. During his time, the Avarnas were not allowed to enter the temples and offer worships. Sri Narayana Guru condemned such caste rigidities and regulations and decided to change the age old practices and rituals in temple worship. He started founding temples for common people who were not admitted to the sacro-sanctum of the orthodox Hindu temples. He consecrated a Shaiva temple at Aruvipuram in 1888, which represented the beginning of a peaceful and creative revolution in Kerala. Sri Narayana Guru had taken up the challenge of consecrating the temple much against the prevailing caste norms of the day. After that, he went ahead and consecrated more than 60 such temples in different parts of South India during his lifetime.

Sri Narayana Guru introduced three specific religious reforms along with the consecration of new temples:

(i) He consecrated higher gods in place of lower ones and appointed dedicated Sanyasins from his own community to function as priests.

(ii) He suggested to his followers to build new temples in a simple and less expensive way.

(iii) He introduced a notable change in his task of founding new temples. He never made idol worship inevitable or compulsory for his followers. He consecrated a silavilakha, a huge brass oil lamp instead of an idol, in Karamukha Kshetram in Trichur in 1920 with a saying—'let there be light'. In another temple at Murukkunpuzha, he consecrated a plain stone with the inscription—Truth, Charity, Love and Mercy.

By making use of two means—modern education and Sanskritization—Sri Narayana Guru was able to transform the Ezhavas from an untouchable group in Kerala to a backward caste community within a short period of 30 years. The temple entry programmes undertaken by some Ezhava leaders in association with Nair Service Society finally led to the temple entry proclamation in 1936.

Sri Narayana Guru also tried to introduce some social reforms in the ancient customs and practices of the Ezhavas. For example, he appealed to his community people to stop the expensive customs such as mock marriage, puberty festival for girls, and a festival associated with pregnancy after marriage called Pulikudi.

Sri Narayana Guru vehemently opposed the practice of consuming alcoholic drinks. He campaigned against caste distinctions. This seems to be the very essence of his work *Jati Mimamsa*. He was against the practice of untouchability. He preached caste equality and suggested his followers not to ask any person's caste and not even to think of it. He did not appreciate the governmental procedure of seeking caste identifications in official documents. He was critical of Gandhi's faith in the chatur varna System. During his vast tours throughout Kerala and outside, he always made it a point to mingle and live with the downtrodden masses.

Justice Party and the Non-Brahmin Movement

The Justice Party released the *Non-Brahmin Manifesto* in December 1916. It was directed against the Brahmins who had dominated the fields of education, public service and politics. It revealed an extremely high concentration of the Brahmins in all the important positions who constituted only 3 per cent of the total population of the Madras Presidency. The chief leader of Justice Party Movement, Dr J.M. Nair, announced that without a provision for communal representation the reforms would be a failure. It may be noted that though the Justice Party claimed to represent the non-Brahmins as a whole, in practice the depressed castes and Muslims were considered separately. The Justice Party was in real sense an elite party dominated by urban, Western educated, landowning and professional people. It contained a number of rajas, zamindars, industrialists, lawyers and doctors. It was by no means a mass party and it is doubtful whether any serious effort was made to draw peasants and workers into the organization.

The Self-Respect Movement

The non-Brahmin movement assumed the form of the Self-Respect Movement when E.V. Ramasami Naicker became its leader. Naicker, a Baliya Naidu had begun his political career with the Congress. But he was unhappy with the way in which the non-Brahmins were treated within the Madras Congress organization, and hence he decided to come out of it. He was also very much annoyed with Gandhiji's support of a purified varna ideology. He left the Congress Party to start the Self-Respect Movement in 1925.

The Self-Respect Movement aimed at rejection of the Brahmanical culture and religion. It rejected the caste system and the supremacy of the Brahmins. It considered the Brahmanical religion and culture as the main instrument of enslaving Tamilians. Naicker, as leader of this movement publicly ridiculed the Puranas as fairy tales, not only imaginary and irrational, but also totally immoral. He carried on an active propaganda in an attempt to get, rid of Puranic Hinduism. He condemned religious ceremonies which required the priestly services of the Brahmins. In strong words, he denounced caste rules, child marriage, enforced widowhood and attacked the *Laws of Manu*.

Ramasami Naicker championed a new system of values in which all people could enjoy self-respect. By directly attacking the Brahmins and making fun of their religious culture, he sought to obtain the support of a large number of lower caste people. Naicker claimed that the lower classes and the lower sections of the Tamilian society represented the Dravidian culture. He considered Dravidian culture superior to Brahmanical Aryan culture.

Ramasami Naicker represented a new type of leader. He did not have English education and was able to speak in Tamil only. Hence, the Self-Respect Movement concentrated almost entirely on Tamil districts and on groups low in the caste hierarchy including the untouchables. He used Tamil as the medium of communication. Tamil newspapers reflected his thoughts which were anti-Brahminical, anti-Aryan, anti- Sanskrit and anti-North Indian. As a result, the movement got the support of the uneducated, untouchables, the depressed; and the exploited sections of the community, women and rural youth. The movement took a violent turn when a copy of the *Manu Smrithi* was burnt by its supporters in 1920.

This movement was explicitly anti-Brahmin. It encouraged non-Brahmins not to call upon Brahmin priests to perform wedding and other rituals. Its followers were required to use the Tamil language for all political and other purposes. These followers were claiming themselves to be Dravidians and members of a sovereign independent state.

The Self-Respect Movement became very radical and violent. The movement demanded the establishment of the Dravidasthan. Naicker, at this stage, was able to find out an effective young leader by name C.N. Annadurai, a Tamil Vellala. Impressed by Annadurai's ability and talent, Ramasami Naicker gave him an important role in the activities of the Self-Respect Movement.

The Dravida Kazhagam under the leadership of Annadurai continued to pursue anti-Brahmanism in the social and cultural fields. This expressed itself in assaults on individual Brahmin priests, destroying images of Hindu deities, trying to burn copies of the epic *Ramayana*, insulting the Puranas, epics, *Manu smrithi*, Sanskrit literature and so on.

The differences of opinion between Annadurai and Naicker led to a split in Dravida Kazhagam leading to the establishment of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in 1949 under the leadership of C.N. Annadurai. The primary objective of DMK was to establish Dravidanad. During the initial years, the DMK was also an advocate of Tamil separatism and was anti-north, anti-Hindi and anti-Sanskrit. But in course of time, there was a softening of its stand. The DMK proclaimed a casteless society, an egalitarian Dravidanadu to which the depressed and the downtrodden could pledge their allegiance. The DMK claimed to remove all superstitious beliefs based on religion and tradition. No member of this party was allowed to wear the sectarian marks of faith across his forehead. Members were urged to boycott the use of Brahmin priests in ceremonies. The movement campaigned vigoursly for widow remarriage and inter-caste marriages.

The non-Brahmin movement had the following important consequences:

(i) Introduction of communal or caste idiom into south Indian politics. It created an impression that in virtually every political contest it was very important whether a person was Brahmin or non-Brahmin.

(ii) This movement created alliances which cut across linguistic and cultural divisions.

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(iii) The movement made the leaders to extol the virtues of Dravidian gods and culture as against the Aryan gods and culture.

(iv) The leaders adopted a secessionist strategy to achieve their independence and self-respect.

(v) The leaders combined Dravidian religious ideology with political separation.

(vi) The movement had a tremendous appeal to the lower middle classes, lower castes and untouchables.

The movement was by no means a mass movement. The opposition to Brahmin dominance did not come from the low and the oppressed castes but from the leaders of the powerful, rural dominant castes such as the Kammas and Reddis of the Telugu country, the Vellalas of Tamil country, and the Nayar of Kerala.

Dalit Movement—Eradication of Untouchability and Upliftment of Scheduled Castes

Role of Bhim Rao Ambedkar

Dr Bhim Rao Ambedkar took many steps to reform the ways of the untouchables. He fought against many of the injustices done to the untouchables by establishing a political party and a couple of organizations for the untouchables. The role of Ambedkar may be studied conveniently under the following heading:

1. **The first man to make a scientific study of untouchability:** Even though Gandhi had thought of ways of removing untouchability much before Ambedkar, it was Ambedkar who drew the attention of the Congress organization, and also of the entire nation towards the grave problems of the untouchables, and their deplorable conditions. Ambedkar had made a detailed study of the problem of untouchability, its origin, development, and so on.
2. **Self-Respect Movement:** Ambedkar had made it clear that his main aim in life was to remove the practice of untouchability and to take the so-called 'untouchable community' towards socio-economic equality and justice. Through his social-movement he wanted to instil in the minds of the untouchables the ideas of self-dignity, self-confidence and self-respect. Thus, his movement is often called 'Self-Respect Movement'.
3. **Five-principles for progress of Dalits:** Ambedkar wanted the Dalits to follow the following five principles (panch-Sutras) in life so that they could attain a respectable status by their own efforts as a community. These were:
   - **Self-improvement:** Making one's own efforts for one's improvement without expecting much from the other.
   - **Self-progress:** Making self-efforts for achieving progress in life.
   - **Self-dependence:** Learning to lessen one's dependence on others and attaining finally self-reliance.
   - **Self-respect:** Maintaining self-dignity and never sacrificing it for any reason.
   - **Self-confidence:** Developing confidence in oneself, in one's capacities and in one's efforts.
4. **Call to reform lifestyle:** Ambedkar made an appeal to his community to change its lifestyle to suit the needs of time. He wanted them to give up eating carrion, alcoholic drinks and begging. He wanted them to become literate and send their children to schools. Finally, Ambedkar wanted them to dress well and have self-respect for themselves.
5. **Three principles of the Dalit movement:** Ambedkar suggested the following three principles to govern the Dalit movement:
   - **Education:** It is essential for helping the Dalits to remove their mask of ignorance.
   - **Agitation:** It becomes inevitable to fight against all the exploiters and cheats.
   - **Organization:** It is necessary to thrash out individual differences, to realize community interests and to fight for a common cause collectively.

   Ambedkar himself worked to put these three principles into practice. Ambedkar encouraged the education of Dalits through the organizations he established namely, Bahishkrita Hitakarini Sabha, Independent Labour Party and the Depressed Classes' Education Society.

   Ambedkar organized agitations in the direction of reaching his goals. The direct action in respect of Chowder Tank in Mahad (of Kolaba District, Maharashtra), the Kalaram Temple at Nasik and the Guruvayur temple in Malabar did in a few days what million days of preaching by reformers could never do. He personally led the temple entry agitation at Nasik. In 1930, Ambedkar launched a big temple entry movement at Nasik before the Kalaram Temple in which more than 15,000 volunteers, including 500 women, took part. The programme of temple entry was more for creating social consciousness than for asserting religious rights.

   Ambedkar realized the importance of 'organization' and worked to build a few of them. As early as in 1920, he had made attempts to organize all the untouchable castes and bring them under one banner. He had organized the first All-India Conference of Untouchables in May 1920 at Nagpur.
6. **Call to destroy caste system:** Ambedkar in his efforts to raise the status of untouchables considered the caste system one of the great obstacles. He gave a call to destroy the caste system in his book called *Annihilation of Caste* (1936). As an expression of his disillusionment with Hinduism, he rejected Hinduism and embraced Buddhism with his followers in 1956.
7. **Political role of Ambedkar:** Ambedkar made use of political instruments to achieve the purpose of protecting Dalit interests. In the First Round Table Conference convened in London in November 1930, Ambedkar, who attended it on behalf of the depressed classes, spoke about the loathsome condition of the untouchables in India. He prepared a declaration of the fundamental rights of the depressed classes and submitted it to the minorities sub-committee. He demanded the abolition of untouchability and the establishment of equal citizenship. He vehemently demanded a separate electorate for the depressed classes. Gandhi, however, opposed the proposal. He said that the political separation of the untouchables and the Hindus would be suicidal to the nation. He even said that he would resist such a proposal with his life. The conflict between the two leaders was, however, settled by the famous Poona Pact in 1932. Ambedkar was able to get some reasonable representation for the untouchables.

   Ambedkar, who met Gandhi in 1931, insisted on making the removal of untouchability a precondition for a person to become a member of the Congress.

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He supported the Anti-Untouchability League which launched a campaign all over the country to secure the civil rights for the depressed classes.

8. **Ambedkar and the Constitution:** Ambedkar was made the Law Minister in the First Cabinet of independent India. He was also made the Chairman of the Drafting Committee to draft the Indian Constitution, whose Article 17 abolished untouchability.

Role of M.K. Gandhi

M.K. Gandhi played a memorable role in uplifting the untouchables. Gandhi popularized the word Harijan, meaning the people of God. According to Gandhi, the practice of untouchability is a leper's wound in the body of Hindu politics. He even regarded it as the most hateful expression of caste. He made it his life's mission to wipe out untouchability and to uplift the depressed and the downtrodden people.

Gandhi believed in the fourfold division of the Hindu society into four varnas. He regarded untouchables as Shudras and not as the Panchamas or fifth Varna or Avarna. Hence, he sincerely felt the need for bringing about a basic change in the caste structure by uplifting the untouchables and not by abolishing the caste as such.

Gandhi had much compassion for the Harijans. He said: 'I do not want to be reborn. However, if I am to be born, I would like to be born an untouchable, so that I may share their sorrows and sufferings.' He was of the opinion that the practice of untouchability was a moral crime. Gandhi believed that a change of heart on the part of the Hindus was essential to enable the social and cultural assimilation of Harijans.

6.2.7 Agrarian and Peasant Movements

Agrarian or peasant unrest (movement) is not a new phenomenon in India. It has been in existence for a long time. Peasant movements had been a part of national movement against the British supremacy. Even now the unrest has not subsided in spite of various rural development activities and programmes. The growth of Green Revolution and the spread of education along with the development of agriculture have only added to the problem. The tribals who have taken to agriculture of late have also started asserting their rights and demanding from the government to concede their demands. Since agriculture and land are regarded as state-subjects, the issue of agrarian unrest is to be taken up and handled carefully by the state governments. The root of peasant unrest lies in the social structure of the peasantry, its history and processes of agricultural modernization.

Rural India, contrary to the general belief, is not inert. It is seething with discontent and conflicts. The old stable social structure of the village community with its varied institutions had experienced a severe jolt during the British period; and is undergoing a very rapid, almost hectic transformation after Independence. The impact of elections based on universal franchise, of increasing competitive profit-oriented production by peasants and of the emergence of various new institutions and associations—political, economic, social and administrative—on various classes and castes, has resulted in a mobility and created a tension which is, in its intensity and depth, unparalleled in the history of Indian rural society.

Rural sociologists use various terms to study the phenomenon of agrarian unrest in their own way. N.G. Ranga uses the expression struggle of the peasantry to refer to the agrarian unrest. A.R. Desai uses the term peasant struggle to refer to the agrarian unrest. Kathleen Gough terms it as peasant uprising, while Hamza Alavi uses the expression peasant revolution. According to the Marxian sociologists, it represents a type of class struggle or class war. Prof. D.N. Dhanagare considers the peasant agitation a peasant movement. The expression agrarian unrest is used as a broad concept to include in itself various types of struggles which are often described as—agrarian revolution, farmer's revolt, farmer's agitation, peasant movement, farmer's strikes, etc. But, farmer's agitations which are more fundamental and widely spread over as witnessed in the nations such as Russia, China, Cuba, Mexico, Algeria, Vietnam, etc., can better be termed as 'peasant revolutions'. Peasant revolutions are normally full-fledged struggles that are intended to bring about changes which are not just agricultural but also fundamental in coverage.

Not only in foreign countries, but also in India, some of the peasant agitations have taken place in different places mostly for one or the other local causes. Some of these agitations are branded or labelled as farmers' revolts, farmers' strike, peasant revolution, peasant movements, and so on. Of the various struggles that Indian peasants had undertaken prior to Independence, the following may be noted as significant ones.

(i) Santhal Insurrection (1855–56)
(ii) Peasant Revolt in Punjab (1930)
(iii) Champaran [Bihar] Movement (1917–18)
(iv) Kheda Peasant Struggle (1918)
(v) The Bardoli Satyagraha (1920)
(vi) Moplah Rebellion in Malabar (1921)

Of the peasant movements that took place after Independence, the following may be noted:

(i) Telangana Peasant Struggle (1947–51)
(ii) Naxalbari Peasant Struggle (1967)

Peasant movements in modern India

The rise of peasant movements was essentially due to the exploitative nature of the colonial rule of the British in India. The agrarian policy of the British had adverse effects on the position of the peasants. The new form of land revenue settlements viz., Permanent settlement, Ryotwari settlement and Mahalwari settlement disintegrated the rural community. The result was agricultural distress and fragmentation of land, and ultimately the status of the peasants were reduced to that of mere tenants depriving them of many of their rights. These new revenue system gave rise to absentee landlordism and the unholy triple alliance of zamindars-moneylenders-government who were merely interested in extracting more and more revenue.

Historically, the peasant movements in pre-Independence India can broadly be grouped in the following three distinct phases: the first phase was characterized by the absence of proper leadership, the second phase witnessed the rise of well-organized peasant movements in which the Congress Party, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, took active part, and the third phase was marked by the emergence of the class conscious peasant organizations. Its distinct feature was that during this period, peasant movements were led by people who gave priority of Kisan problems in the struggle for national liberation.

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First Phase (1858–1917): The tyranny of zamindars along with the exorbitant rates of British land revenue led to a series of spontaneous peasant uprising in different parts of the country during this period. The periodic recurrence of famines coupled with economic depression in the last decade of the 19th century further aggravated the situation in rural areas, and consequently led to numerous peasant revolts.

One of the powerful peasant movements of this period was the Indigo agitation of Bengal (1859–1860). The foreign indigo planters compelled the peasants to cultivate indigo and subjected them to untold oppression. The anger against the oppression burst out in 1859. A large number of peasants refused to cultivate indigo, and stoutly resisted physical brutality and violence of the planters. The new intelligentsia of Bengal rose to the occasion and organized a powerful campaign in support of the rebellious peasants. The government was forced to appoint a commission and the first statute, the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, was passed, conferring permanency of tenure upon some classes of tenants.

The next agitation took place during 1875–76 in Maharashtra, particularly in Poona and Ahmednagar districts, and was popularly known as the Deccan Riots under the leadership of Vasudeo Balwant Phadke. In these areas, the Ryotwari Settlement was in vogue, but the government's revenue demand was so high that the peasants found it impossible to meet it without borrowing from the moneylenders at exorbitant interest. As a result, more and more land began passing into the hands of the moneylenders. The peasants lost their patience by the end of 1874. At first, they organized a social boycott of the moneylenders, which soon transformed itself into agrarian riots. The peasants took possession of the debt bonds and other documents and set them on fire. The police failed to meet the fury of the peasant resistance, which was finally suppressed with the help of the army. However, the British Government took its cue from this try of the masses and hurriedly passed the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, whereby no peasant of Maharashtra could be sent to the Civil Debtors Jail for failure to repay debts.

A similar uprising took place in Punjab during 1890–1900 against the growing alienation of peasant's lands to the moneylenders of towns. The Sikh, Muslim and Hindu peasants who had till the recent past enjoyed an independent Sikh state could not tolerate the superiority of the moneylenders conferred upon them by the British Civil laws. Murders or assaults on moneylenders began to increase rather alarmingly. The British Government, therefore, was forced to pass the Punjab Land Alienation Act in 1902–1903 prohibiting the transferring of land from the peasants and prohibiting the transferring of mortgages of more than 20 years.

The Indian National Congress, though it came into existence in the late 19th century, took cognizance of the peasant problems only during its extremist phase (1905–1919). And even during the extremist phase, it did not lay as much stress on the needs of the peasants as it did on the needs of the industrialists. The Congress leaders continued to press for the establishment of permanent settlement of land revenue, the abolition of sales tax and excise revenue. However, as the Congress was pre-occupied with their fight for protection of Indian industries and in securing state assistance to the Indian industrialists, they could not do anything more than formally reiterating these demands on behalf of the agriculturists. Even in this regard, for some reason not easily explicable, they kept themselves scrupulously silent about the fate of the crores of zamindari tenants in Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Assam and Madras. Lord Curzon's declaration that it was the British Government that had done a lot to protect tenants from the oppression of zamindars remained unchallenged and

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unanswered probably because the then leadership of the Congress was so overwhelmingly zamindari and capitalistic in its class context.

Second Phase (1917–1923): The awakening of the peasantry during this phase owed its development and success to the leadership of M.K. Gandhi. The Indian National Congress, in fact, experienced a metamorphosis with the appearance of Gandhi on the Indian political scene. The sphere of influence of the Congress, which was restricted to the middle-class intelligentsia, was now extended, and it came to assume a mass character.

The peasants of Bihar staged the famous Champaran struggle (1917–1918) against the indigo planters, many of whom were Europeans and who were persecuting the local peasants to grow indigo against their will under the threat of paying higher taxes and collecting several illegal taxations. Gandhi initiated the moral and original method of conducting a systematic and authoritative enquiry into the real nature and degree of the sufferings of the peasants at the hands of the planters.

Soon the Khaira drought and the consequent failure of crops claimed the attention of Gandhi. Miseries of the peasants were further aggravated when the government insisted upon the payment of land revenue despite the inability of the peasants to pay. After the agitation by Gandhi, the Government suspended revenue collection for the time being. Even here, Gandhi did not complicate his campaign by trying to tackle the other problems of the peasants such as their independence, alienation of lands, etc.

These two campaigns succeeded in establishing Gandhi as the pioneer of peasant satyagraha and to some extent in awakening the peasants to the use of satyagraha for achieving their purposes. It is, however, true that the great majority of the peasantry was still unaware of politics and was therefore not politically affect by these triumphs. But they did open the eyes of a growing number of the peasants to mass action.

But the ultimate task was left to the great nationwide Non-cooperation Movement, which succeeded in drawing, in one effort, millions of peasants into its orbit. It shook Indians peasants from their age-old political slumber and dragged them almost against their traditions into the whirlpool of the national political life. For the first time, the peasants were told, to their great satisfaction and wonder that it was legitimate for them to refuse to pay land revenue, the payment of which they had come to look upon almost as a religious duty. To them, in the early days of the national movement when they became politically conscious for the first time as a result of direct action, Swaraj meant freedom from all tax burdens and, especially, the abolition of land revenue.

Third Phase (1928 onwards): The introduction of national politics into the life of the peasants since 1917 by Gandhi and his followers, working through the Indian National Congress had a great impact. First of all, the peasants were taken by surprise.

In 1928, the Andhra Provincial Ryots Association was organized by the regional peasant leaders under the presidentship of B.V. Ratnam. In 1929, the Andhra Ryots Provincial Association met under the presidentship of N.G. Ranga and supported the stand taken by the Congress in regard to politics; and was concerned mostly with land revenue, agricultural indebtendness, unemployment, and internal social reforms, but did not try to tackle the zamindari-ryot problem.

It is impossible to overestimate the shocking effect the triumph of Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928–1929 had upon the peasantry who protested against the unjust enhancement of land revenue sought to be imposed upon them by the Bombay government. They were led by Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel. But the chief factor which ultimately won for them their complete success was their own limitless sacrifices and

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unexampled discipline and determination. At last, the Bombay government had to yield to the demand of peasants to appoint an impartial Enquiry Committee. The Committee gave the award mostly in favour of peasants. This well-advertised triumph of Bardoli peasants raised their hopes of being able to successfully rise against the government.

The Civil Disobedience Movement, the steep fall in prices of agricultural commodities due to economic depression and the consequent pressure, sudden and stunning, brought to bear upon them by moneylenders and landlords, and the heroic struggles and achievements of Bardoli peasants in 1928–1929, and again in 1931–31, had all prepared the field for the spread of bolder ideas among the peasantry.

The first Kisan Congress held at Lucknow in 1935 led to the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha. The programme of the Sabha reflected the aspirations and needs of the entire peasantry in agrarian India. The All India Kisan Sabha was composed of radical petty bourgeois individuals, within and outside the Indian National Congress.

It was also supported and strengthened by the Congress Socialist Party and, later on, by the Communist Party of India. The Sabha launched some significant struggles in different parts of the country. In Andhra Pradesh, it launched an anti-settlement movement against zamindari zulum; Swami Sahajanand, one of the eminent leaders and pioneers of the All India Kisan Sabha, led a heroic movement for the abolition of zamindari in Bihar. A powerful struggle was initiated against the oppressive forest laws in south India. Similarly, in Uttar Pradesh and other parts of India, agitations were launched against the tyranny of zamindars.

It also carried on wide educative and propaganda work among the Indian peasants and attempted to harmonize their efforts. Thus, it provided a common plat form for the Indians to express their grievances and put up joint demands.

Tebhaga Movement: The Tebhaga Movement arose in India in the mid-1940s. It coincided almost exactly with the end of the Second World War. The breeding ground of the movement was North Bengal, including districts of Dinajpur and Rangpur in East Bengal and Jalpaiguri and Malda in West Bengal. The movement aim to reduce the share of jotedars in the produce from one-half to one-third. The jotedars extracted rent from the farmers on the grounds that they had superior rights to their land. The movement was organized by the Kisan Sabha and was very different from other movements with regard to the demands raised. It marked a departure from the pattern of movements that had taken place with the Gandhian ideology under the leadership of the Congress.

Telengana Peasant Uprising: This movement was started by the Communists. It started in Nalgonda district in 1946 and eventually expanded to Warangal and Bidar districts, finally spreading to the entire Telengana region. The aim of this movement was to protest against the excessive and unfair extraction of taxes and rent by feudal lords from the poor peasantry. So in this sense, it had a broad objective and concerned the entire peasant class of the region.

Causes of agrarian unrest or peasant struggles

1. **Feeling of relative deprivation:** During the British rule, zamindars, jahgirdars, inamdars, and higher level government officials and the rich in general enjoyed several facilities and privileges. The common people, including the ordinary peasants, were deprived of such privileges. The feeling of relative deprivation made these peasants agitated and disillusioned.

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2. **Foreign invasion, atrocities and exploitation:** Prior to Independence, foreign invasions, atrocities and exploitation of different kinds had instigated Indians to fight against such things. The spirit of patriotism was also there in these struggles. The peasants too had joined hands with others to fight against the British officials, their agents and their henchmen.
3. **Destruction of cottage industries:** The industrial system of economy and the factory system of production, introduced by the British, led to the destruction of cottage and home industries of farmers.
4. **Exploitation of tribals:** The tribals, who were leading a peaceful life in the midst of forests and mountainous regions, were not only disturbed but were even exploited by the British.
5. **Coercion exercised to grow commercial crops**: Some of the zamindars, plantation owners and British supported jagirdars brought heavy pressure on the farmers to grow commercial crops, such as cotton, jute, rubber, coffee, indigo, sugarcane, and so on. They never looked at the farmers willingness and convenience in growing these crops, but just imposed their will on them. Farmers, who were upset by this kind of pressure and coercion, were ready for any kind of fight against their bosses.
6. **Increasing burden of debt:** Economic incapacity and increase in debt also made the Indian farmers become restless. The farmers were deprived of various sources from which they could earn money. This situation even led to the unwanted system of bonded labour. Farmers, who had borrowed money, had to pay heavy debts. Moneylenders and zamindars who had given loans to farmers charged exorbitant rate of interest.
7. **Increasing number of the landless and the unemployed:** Various tribal farmers and low caste Hindus, who had possessed some pieces of land, had to surrender the same to landlords, zamindars and moneylenders, due to their failure to repay the debt. This led to an enormous increase in the number of landless labourers and unemployed people.
8. **Organizing power of farmers:** Farmers started organizing themselves in order to safeguard their interests. Accordingly, many farmer organizations, such as sugarcane growers' organization, tobacco growers' organization, coffee growers' organization, came to be established. Organizations of this kind arose in different parts of the country asserting the farmers' rights.
9. **Illegal eviction of tenants:** A large number of the tenants, who were forcibly evicted from the land, which they had been cultivating, were forced to join the farmers' agitation. Some of them had even taken part in' land grab' movements.
10. **Anti-farmer measures of the government:** Many a times, the Central government as well as state governments take decisions without taking into consideration the interests of the farmers. For example, in revising the electricity rates, prices of fertilizers and interest rates on farmers' loans, water tax, and so on, the state governments have often offended the interests of the farmers.
11. **Increasing political awareness:** Political ideology and political commitments and affiliation with the political parties have also inspired farmers' agitation. The recent political developments have brought about greater political consciousness among the farmers. This consciousness has very often made them to make a collective effort to protect their interests. Political parties working at the state as

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well as national level have got their own farmers' wings. These political parties have often themselves instigated farmers' agitations.

Indigo growers' agitation: The first agitation of Indian farmers

The most militant and widespread of the peasant movements was the Indigo Revolt of 1859–60. The indigo planters, nearly all Europeans, compelled the tenants to grow indigo which they processed in factories set up in rural (mofussil) areas. Since the beginning, indigo was grown under an extremely oppressive system which involved great loss to the cultivators. The planters forced the peasants to take a meagre amount as advance and enter into fraudulent contracts. The price paid for the indigo plants was far below the market price. The comment of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, J.B. Grant, was that the root of the whole question is the struggle to make the raiyats grow indigo plant, without paying them the price of it. The peasant was forced to grow indigo on the best land he had, whether or not he wanted to devote his land and labour to more paying crops like rice. At the time of delivery, he was cheated even of the due low price. The peasant also had to pay regular bribes to the planter's officials. He was forced to accept an advance. Often the peasant was not in a position to repay it, but even if he could, he was not allowed to do so. The advance was used by the planters to compel him to go on cultivating indigo.

Since the enforcement of forced and fraudulent contracts through the courts was a difficult and prolonged process, the planters resolved to a reign of terror to coerce the peasants. Kidnapping, illegal confinement in factory godowns, flogging, attacks on women and children, carrying off cattle, looting, burning and demolition of houses, and destruction of crops and fruit trees were some of the methods used by planters. They hired or maintained bands of lathiyals (armed retainers) for the purpose.

In practice, the planters were also above the law. With a few exceptions, the magistrates, mostly European, favoured the planters with whom they dined and hunted regularly. Those few who tried to be fair were soon transferred.

The discontent of indigo growers in Bengal boiled over in the autumn of 1859 when their case seemed to get the government support. Misreading an official letter and exceeding his authority, Hem Chandra Kar, Deputy Magistrate of Kalaroa, published on 17 August a proclamation to policemen that 'in cases of disputes relating to Indigo Ryots, they (ryots) shall retain possession of their own lands, and shall sow on them what crops they please, and the Police will be careful that no Indigo Planter nor anyone else be able to interfere in the matter'.

The news of Kar's proclamation spread all over Bengal, and peasants felt that the time for overthrowing the hated system had come. Initially, the peasants made an attempt to get redressal through peaceful means. They sent numerous petitions to the authorities and organized peaceful demonstrations. Their anger exploded in September 1859 when they asserted their right not to grow indigo under duress and resisted the physical pressure of the planters and their lathiyals backed by the police and the courts.

The beginning was made by the ryots of Govindpur village in Naida district when, under the leadership of Digamber Biswas and Bishnu Biswas, ex-employees of a planter, they gave up indigo cultivation. And when on 13 September, the planter sent a band of 100 lathiyals to attack their village, they organized a counter force armed with lathis and spears and fought back.

The peasant disturbances and indigo strikes spread rapidly to other areas. The peasants refused to take advances and enter into contracts, pledged not to sow indigo, and defended themselves from the planters' attacks with whatever weapons came to hand—spears, slings, lathis, bows and arrows, bricks, bhel-fruit, and earthen-pots (thrown by women).

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The indigo strikes and disturbances flared up again in the spring of 1860 and encompassed all indigo districts of Bengal. Factory after factory was attacked by hundreds of peasants, and village after village bravely defended themselves. In many cases, the efforts of the police to intervene and arrest peasant leaders were met with an attack on policemen and police posts.

The planters then attacked with another weapon, their zamindari powers. They threatened the rebellious ryots with eviction or enhancement of rent. The ryots' replied by going on a rent strike. They refused to pay the enhanced rents; and they physically resisted attempts to evict them. They also gradually learnt to use the legal machinery to enforce their rights. They also used the weapon of social boycott to force a planter's servants to leave him.

Ultimately, the planters could not withstand the united resistance of the ryots, and they gradually began to close their factories. The cultivation of indigo was virtually wiped out from the districts of Bengal by the end of 1860.

Significance of the Revolt: A major reason for the success of the Indigo Revolt was the tremendous initiative, cooperation, organization and discipline of the ryots. Another was the complete unity among Hindu and Muslim peasants. Leadership for the movement was provided by the more well-off ryots and in some cases by petty zamindars, moneylenders and ex-employees of the planters.

A significant feature of the Indigo Revolt was the role of the intelligentsia of Bengal which organized a powerful campaign in support of the rebellious peasantry. It carried on newspaper campaigns, organized mass meetings, prepared memoranda on peasants' grievances and supported them in their legal battles.

The intelligentsia's role in the Indigo Revolt was to have an abiding impact on the emerging nationalist intellectuals. In their very political childhood, they had given support to a popular peasant movement against the foreign planters. This was to establish a tradition with long-term implications for the national movement. Missionaries were another group which extended active support to the indigo ryots in their struggle.

The Government's response to the Revolt was rather restrained and not as harsh as in the case of civil rebellions and tribal uprisings. It had just undergone the harrowing experience of the Santhal uprising and the Revolt of 1857. It was also able to see, in time, the changed temper of the peasantry and was influenced by the support extended to the Revolt by the intelligentsia and the missionaries. It appointed a commission to inquire into the problem of indigo cultivation. Evidence brought before the Indigo Commission and its final report exposed the coercion and corruption underlying the entire system of indigo cultivation. The result was the mitigation of the worst abuses of the system. The Government issued a notification in November 1860 that ryots could not be compelled to sow indigo and that it would ensure that all disputes were settled by legal means. But the planters were already closing down the factories—they felt that they could not make their enterprises pay without the use of force and fraud.

Naxalbari Movement

The peasant revolt in Naxalbari started in 1972 in three areas of the Darjeeling district in West Bengal. Rajbansis (originally a tribe), Oraons, Mundas and Santhals constituted a

large proportion of the population in this region. The members of the last three tribes were those who had migrated from Chotanagpur to work in tea-gardens in Darjeeling district. Landowners were called jotedars and tenants were called adhiari. The status of adhiari was precarious. They were exploited so much and treated like bonded labour that it led to a peasant's revolt in the 1950s and the 1960s. Kanu Sanyal and others made their first entry amongst the exploited peasants in the 1960s, demanding abolition of zamindari, land to the tiller, prevention of tenant eviction, etc. The call given by the Kisan Sabha to peasants in the late 1950s and the early 1960s for regaining possession of benami land was as follows: reap and store the harvest at your own place, ask jotedars to furnish proof of their landownership before the peasant committee, arm yourself to protect the crop and save your crop from the police.

In the second phase of Naxalbari peasant uprising in the late 1960s and early 1970s, secret combat groups were formed and peasants were urged to seize the lands of jotedars and of the plantation workers who had purchased land from poor peasants, cultivate the seized land and retain all the produce from lands, ask landlord for food and if he refused, take it by force, deprive jotedar of his firearms.

The important characteristics of Naxalbari peasant uprising in West Bengal were:

(i) mobilization to protect the interests of the peasants and the labouring classes and covering all ethnic (including tribes) and caste groups; (ii) the means adopted were non- institutionalized and violence was encouraged; (iii) leadership was provided by communist party leaders; and (iv) it aimed at downward mobility of jotedars and upward mobility of marginal peasants in bondage.

The factors which had contributed to the failure of this movement were: its anti-national slant as manifested in the Chinese support for it, its vocal denunciation of the Indian national leadership and acceptance of Chinese leadership as a source of its aspiration, its declared intention to capture state power, its open support to violence and factionalism among the leftists. Although the declared intention of the movement was capturing state power, in reality, the revolt was not directed against the system but against its excesses. It was the exchange of goods between the peasant and the owner landlord that was sought to be properly regulated.

Peasant movements in Assam

The rule of the East India Company ended in 1858 and India came under the direct control of the British crown. British rulers continued their policy of exploitation of the resources of the country; however, there was little change in the character of the internal administration. After 1860, the struggle against the British changed with the agrarian outbreaks against enhancement of the land revenue or imposition of new taxes.

Under the leadership of local leaders like Gossains, Dolois or influential landowners, 'Raij-mels' or 'mels' assemblies of the common people were organized in different parts of Assam to ventilate popular grievances and for the purpose of resisting imposition of new taxes or enhancement of land revenue.

Phulaguri Uprising (1861): In the year 1861, the peasant population of the Phulaguri area in the Nowgaon district of Assam protested through their 'mels' against the prohibition of poppy cultivation and rumours of imposition of taxes on incomes and on betel-nuts and betel-leaves. But the authorities did not pay any attention to the sentiments of the people. In October, an English Officer named Lt. Singer, then Junior Assistant Commissioner, lost his life while suppressing the demonstration of resentment made by the people. To suppress the uprising, the military was called in by the District Officer from Guahati and Tezpur; and eight leaders were subsequently sentenced to death. But it was Lt. Sconce, District Officer of Nowgaon, whose tactlessness and high-handed proceedings aggravated the resentment among the people and made them militant. The authorities found Lt. Sconce guilty mainly for two reasons. Firstly, not giving a hearing to the people's grievances at Phulaguri; and secondly, in deputing an inexperienced officer to deal with an agitated crowd. This incident became a historic one and is now known as the 'Phulaguri Dhawa' or battle of Phulaguri.

Assam Riots (1894): The Assam Riots of 1894–95 was the most important rebellion of Assam. In 1893, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sir William Ward, devised new assessment land revenue rate which increased by 70 to 80 per cent. A series of 'raij-mels' was held in the districts of Kamrup and Darrang to revolt against unjust impositions of the land revenue which was imposed by these alien rulers. The demonstrations of the people at Rangiya, Lachima and Patharughat and their determination not to pay the enhanced revenue at any cost alarmed the authorities and they used 'force' to suppress these uprisings which they called 'riots'.

Rangiya: During the months of December and January (1893–94), thousands of people demonstrated for several days at Rangiya in the Kamrup district. The authorities failed to stop the demonstrations. 'Mels' were still held at Rangiya and other places like Patidarrang, Nalbari, Barama and Bazali. On the 10 January 1894, several thousands of people assembled together in the fields close to the Rangiya thana (police station). In the evening as the crowd drew closer to the thana; McCabe, the then Deputy Commissioner, ordered the armed police to fire on the crowd. The crowd ultimately dispersed. Many of them lost their lives and many were arrested.

Patharughat: On 28 January 1894, there was similar uprising that took place at Patharughat in Darrang district. Under the command of Berington, the Superintendent of Police; J.D. Anderson, the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang, arrived at Patharughat with a band of sepoys and armed Civil Police after intimation that huge 'mel' was held in that area. The next day, a huge crowd assembled in a paddy field near the rest-house where Anderson was staying. Anderson asked them to disperse but the people remained firm and refused to go back unless their demands were conceded. Being ordered by Deputy Commissioner, Berington fired on this huge crowd that had assembled at the paddy field of Patharughat. Many people died and got injured.

Role of civil society

Civil society has been widely recognized as an essential 'third' sector. The role played by civil society in building and strengthening of democracy is as follows:

(i) Its strength has a positive influence on the state and the market. Civil society is, therefore, seen as an increasingly important agent for promoting good governance like transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness and accountability.

(ii) Civil society, first, has a role of enabling the hitherto voiceless and unorganized communities' interests to be represented. In other words, the sphere of civil society has a goal of empowerment for local communities.

(iii) Civil society can further improve governance, first, by policy analysis and as participants in the design of strategies; second, by regulation and monitoring of state performance and the action and behaviour of public officials; third, by building social capital and enabling citizens to identify and articulate their values, beliefs,

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civic norms and democratic practices; fourth, by mobilizing particular constituencies, particularly the vulnerable and marginalized sections of masses, to participate more fully in politics and public affairs; and fifth, by development work to improve the well-being of their own and other communities.

(iv) Finally, civil society has obtained the role of 'ensuring the accountability' of the state in various sectors. The first step into state accountability is ensuring the right to access to information. This is especially important because in this country, official papers have always been kept confidential and away from public eye. Besides this, civil society has been entrusted with the function of monitoring that 'the law and order machinery is accountable'. As per this function, the civil society controls political parties and electoral process, and the local bodies etc.

Since the 1960s, there have been many changes in the sphere of political participation in India—there have been many new social groups coming into the political arena and influencing the political process. Some of these new social groups include the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that had been heretofore not part of national politics on the grounds that they were at the very bottom of the social ladder. After India became a democracy, such previously-downtrodden social groups started to use the equal opportunities available to them to rise in society. Besides these, the other groups that have emerged are women and environmentalists. The emergence of these groups is proof that India's democracy flourishes despite the many difficulties faced by the nation regarding its political parties and state institutions.

Starting from the 1970s, there was a trend of social movements started by activists to highlight issues they deemed to be ignored by the powers and the political parties. One of the most powerful ones was the farmers' movement, which recently brought thousands of demonstrators into New Delhi to put pressure on the government to increase the retail prices of agricultural commodities as well as increased investment in rural causes. Besides this, some members of Scheduled Castes have raised protests to grant a new identity to former untouchables. Other than these, there have been multiple movements by women activists from various organizations highlighting and promoting women-related issues. At the same time, there have been protests and movements trying to pressurize the government to pay more attention to environmental issues like global warming and deforestation. Some of these demonstrations have centred on issues of respect for indigenous cultures and environmental sustainability.

Owing to its keenly contested election, independent judicial system, expressive media and flourishing civil society, India is renowned all over the world for being one of the most democratic political systems. However, Indian democracy constantly hits obstacles in the form of increasingly centralized political authority while the society becomes more and more diverse. The onus to keep the country united is on the political party which themselves struggle with internal strife and conflicts of interest and regional disparity.

The fact that the political parties are unable to handle the task of keeping the country united has led to the general public being more active and aware through non-governmental organizations and social movements. As a result, the civil society has emerged stronger and more confident of its own powers (through community and the individual) than the powers of the government. This means that the initiative of solving India's social problems has been taken over by the society from the state. The common man in India is now waking up to form institutions that will not shy away from confronting the political bodies when they become lax in their duties.

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In the years after Independence, India experienced a steady rise of civil society. From Chipko Movement led by Sunder Lal Bahuguna, Narmada Bachao Andolan led by Medha Patkar and Right to Information Movement by Arvind Kejriwal, India has come a long way. The environmental movement in India is strong now and has led to cancellation of multiple projects in India after civil society agitation.

Similarly on political front too, movements starting from Jayaprakash Narayan's Total Revolution to recent movements for RTI Act and NREGA by various civil society activists like Aruna Roy and Jean Dreze have strengthened Indian democracy only. The most recent movement by 'India against Corruption' for Lokpal Bill in India is a glorious new chapter in long list of citizen movements in India. It has brought civil society for the first time in Indian history in the ambit of legislation as five civil society members were part of Joint Lokpal Bill Drafting Committee. Similarly, the way for the first time it has brought Indian middle class out of their comfort zones and right in front of confrontation against social evils like corruption, thus making its achievement even more laudable.

6.3 ECONOMIC CRITIQUE OF BRITISH COLONIALISM

Critiques of imperialism and colonialism emerged in the second half of the 19th century. In the 1850s, Karl Marx wrote a series of articles on the economic impact of colonialism. He further developed his critiques in *Capital* in the 1860s. Among the Indian writers Mahadev Govind Ranade published his essays on economy less as a critique of colonialism than as a blueprint for development of the Indian economy. The most scathing attack on colonialism was Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* in which he argued that India's poverty was mainly due to the drain of wealth by the British government through tribute and home charges. R. C. Dutt, the first Indian ICS, published his *Economic History of British India* also accused the British of deindustrialising India. More or less on these lines other economists like GB Joshi and Prithwis Chandra Ray wrote the history of Indian economy in the British period.

A new dimension to the study of Indian economy opened up at the international level in the Comintern. M. N. Ray, as the sole Indian representative in the Comintern, contributed to the economic policy discussion in the organization the value of which was recognized even by Lenin. A number of Soviet scholars joined a discussion on the impact of colonialism on India and the prospect of economic growth of India. A great debate raged on the role of the Indian bourgeoisie. These discussions governed the Communist movement in India even after the dissolution of the Comintern in 1945. After Independence, a professional discipline of economic history developed.

One of the earliest western writers Morris D Morris centred his argument of underdevelopment of independent India on her social structure. He was criticized by BR Tomlinson who accused Morris of a kind of circular logic and over simplification as if 'Indian industrial growth was retarded because she faces the distressing paradox, the high cost of being poor; while the most easily identifiable factor that restricted industry was shortage of capital'. Irfan Habib questioned Morris's failure to address issues like de-industrialization in the 19th century or 'deleterious effects of currency manipulation by British interests'.

Indian scholars, thereafter, started working on industrial history, labour history, agrarian history, capital market and class contradiction. Habib is the foremost historian

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of agrarian India. Feudalism in ancient, medieval and modern India has attracted not only economic historians but also historians of other streams. A. K. Bagchi worked on *Private Investment in India*. Deindustrialization under British rule came under a major focus of economic historians. Labour history, beginning with Morris D Morris, went through the writings of Dipesh Chakrabatry and Ranajit Dasgupta. The stage of economic development encompassing agriculture and industry are the major point of contention among Indian economists.

In the 1970s, Ranajit Guha set up a new school of historiography with his study of East India Company's role in India, namely the subaltern school. Gradually, economists started probing tribal economy, environment and women's questions suggesting that the colonial period displayed a disjuncture from the pre-colonial period. Researches in the 1990s made a shift from looking at the colonial policies, such as, revenue to agro-ecological conditions, market conditions and socio-cultural factors to determine the agrarian relations and divisions within the peasantry. Though studies on the larger administrative policies continued, focus was shifted towards select problematic areas like irrigation (M. Mufakharul), jute economy of Bengal (Omkar Goswami), rural credit market (Shahi Amin) and agrarian relations in Bengal (Sugata Bose). Some historian, however, took a revisionist position in respect to the question of de-industrialization. A leading voice in this category is that of Tirthankar Roy.

M. G. Ranade

M. G. Ranade is considered the pioneer of Indian nationalist economics. A teacher of economics, Ranade wrote mostly on poverty. He considered it a legacy of the pre-colonial India and said the heightened awareness towards this endemic was a product of the British rule. Poverty, he said, was a by-product of India's overdependence on agriculture. He, however, made no extravagant claim for the past nor did he put the blame for all ills entirely on the foreign rule. He pointed out that traditionally the economy of the country did not represent a balanced growth. Agriculture was not supported by industries or the manufactures or distributors of the products, a collective interplay of all sections of the economy. Also, the fact that machine-made imported goods were cheaper than the domestic handicraft products was a cause of economic decline. Ranade was of the opinion that even if the Government of India had not helped the process in any way, British merchants and manufacturers would eventually have asserted their predominance in the Indian market. But what led to a rapid disintegration of the domestic economy was the government's support of the British interest. Ranade's approach has been termed as a balanced growth argument. Basing his argument on the lines of German economist Friedrich List, Ranade defines economic development as the full and all-round development of the productive powers of society. In his initial writings, he often highlighted the government's failure to correct the imbalances in the economy through its policies. He argued the government was more focused on exporting raw materials and improving channels of communication while ignoring its own industrial needs. 'This dependency has come to be regarded as a plantation, growing raw produce to be shipped by British agents in British ships, to be worked into fabrics by British skill and capital, and to be re-exported to the Dependency by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere.'

Again borrowing from List, Ranade talks of stages of growth, typically an economy should pass through. He applies these conditions to the Indian situation to gradually move from an agricultural and handicraft economy to agriculture along with manufacture and commerce. It was Ranade's understanding of economic development as a historical process that inspired his vision of India's industrialization. He wanted India to be industrialised, but was aware that it would not be an easy task. Ranade was one among the modern historians who advocated the government's assistance with labour migration as a means of economics development. He believed migration would relieve the pressure of population on the land. However, due to the immense dependency on land, even a low rate of population growth would have an adverse impact on the economy. Hence, he advocated emigration as he believed it would not only lessen the pressure on land, but indirectly benefit the economy.

Interestingly, though Ranade wanted more government support in industrializing India, he did not favour tariff protection. He argued the state could only support the industrial moves, but the maximum effort should come from organized private support. From this we cannot conclude that Ranade was an enthusiast of laissez-faire or socialism. He was aware of the obstacle Indian would face in becoming an industrial country. Ranade's approach to economic policy was guided by an over-riding objective: the development of productive capacity.

Contemporary historians as well as others enthusiastically received Ranade's push for industrial development; however, they did not support his idea of capitalist development in agriculture. GV Joshi, a follower of Ranade, favoured small peasant farming, which was to be maintained by vigorous tenancy legislation, cheap credit, and a low land tax. Such a policy required just the kind of continuing, long-run, legal and financial government intervention in agricultural activity which Ranade had criticised. He was highly critical of the investments in railways and wrote the same capital could have been used elsewhere. In fact, railway investment was seen as a substitute for investment in industry.

R. C. Dutt

A contemporary of Ranade, Dutt, too, was concerned with poverty. He held the British policies responsible for recurring famines, low productivity and decay of domestic industry in India. He admitted that shortage of rainfall led to famines, but blamed the government for lack of resources to the peasants. He took a different route from that of Ranade and claimed the emergence of industry not only destroyed the domestic cottage industry, but also led to a decline in agricultural productivity and increased the pressure on land. Bad taxation policies and insensitive administrative policies have aggravated the degradable situation of the peasants. According to him, the low standard of living of people was due to the high density of population, low agricultural prices, the land tenure system and the agrarian structure. Dutt wrote, 'While British political economists professed the principles of free trade from the latter end of the eighteenth century, the British nation declined to adopt them till they had crushed the manufacturing power of India . . . [I]n India the manufacturing power of the people was stamped out by protection against her industries, and then free trade was forced on her so as to prevent a revival.' He said Indians paid 40 per cent more tax than the taxpayers of Great Britain and Ireland.

To check poverty, Dutt suggested two steps. The first was to revive the cottage industry to remove unemployment and underemployment outside cities. He also wanted the government to extend the irrigation facilities to decrease dependency on monsoon. Second, he wanted the government to be economical in its expenditure and lower the rate of interest on public debt. Dutt's aim was to curb the flow of wealth outside India.

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Dutt's book, *Economic History of India*, is considered to be the most important historical work produced by nationalist historians. It gives an authoritative and important account of socio-economic conditions of the masses under the colonial rulers. Like Ranade, he believed that political and economic policies were complementary to each other.

Bipan Chandra

According to Bipan Chandra, the Indian economy became capitalist in nature under the British. Although there was distinction between the rich and the poor even before the coming of the British, money was not the most powerful commodity in the society. So, although there were numerous aspects that were of fascinating interest during the British rule of India, Bipan Chandra points out that the liberation movement and the change of the economic structure of the Indian society were the two most intriguing aspects during those times.

Bipan Chandra feels that the change of economic structure experienced by India during British reign was a part of the change that was experienced worldwide under the European occupation of various colonies. He was of the opinion that the history of capitalism shows that it was not an independent move of any colony and that capitalism has always affected nations in a cluster. Bipan observed that although the Indian nation was deemed to be a democratic nation after independence, it was not a complete democratic structure as pure democracy is not possible under a capitalist environment. The methods of production and trade went through drastic changes after the British colonization.

Bipan Chandra also points out that agrarianism and its rise was also something that happened during the British period. This was because of the fact that although the feudal structure still existed even during the times of the Mughals, the exploitation of the farmers was not so drastic. The British came to India with a frame of mind that was capitalistic to its core and they wanted to turn the traditional agricultural system in India into a capitalist agricultural system.

Influence of Marx

In the 1940s and 1950s, economists had lost interest in studying Indian economic history, and the focus had shifted to political history. But Marxists ideas gave a new spur to the research, and we see new interpretations after Independence. However, in the early 20th century, people like A. Appadorai grappled with economic questions. In the 1950s, N K Sinha wrote three volumes on economic history of Bengal. Sumit Sarkar interpreted this change in historical sensibilities as something that has emerged from the 'conjuncture of the 1950s and 1960s, marked by a strong and apparently growing Left presence in Indian political and intellectual life . . . It was not mainstream British or American historiography, not even writings on South Asian themes, but a journal like *Past and Present*, the 'transition debate', and the work of historians like Hill, Hobsbawm and Thompson . . . that appeared most stimulating to Indian scholars exploring new ways of looking at history.'

As said earlier, Marxists ideologies opened up a whole new dimension of history writing, including economic history. Historian and economists now dealt with those aspects which were never discussed earlier. Issues such as demography, domestic trade, banking and currency were researched. In fact, Marxists ideologies influenced the study of ancient and medieval history. According to Sarkar, studies on economic history saw

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major advancement. Agriculture, industrialization, and deindustrialization were some of the topics of discussion under the Marxist purview. Amiya Bagchi's study of manufacturing employment in nineteenth-century Bihar may be the most important modern study of deindustrialization and sparked a renewed discussion and debate which drew participants from India as well as around the world. His main thesis of his work on *Private Investment of India* was that 'before the First World it was the governmental policy of free trade, and after the war it was the general depression in the capitalist system combined with the halting and piecemeal policy of tariff protection adopted by the Government of India, that limited the rate of investment in modern industry.' With this argument, Bagchi questioned all the thinkers who had debated that lack of development and slow growth of India was due to a shortage of capital and entrepreneurship.

Trithankar Roy

A professor at the London School of Economics, Roy based his arguments on continuity from colonial to post-colonial period. According to him, focusing at colonialism as the driver of India's economic history fails to capture the strings of continuity arising from the economic structure and social conditions. To him, the production process arising out of imperial demands led to economic growth based on labour-intensive production and natural resources. He saw the drawback in the dearth of public and private investments, lack of literacy, social inequalities and high population growth. Roy believes Independence did not bring a departure to these conditions, which, in fact, continued till 1990s. India shut itself from participating in the global economy and missed the economic boom the world economies experienced. After liberalization when India opened its gates to the world activities, the manufacturers were the most to benefit, who were intensive in semi-skilled labour. This he terms was 'welcome reversion to the colonial pattern of growth'.

Giving statistical proof, Roy shows that agriculture remained the mainstay of India's economy even after 50 years of Independence and a major contributor to the GDP (gross domestic product). He further argued there was no significant change in the workforce today compared to that a century ago. He argues that 'India was more open economy in the colonial period relative both to the eighteenth century and to the first 40 years of its Independence. International flows of income and capital were also relatively larger in the colonial period than before or after'.

He further argued that 'money supply in colonial India was mainly influenced by the balance of payments. The primary objective of monetary policy was to stabilize the exchange rate. Stabilization of prices and outputs was meant to happen automatically. However, when Indian interests and Britain's interests came in conflict, stabilization in Britain's external account was usually in the minds of those who decided Indian affairs'.

To Roy, development and underdevelopment were not two sides of the same coin rather Britain and India in the 19th century were two different coins, influenced by global factors and by mutual interaction, but also by their differences. He argued that it would not be correct to think that the two countries would have taken the development path the same way, albeit for colonialism in India. He thought it was implausible.

In *The Cambridge Economic History of India, Volume II*, introduction, Sabyasachi Bhattacharya has raised doubts on whether Roy's theory of reordering of craft and production in the twentieth century and perhaps a revival can be extrapolated into the colonial period in general. Though Roy has given several cases studies of leather,

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brass carpet making and so on, Bhattacharya says the 'changing organization of production and increasing subordination of the craft.'

6.4 EARLY CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS—INDIAN COUNCIL ACTS OF 1861, 1892, 1909

The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 is a great landmark in the constitutional history of India. This declaration of policy remained the basis of Indian administration up to 1917, when a new declaration was made. The declaration tried to remove the fears of the Indian princes by guaranteeing to them their position. It also gave an assurance to Indians that the British would not interfere in their religious affairs.

According to Mukerji, 'It sealed the unity of Indian Government and opened a new era. This memorable Proclamation, justly called the Magna Carta of India, was published at every large scale throughout the country and translated into vernacular languages.'

Indian Councils Act, 1861

According to Herbert Cowell, 'The events which immediately led to the passing of the Indian Councils Act, 1801, were the differences which arose between the Supreme Government and the Government of Madras on the Income Tax Bill; the doubts which had been raised as to the validity of laws introduced into non-regulation Provinces without enactment by the Legislative Council; and the address of Legislative Council for the communication to it of certain correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Supreme Government of India.'

While introducing the Bill in the House of Commons, Sir Charles Wood complained that, quite contrary to what was intended, the Legislative Council had become a sort of debating society or petty Parliament. He quoted with approval the criticism of Sir Lawrence Peel that the Legislative Council 'has no jurisdiction in the nature of that of a grand inquest of the nation. Its functions are purely legislative, and are limited even in that respect. It is not an Anglo-Indian House of Commons for the redress of grievances, to refuse supplies, and so forth.'

The view of the British Government with regard to the changes to be made was expressed by Sir Charles Wood in these words: 'I propose that when the Council meets for the purpose of making laws, the Governor-General should summon in addition to the ordinary members of the Council, not less than six nor more than twelve additional members, of whom one-half at least shall not hold office under the Government. These additional members may be either Europeans, persons of European extraction, or Natives. Lord Canning strongly recommends that the Council should hold its meetings in different parts of India for the purpose of obtaining at times the assistance of those Native chiefs and nobles whose attendance at Calcutta would be impossible, or irksome to themselves. I do not propose that the Judges ex-officio shall have seats in the Legislature; but I do not preclude the Governor-General from summoning one of their number if he chooses. The Council of the Governor-General, with these additional members, will have power to pass laws and regulations affecting the whole of India, and will have a supreme and concurrent power with the minor legislative bodies which I propose to establish in the Presidencies and other parts of India.' Again, 'Lord Canning strongly feels that although great benefits have resulted from the introduction of members into his Council who possess a knowledge of localities, the interest of which differs widely in different parts of the country; yet the change has not been sufficient in the first place to overcome the feeling which the other Presidencies entertain against being overridden, as they call it, by the Bengal Council; or, on the other hand, to overcome the disadvantages of having a body legislating for these Presidencies without acquaintance with local wants and necessities. This must obviously be possessed to a much greater extent by those residing on the spot. And, therefore, I propose to restore, I may say to the Presidencies of Madras, and Bombay, the power of passing laws and enactments on local subject within their own territories; and that the Governor of the Presidency the same manner as the Governor-General, when his Council meets make laws, shall summon a certain number of additional members be as before, either European or Native, and one half of whom at least shall not be office-holders.'

(1) The new Act provided for addition of a fifth member to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. He was required to be a gentleman of legal profession, a jurist rather than a technical lawyer.

(2) The Act empowered the Governor-General to delegate special business to individual members of the Executive Council and henceforward the various members of Council had their own portfolios and dealt on their own initiative with all but the most important matters. The most important matters were placed before the Governor-General and if and differences of opinion appeared, those were considered by the whole Council. The Governor-General was authorised to nominate a President who was to preside over the meetings of the Executive Council in his absence. He was given the power of making rules and regulations for the conduct of the business of the Executive Council.

(3) The Executive Council of the Governor-General was to be strengthened by the addition of not less than 6 and not more than 12 members nominated by the Governor- General for purposes of legislation. Not less than half of the additional members were to be non-officials and they were to hold office for two years. The function of the Council was strictly limited to legislation and the Act expressly forbade the transaction of any other business. It was empowered 'to make laws and regulations for all persons whether British or native, foreigners or others, and for all places and things whatever within the said territories, for all servants of the Government of India within the dominions of princes and states in alliance with Her Majesty.' Certain restrictions were put on the legislative powers. The previous sanction of the Governor-General was required for introducing any legislation concerning certain specified subjects such as public debts, public revenues, Indian religious rites, military discipline and policy towards the Indian slates. No law could be made which infringed the authority of the Home Government or violated the provisions of certain Acts made by the Parliament. The Governor-General was given the power of vetoing any law passed by the Council, In case of an emergency, he was also empowered to issue ordinances which possessed, the same authority as law. These ordinances were to remain in force for six months unless they were disallowed or repealed by an ordinance or law. The cause of issuing an ordinance was to be notified to the Secretary of State for India at once. The approval of the Governor General was made necessary to every Act passed. The right to disallow Acts was reserved for the Crown and the general authority of the British Parliament and Crown were expressly reserved.

Check Your Progress

5. What was the basic premise of Ranade's argument?
6. According to R.C. Dutt, how could India check poverty?
7. According to Bipan Chandra, when did the Indian economy became capitalist in nature?
8. Name two Marxist historians who critiqued British rule.
9. What was the basic premise of Trithankar Roy's argument on the Indian economy under the British period?

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(4) The Governments of Bombay and Madras were given the power of nominating the Advocate-General and not less than four and not more than 8 additional members at the Executive Council for purposes of legislation. These additional members were to hold office for two years. The: business of the Council was to be strictly legislative. The consent of the Governor and the Governor-General was made necessary for all legislations passed or amended by the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

(5) No distinction was made between the central and provincial subjects. However, measures concerning public debt, finances, currency, post-office, telegraph, religion, patents and copyrights were ordinarily put under the control of the Central Government.

(6) The Governor-General was given the power to create new provinces. He was also given the power to appoint Lieutenant-Governors. He was also authorised to divide or alter the limits of any presidency, province or territory.

The Indian Council Act of 1861 marked an important step in the constitutional history of India. It made a beginning in representative institutions and legislative devolution. It helped the Governor-General to associate non-official Indians for the purposes of legislation. The Central and Provincial Councils fulfilled the three-fold purpose of publicity, discussion and information. The people got an opportunity to put forward their grievances and the Government got an opportunity to defend its policy. However, it is to be noted that the non-official members of the Council were nominated by the Viceroy and not elected by the people. These non-official members were either the Indian princes or their Diwans, big zamindars or retired officials, and not the natural leaders of the people who could really reflect and mirror their views and aspirations. The non-official members did not show much interest in the meetings of the Council. As a matter of fact, they showed the utmost reluctance to come and utmost hurry to depart. That may be due to the fact that the powers of the Legislative Councils were very much restricted. The non-official members had practically no say in the matter. The Council merely registered the decrees of the executive. No doubt, the experiment was a failure, but it made the beginning of representative institutions.

The Act of 1861 had been considered to be a retrograde measure. The right of asking questions and the right to deliberate on matters of policy were not given to it. The position of the legislative councils has been described thus: 'They are committees for the purpose of making law—committees by means of which the Executive Government obtains advice and assistance in their legislation, and the public derive the advantage of full publicity being ensured at every stage of the law-making process... .The Councils are no deliberative bodies with respect to any subject but that of immediate legislation before them. They cannot enquire into grievances, call for information or examine the conduct of the executive.' (Report on Constitutional Reforms, pp. 40-41).

According to Principal G.N. Singh, the Indian Councils Act, 1801, is important in the constitutional history of India for two chief reason: 'Firstly, because it enabled the Governor General to associate the people of the land with work of legislation, and secondly by vesting legislative powers to the Governments of Bombay and Madras and by making provision for the institution of similar legislative Councils in other provinces it laid the foundations of the policy of legislative devolution which resulted in the grant of almost complete internal autonomy to the provinces in 1937.'

The Act of 1861 made the Governor-General omnipotent, brought the whole of India under his control, vested powers of emergency in the Governor-General, put

restrictions on the right of the people regarding free discussion and introduction of motions other than-those of legislation, and tried to unify India by bringing both the Regulation and non-Regulation provinces under the supreme control of the Governor-General, who himself was to abide by the Crown, the authority of Parliament and its enactments. Thus, the Act 'modified the constitution of the Governor-General's execute council, and remodelled the Indian Legislatures.'

According to Lord Macdonell, 'The character of the Legislative Council established by the Act of 1861 is simply this, that they are Committees for the purpose of making laws—Committees by means of which the executive Government obtains advice and assistance in their legislation, and the public derive the advantage of full publicity being ensured at every stage of law-making process.... The Councils are not deliberative bodies with respect to any subject but of the immediate legislation 'before them. They cannot inquire into grievances, call for information, or examine the conduct of the executive. The acts of administration cannot be impugned, nor can they be properly defended in such assemblies, except with reference to the particular measure under discussion.'

Indian Councils Act of 1892

(1) For 31 years after 1861, the British Government did not consider it necessary to give a further instalment of reforms to the people of India. Ultimately, Lord Dufferin suggested the grant of further reforms so that there may be no agitation. His detailed proposals, after notification, were carried through by Lord Cross as the Indian Councils Act, 1892. This Act enlarged the functions of the Legislative Councils. They were authorised to discuss the annual financial statement under certain conditions and restrictions. According to Lord Curzon, 'It is not contemplated to vote the budget in India item by item in the manners in which we do it in this House. But it is proposed to give opportunities to the members of the Councils to indulge in a full, free and fair criticism of the financial policy of the Government.' The great merit of the new provision was that 'the Government will have an opportunity of explaining their financial policy, of removing misapprehension, of answering calumny and attack; and they will also profit by the criticism delivered in a public position, and with a due sense of responsibility by the most competent representatives of non-official India.'

(2) The members of the Councils were given the right of addressing questions to the government on matters of public interest. A previous notice of 6 days was to be given to the government for asking a question. The President might disallow any question without giving any reason. Questions on matters of public interest could be asked 'subject to such conditions and restrictions as may be prescribed in the rules made by the Governor- General for the provincial Governors.'

(3) The number of additional members in the Council was increased. It was to be not less than 10 and not more than 16 in the case of the Supreme Council and not less than 8 and not more than 20 in the case of Madras and Bombay. The maximum number for Bengal was fixed at 20 and for North-Western Province and Oudh at 15. Two-fifths of the additional members were to be non-officials.

(4) As a result of the pressure brought by the Indian National Congress, the government agreed to allow elections to be held in India under the rules, though the members so elected could take their seats only after being nominated by the Government. It was assured by the Government that 'under this clause, it will be possible for the Governor-General to make arrangements by which certain persons may be

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presented to him, having been chosen by election, if the Governor-General should find that such a system can properly be established.'

Defects in the Act

(1) Although the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was the outcome of a lot of agitation and patient waiting, it did not give anything substantial to the people of India. No wonder the critics point out many defects. The system of elections was a roundabout one. The people who got into the legislatures by this system did not represent the people in the real sense of the word. They could not sit in the legislatures as a matter of right of election.

(2) The functions of the Legislative Councils were strictly circumscribed. The members could not ask supplementary questions. The President could refuse the asking of any question, and there was no remedy against his ruling. The Councils did not get any substantial control over the Budget.

(3) The rules of election were unfair. Certain classes were over-represented and others did not find any representation at all. In the case of Bombay, out of the six seats two were given to the European merchants, but nothing was given to the Indian merchants. Two seats were given to Sind, but nothing was given to Poona and Satara.

(4) The number of non-official members was very small. Out of 24 members at the Centre, 14 were officials, 4 were elected non-officials and 5 were nominated non- officials.

(5) Punjab was not given any representation in the Viceroy's Council.

(6) According to Gokhale, 'The actual working of the Act manifested its hollowness. Bombay Presidency was given 8 seats. Two seats were assigned by the Government of India in their rules to the University of Bombay and Bombay Municipal Corporation. The Bombay Government gave two seats to the European Mercantile community, one seat to the Sirdars of Deccan, one to the Zamindars of Sind, and only 2 seats to the general public.' It is evident that public representation was almost negligible.

(7) According to a critic, the Act of 1892 was 'an attempt at compromise between the official view of the Councils as pocket legislatures, and the educated Indian view of them as embryo parliaments. It makes a definite parting of the ways, the first milestone on a road leading eventually to political deadlock and strangling of executive government. While no efforts were made to enlarge the boundaries of the educated class to provide them with any training in responsible government, or to lay the foundations of a future electorate to control them, the Act deliberately attempted to dally with the elective idea.'

(8) Sir Pherozeshah Mehta observed thus in 1890 when the bill was on the legislative anvil: 'In framing it (the bill), the Prime Minister and the Indian Secretary of State seem to have been pervaded with a conception of the Indian people as a sort of Oliver Twist, always asking for more, to whom it would be, therefore, a piece of prudent policy to begin with offering as little as possible. The Government bill may be aptly described as a most superb steam engine in which the necessary material to generate steam was carefully excluded, substituting in its place coloured shams to look like it.'

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(9) Mr. Schwann, a Member of Parliament, described the increase in the number of additional members of the legislature 'as a very paltry and miserable addition.' In his presidential address at Poona in 1895, S.N. Banerjee observed thus: 'If the Indian Councils Act of 1892 is to be given effect to in the spirit in which it was conceived by the distinguished statesmen who took part in its enactment, if it is to give to the people of India a living representation of the whole community and not of a small section of people, the number of elected members must be sensibly increased.'

(10) The rights and privileges granted to the members of the legislative councils were strictly circumscribed. According to Smith, 'The budget could be discussed but not until after the estimates had already been settled by the executive.' As regards supplementary questions, Lord Lansdowne observed thus in 1892: 'The questions must be so framed as to be merely requests for opinion and must not be in an argumentative or hypothetical form or in a defamatory language. No discussion will be permitted in respect of an answer given to a question.' According to S.N. Banerjee, 'They (the restrictions) seem to me to defeat the purpose of a beneficial legislation. In the House of Commons, sometimes when an answer has been given, further questions are addressed to the Minister on the same subject apparently with a view to offering an explanation or removing a misconception. In the House of Lords, even greater latitude is allowed in putting questions. One of the objects which the Government had in view in conferring the right of interpellation was to afford opportunities for clearing up misconceptions with regard to the measures of Government and the conduct of officials. Looking at the matter from this standpoint, the object which the Government had in view would be best served by adopting the practice of the House of Commons—a practice which has seen the wisdom of ages.'

(11) There was practically no chance for the non-official members to amend a bill introduced by the Government. The bill had to be passed in the form in which it had been previously approved of by the Government of India or the Secretary of State for India. Under the circumstances, debates in the legislatures were a mere formal ceremony. They were considered to be a farce by certain critics. To quote Sir Barnes Peacock, 'He had always understood and still held that the office of a member of Council was a high and honourable one; but if he believed that the constitution of this Council was such that its members were bound to legislate in any manner that either the Board of Control or the Honourable Court of Directors might order, he should say that instead of being a high and honourable office, it was one which no man, who had a regard for his own honour and independence, could consent to hold, for his own part he could state freely and without hesitation that he would rather resign his office than hold it on that tenure. He believed that the trust and duty committed to every member of the Legislative Council was to act according to his own judgment and conscience.'

(12) In his Presidential address delivered in 1893 at the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji observed thus, 'By the Act of 1892, no member shall have the power to submit or propose any resolution or divide the Council in respect of any such financial discussion, or in answer to any question asked under the authority of this Act or the rules made under this Act. Such is the poor character of the extent of the concession made to discuss finances or to put questions. Rules made under this Act shall not be subject to alteration or

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amendment at meetings for the purposes of making laws and regulations. Thus, we are to all intents and purposes under an arbitrary rule.'

(13) According to W.C. Banerjee, 'The Act does not profess to give us much. We must go on with our agitation and not stop until we get what we all think and we all believe that what we have a right to get.' According to C.Y. Chintamani, 'Strictly limited were the opportunities of members, not a few of them did make themselves useful.'

(14) According to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, 'The Act still left Indians without any real voice in the administration of their country. They found that the administration was not being conducted in the best interests of the people of the country, but it continued to be conducted on extravagantly costly lines. They found that level of taxation was maintained much higher than was necessary for the purpose of good administration; the military expenditure of the Government was far beyond the capacity of the country to bear; that an excessively large portion of the revenues raised from the people were being spent on what we may call imperial purposes.'

(15) The Provincial Councils were too small in size to represent the people of the provinces. In the case of Bengal, 7 elected members represented 70 million. There were certain parts of the provinces which were given practically no representation at all. These dozen members elected under somewhat complicated rules can scarcely express the views of the people of a province with a population of 30 to 40 million or more.

However, one might conclude by saying that although the Act of 1892 fell far short of the demands made by the Indian National Congress, it was a great advance upon the existing state of things. By conceding the principle of election, and giving the Legislative Councils some control over the Executive, it paved the way for future progress on those lines which were destined to place in the hands of the Indians a large measure of control over the administration of the country.

Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

The period between 1892 and 1909 was one of storm and stress. The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon witnessed a lot of agitation and discontentment in the country. The same could be said about Lord Minto. The agitation against the partition of Bengal was widespread. The Government of India had to resort to very harsh measures to put down the nationalist movement in the country. However, the Government thought of winning over the moderates and for their purpose passed the Indian Councils Act in 1909. It was Lord Morley who piloted the Bill through the British Parliament. That is why the Act is also referred to as the Morley-Minto reforms.

Provisions of the Act

(1) The Act of 1909 increased the size of the legislative councils. The additional members of the Governor-General's Council were increased up to a maximum of 60, those of Madras, Bengal, V.P., Bombay and Bihar and Orissa to a maximum of 50 and those of the Punjab, Burma and Assam to 30.

(2) Lord Morley insisted on retaining a substantial official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council and consequently it was provided that the Imperial Legislative Council shall consist of 37 officials and 23 non-officials. Out of the 37 officials, 28 were nominated by the Governor-General and the rest were to be ex-officio. The ex-officio members were to be the Governor-General, 6 ordinary members of the Council, and two extra- ordinary members. Out of the 32 non-official members, 5 were to be nominated by the Governor-General and the rest were to be elected.

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(3) The Act did not provide for any official majority in the provincial legislative councils. The majority of the members were to be non- officials. However, this does not mean that there were to be non-official elected majorities in the provincial councils. Some of the non-officials were to be nominated by the Governor and the Government could always depend upon the unflinching loyalty of the nominated members. The Government could manage to have a working majority in the Provincial Legislative Councils with the help of the officials and the nominated non-officials. To take one example, the Madras Legislative Council consisted of 21 officials and 25 non-officials. The ex-officio members were the Governor, 3 members of the Executive Council and the Advocate-General. The remaining 16 officials were nominated by the Governor. Out of the 26 non-officials, 5 were nominated and only 21 were elected. It is clear that there were 26 nominated members and only 21 elected members. Evidently, there was a nominated majority. The same applied to other Provinces.

(4) According to the Government of India, territorial representation was not suited to the people of India. 'Representation by classes and interests is the only practicable method of embodying the elective principle in the constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils.' The Act provided for separate or special electorates for the due representation of the different communities, classes and interests. The remaining seats were allotted to the municipalities and district boards that were called 'general electorates.'

In the case of Madras, there was 21 elected members of the Legislative Council. Out of these, two were elected by the Mohammedans, 2 by Zamindars and 3 by landlords other than the Zamindars, one by the Corporation of Madras, one by the Madras Chamber of Commerce, one by the Madras Traders Association and one by the planting community. The rest of the 9 members were elected by the Municipal Councils, and District and Taluka Board. In the case of Imperial Legislative Council, the total number of the elected seats was 27. Out of these, 6 were allotted to the landlords, 5 to the Mohammedans and one to the Mohammedan landlords and one each to the Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce. The remaining 13 seats were filled by the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils.

(5) The functions of the Legislative Councils were increased. Elaborate rules were made for the discussion of the budget in the Imperial Legislative Council. Every member was given the right to move any resolution relating to any alteration in taxation, any new loan or any additional grant to local Governments proposed or mentioned in the financial statement or explanatory memorandum. The Council was not permitted to discuss expenditure on interest on debt, ecclesiastical expenditure and State Railways, etc. It is to be noted that the financial statement was first referred to a Committee of the Council with the Finance Member as its Chairman. Half of its members were to be nominated by the head of the Government and the other half were elected by the non-official members of the Council.

(6) The members were given the right of asking questions and supplementary questions for the purpose of further elucidating any point. But the Member in charge of

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department might refuse to answer the supplementary questions off-hand. He may demand some time for the same.

(7) The members were given the power to move resolutions in the Councils. These resolutions were to be in the form of a definite recommendation to the Government. They must be clearly and precisely expressed and must raise definite issues. The resolutions were not to contain arguments, inferences, ironical expressions, etc. The President may disallow any resolution or part of a resolution without giving any reason for the same.

(8) Rules were also framed under the Act for the discussion of matters of general public interest in the Legislative Councils. No discussion was permitted on any subject not within the legislative competence of the particular Legislature, any matter affecting the relations of the Government of India with a foreign Power or a native state, and any matter under adjudication by a court of law.

(9) The Act raised the number of the members of the Executive Council in Bombay, Bengal and Madras to 4. It also empowered the Government to constitute an Executive Council for a Lieutenant-Governor's province also.

(10) In the provinces, the University Seriates, landlords, District Boards and Municipalities and Chambers of Commerce were to elect members. Muslims were given separate representation. Muslim members of the Legislatures were elected by the Muslims, themselves.

(11) Disqualifications were imposed on political offenders. They could not offer themselves for election. However, the heads of the Governments were given the power to remove those disqualifications.

Criticism of the Act

(1) The reforms of 1909 could not come up to the expectations of Indians. What the people of India demanded was that there should be set up a responsible government in the country. But the sacred heart of the reforms of 1909 was 'benevolent despotism.' While introducing the Bill in the Parliament, Lord Morley had declared that he had no intention to give to the people of India responsible government. Under the circumstances, the reforms could not satisfy the people. It has been rightly pointed -out that the people of India presented a cheque of £1,000 and they were given only £1. No wonder, the people were not satisfied. The reforms introduced a change not of kind but of degree. Minor additions were made in the powers of Legislatures and also in their size. But that was hardly substantial. The people were dissatisfied.

(2) The reforms led to a lot of confusion. While parliamentary reforms were introduced, no responsibility was given. The result was thoughtless and irresponsible criticism of the Government. Indian leaders made legislatures the platforms for denunciation of the Government. The feeling that they would not have to shoulder responsibility made the members critical of the government.

(3) The reforms introduced the system of elections. But the number of voters was very small. In some cases, the number of voters in a constituency did not exceed 9 or 10. Since the number was small, all the votes could be bought. Women were completely excluded.

(4) The system of elections was indirect. The people elected members of local bodies. The latter elected members of an electoral college. The Electoral College elected

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members of the provincial legislature and the members of the provincial legislature elected members of the Imperial Legislature. The result was that there was no connection between the people and the members sitting in the legislature. The members felt no responsibility towards the people.

The representation of the people at large became in fact a process of infiltration through a series of sieves. The authors of the *Montford Report* of 1918 remarked thus: 'There is absolutely no connection between the supposed primary voter and the man who sits as his representative in the Legislative Council, and the vote of the supposed primary voter has no effect upon the proceedings of the Legislative Council. In such circumstances, there can be no responsibility upon, and no political education for, the people who nominally exercise a vote. The work of calling into existence an electorate capable of bearing the weight of responsible government is still to be done.'

(5) The Act of 1909 introduced separate electorates for Muslims. The evil did not end here. In 1919, the Sikhs also got separate electorates. The Act of 1935 gave separate representation to Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and the Harijans. It cannot be denied that one of the effects of communal representation was the partition of Indian and the establishment of Pakistan in 1947.

(6) The Act gave great importance to the vested interests by giving special representation to them, e.g., landholders, Chambers of Commerce, etc.

(7) The Indians resented the maintenance of an official majority in the Imperial Council. Although the Government of India had expressed their willingness to allow the Indians to have a majority at the centre, Lord Morley did not agree to it on the ground that since the Indians were given a non-official majority in the provincial councils, the Imperial Council should be maintained as their place of refuge in case they were defeated in the provinces.

(8) Although non-official majority was given in the provincial councils, the practical result was nothing. The non-official majority was nullified by the fact that it included nominated members. There was no real majority of those who represented the people.

(9) The Indians wanted the Government of England to make a clear indication as to what their goal was going to be in India. Was it to be the establishment of a responsible Government in India? If so, within how much time, and by what means? The Act of 1909 gave no answer to all these important questions.

(10) The reforms were in the nature of a half-way House which could scarcely satisfy the expectations of the Indians who wanted the transfer of power.

(11) The principle of responsible government was not allowed to geminate in the system. The responsibility still lay with the government. Parliamentary usages were adopted and generally followed; but the spirit parliamentary government was absent. The result was friction. Influence without responsibility has always been disastrous in its operation. The debates lacked life because they would not affect the government. Whatever might be the opinion of the non-officials, the government always carried the day with the help of the official bloc. The authors of the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* put the conditions created by the Reforms of 1909 in these words: 'The Morley- Minto Reforms in our view are the final outcome of the old conception which made the government of India benevolent despotism (tempered by a remote and only occasionally vigilant democracy) which might as

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it saw fit for purposes of enlightenment consult the wishes of its subjects. To recur to Sir Bartle Frere's figure, the Government is still a monarch in durbar: but his councillors are uneasy, and not wholly content with his personal rule and the administration in consequence lias become slow and timid in operation. Parliamentary usages have been initiated and adopted in the council up to the point where they cause the maximum of friction, but short of that at which by having a real sanction behind them they begin to do good; We have at present in India neither the best of the old system, nor the best of the new. Responsibility is the savour of popular government and that savour, the present council wholly lack.'

Lionel Curtis has described the helpless situation thus created in these words: 'The vital defect of Minto-Morley principle is that it leaves the whole responsibility for government on one set of men, while rapidly transferring power to another set of men. It operates to render electorates less fit for responsible government instead of more so. It creates a situation eminently calculated to exasperate the executive and legislature with each other and, therefore, to throw the British Government and the Indian community at large into a posture of mutual antagonism.' 'The elected members, untempered by any prospect having to conduct the Government themselves had everything to gain by harassing government and preventing it from passing the measures which it knows to be vital. In actual practice what happens is not that government is defeated, but rather that it shrinks from proposing measures which it knows it cannot pass. The nerves of the state are slowly but surely paralysed. The elements of disorder grow and raise their heads. Every necessary measure for preserving order is denounced as an act of tyranny. The foundations of law decay, until suddenly, as in Ireland, the whole structure collapses, order has to be restored at the cost of bloodshed, and the growth of constitutional government is definitely postponed. No government suffering from creeping paralysis can maintain its prestige.'

According to Shri K.M. Munshi, 'Political changes known as Minto-Morley Reforms were brought in as a sop to the moderates. Legislative Councils established under it were not intended to bring Parliamentary Government as Viceroy Minto himself hastened to emphasize. Though they were merely consultative, special care was taken to see that, 'class was set against class, community against community, each to cancel out the effect of the other.' Zamindars and commercial classes were given disproportionate representation at the expense of the politically-minded classes, substituting those who cannot criticize for those who can, even going to the extent of creating special interests before such interests were organized or articulated. Morley, the Secretary of State, himself a radical in Britain, proved worse than a Tory so far as India was concerned.'

According to Garrat and Thompson, 'The Act made no theoretical change on the executive side, though the legislatures' right of criticism was increased. The changes in the legislatures were cautions and tentative. The King's Proclamation of November 28, 1908, had foreshadowed Reforms in which the principle of representative institutions would be prudently extended but Morley had no intention of introducing any democratic system of control in India.....For personal convictions, as well as for parliamentary convenience he intended to keep the legislature as advisory bodies and not as independent law-making ones. Any hope of the Provincial Councils developing into autonomous units was defeated by the excessive decentralization which Morley encouraged, and Decentralization Commission did little to modify.'

According to Dr. A.B. Keith, 'The Reforms of 1909 failed in their object if that was to check the propaganda for self-government, and were clearly unlikely to satisfy the Extremists' demand. Inevitably the control of the Central Government over policy

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was reinforced by reminding the local governments that their officials must not adopt in the Legislatures Central or Provincial, any attitude critical of the decisions of the Indian Government.'

According to Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar, 'Reforms are incomplete in many respects and defective but our complaint is against Regulations which are extremely faulty, and in some aspects defeat the object of the Act.' According to Surendra Nath Banerjee, 'The Rules and Regulations framed for the implementation of the Reforms have practically wrecked the Reforms Scheme.' He asked: 'Is the bureaucracy having its revenge upon us for the part we have played for securing concessions?'

The Indian National Congress passed four resolutions dealing with the Reforms of 1909. In the words of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, 'In the first it recorded the sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion; it expressed dissatisfaction at (a) the excessive and unfairly preponderant share of representation given to the followers of one particular religion, (b) the unjust, invidious and humiliating distinctions made between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of His Majesty in the matter of electorates, the franchise and the qualifications of the candidates, (c) the wide, arbitrary and unreasonable disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking elections to the Councils, (d) the general distrust of the educated classes running through the Regulations, and (e) the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, rendering them ineffective and unreal.' By the second resolution, it urged the creation of Executive Councils to assist the Lt.-Governors of the United Provinces, the Punjab, Eastern Bengal and Assam and Burma.

By the third resolution the Congress pointed out the unsatisfactory nature of the Reforms Regulations for the Punjab in (a) that the numerical strength of the Council was not sufficient to allow an adequate representation to all classes and interests, (b) that the elected element was unduly small and altogether insufficient, (c) that the principle of protection of minorities applied in the case of the Muslims in other provinces was not applied to non-Muslim minorities in the Punjab, and (d) that the Regulations tended to practically keep the non- Muslims of the Punjab from the Imperial Council. By a fourth resolution, the Congress expressed dissatisfaction at the non-establishment of a Council for the Central Provinces and Berar and the exclusion of Berar from participation in the election of two members of the Imperial Legislative Council by the landholders and members of the District and Municipal Boards of Central Provinces.'

Dr. Zacharia sums up his criticism of the Reforms of 1909 in the words: 'The essence of these Reforms lay in conceding what at once was evacuated of all meaning. Thus the elective principle of democracy was adopted; yet at the same time the anti-democratic communal representation was added. The official majority was done away with; but the elected members received in a minority. The membership was considerably enlarged; but an emphatic disclaimer was issued simultaneously that the new Councils in no way meant the introduction of a parliamentary system. The Council of India and even the Viceroy's Executive Council were opened to some very few select Indians but the liberal aspect of admitting Indians to the arena of government could in no way disguise the fact that real power remained safely in British hands.'

The critics pointed out that Reforms of 1909 gave the people the shadow rather than the substance. 'They granted influence and not power' and according to George Washington, 'influence is not government.' No wonder, Mazumdar described the reforms as 'mere moon-shine.'

Circumstances leading to Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919)

It goes without saying that the reforms of 1909 failed to satisfy the people of India. Even a moderate like Gokhale got convinced of the hollowness of the reforms. The reforms did not give any answer to the Indian demand that the British Government should declare as to what their goal in India was and what the British Government intended to do to achieve the same. The recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission of 1909 were utterly inadequate and disappointing. Lord Crewe, who became the Secretary of State after Lord Morley, appointed a Public Service Commission in 1912. This Commission spent two years in taking evidence but its report was not published until 1917. The way in which the machinery of the Government moved infuriated the people.

A critical study of the reforms of 1909 will show that the main object of the authors of the reforms of 1909 was to win over the Moderates. But that object was not realised as is evident from the contemporary utterances of the Moderate leaders. The discontentment and disappointment of the people resulted in revolutionary activities. The cult of the bomb became popular. The number of outrages committed by the terrorists was on the increase. Even a person like Lord Hardinge was not spared.

The Muslims were also getting restive. They had come to realise the importance of their position from their experience of separate electorates. They had found that the Government of India was only too glad to please them. This made them conscious of their position. The revision of the Partition of Bengal in 1911 did not satisfy the Hindus because they had got the thing done after a lot of suffering. This act of the Government annoyed the Muslims. The latter did not like the re-incorporation of the Muslim population of Eastern Bengal into the Hindu province of Bengal. The Muslims interpreted the action of the Government as a concession to the Hindus who had agitated and intimidated the Government. They emphasized 'the connection between bombs and boons.'

Moreover, the pre-war foreign policy of the British Government was a source of uneasiness to the Muslim population of India. The Muslim territories were being absorbed by the Christian Powers of Europe in the Balkans. The Muslims were annoyed over the acts of omission and commission of the British Government in the case of Morocco. Persia and Tripoli. The Balkan Wars were considered a part of a general attack on Islam. It is clear that the Muslims were as much annoyed as the Hindus although for different reasons.

The treatment of the Indians abroad was creating a lot of discontentment in India. Their cruel treatment in Natal and Transvaal especially aroused the Indians against the British Government, and the latter was accused of neglect of the Indian interests. In 1913, Lord Hardinge voiced the unanimous opinion of the Indians when he stated 'that the sympathy of India, deep and burning, and not only of India, but of all lovers of India like myself, goes for their compatriots in South Africa in their resistance to invidious and unjust laws.' Mr. Gokhale went to South Africa to negotiate on behalf of the Government of India. However, nothing substantial was done to redress the grievances of the Indians. A Commission of Enquiry and Indian Relief Act were considered inadequate.

The Sikhs who had settled in Australia and Canada were treated badly. As regards the Western Coast of Canada, the position was complicated by the activities of a few Indian revolutionaries who had settled in U.S.A., and were responsible for the murder of anti-revolutionaries and of Mr. Hopkins who was working on behalf of the Government of India and the Dominion Governments. The dispute culminated in the dispatch of the Komagata Maru, a Japanese boat requisitioned to make a direct journey from India to Vancouver with the object of defeating the immigration restrictions. The Sikhs on board the ship were not allowed to land. Returning after the commencement of the First World War in 1914 after great sufferings and privations, they formed the nucleus of a revolutionary movement in the Punjab.

It was in an atmosphere of discontentment when the First World War started in 1914. But in spite of all this, there was a generous response from the Indians. Mahatma Gandhi advised the Indians to render all possible help to the British Government. The Indian political parties made a sort of a truce, and allowed the Government to concentrate their attention on war effort. This attitude of the Indians facilitated the recruiting of some 8,00,000 combatants and 4,00,000 non-combatants on a voluntary basis. The Government of India contributed almost annually a sum ranging between £20 and 30 million. A free gift of £1,00,000,000 also was given to England. The Government of India met the normal charges of the Indian troops not employed in India or within her boundaries. Further responsibilities were taken in April 1918, although the war ended before these amounted to more than £12,000,000. Large contributions were given to the Red Cross Societies and a War Loan was started in India. The general goodwill was so great that the British Government was able to withdraw from the Indian soil a major part of their British troops. At one time the British troops in India were not more than 15,000.

However, by 1916, things had changed. All hopes of a speedy and conclusive victory had disappeared and disillusionment had begun. The methods employed by the British Government in the matter of recruitment and collection of funds for the Red Cross, added insult to injury. Prices went up and added to distress of the people. The Indians had been made to work under the august authority and supervision of some European officers. An idea began to gain ground that the people of India had nothing to do with the War. The Indian patriots were emboldened by the Irish rebellion and that apparent collapse of Western civilization. The commercial classes of India were at logger-heads with the Government on account of the war-time restrictions. They demanded a policy of protection. The Moderates were weakened by the death of Gokhale. Lord Sinha who had led the Congress to support the war efforts of Government, lost all his influence in the organization. Mr. Asquith's declaration that 'henceforth Indian questions would have to be approached from a different angle of vision,' was not translated into action for full two years.

In 1915, Lord Sinha, the Congress President of the Bombay Session, advised the British Government to make a declaration of their goal in India with a view to pacifying the Indian youth who were 'intoxicated with ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government.'

Lord Chelmsford, who succeeded Lord Hardinge in 1915, at once came to the conclusion that the creation of British India 'as an integral part of the British. Empire with self-government the goal of British rule.' But it was difficult to define precisely the steps by which the Government hoped to realize that ideal. Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, was not prepared to be more explicit and precise in the matter of a formula 'than to avow an intention to foster a gradual development of free institutions with a view to self-government.' However, he had to resign on the Mesopotamian issue and was succeeded by Edwin S. Montagu.

August Declaration

Mr. Montagu was a great friend of India. He had sympathised with the aspirations of the people of India and as such can be compared with persons like Lord Pethick Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps. He brought a new outlook to his office. When the fortunes of

the Allies were at their lowest ebb, he made the following declaration in August 1917: 'The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-government institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India to consider with the Viceroy the views of local Governments, and to receive with him the suggestion of representative bodies and others.....I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian people, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance and they must be guided by the cooperation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in the sense of responsibility.'

The importance of the declaration lies in the fact that it started in categorical terms as to what exactly was going to be the goal of the British Government in India. It can be put on the same footing as the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. While the authors of the *Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms* regarded it as 'the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history' which marked 'the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one.' Pradhan declared that it was a 'revolutionary pronouncement.' To quote him again, 'With the announcement of 20 August 1917, modern India has entered a new era in history.'

ACTIVITY

Discuss about the types of peasant movements in India in the last four decades.

DID YOU KNOW

Annie Besant founded the Central Hindu School and College in Benares. A few years later she started the Central Hindu School for Girls. By 1918, she had started the Madras Parliament, opened Madanapalle College (now in Andhra Pradesh), inaugurated the Adyar Arts League, started the Home Rule League in Bombay, started the Girls' College in Benares, founded the Order of the Brothers of Service, presided over the Women's Indian Association at Adyar — from which grew the All-India Women's Conference at Poona (now Pune) in 1927 and the All-Asian Women's Conference at Lahore in 1931 — and started the Society for the Promotion of National Education (SPNE). Unfortunately, she fell into disfavour with the Indian National Congress because of her opposition to Mr Gandhi's plan of non-cooperation and civil disobedience as she foresaw the danger of instilling disrespect for the law. Although she had a deep regard for Gandhi as someone whose life was guided by truth and compassion, she herself stood by constitutional methods for achieving political reform.

6.5 SUMMARY

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In this unit, you have learned that:

- According to Rudolf Herberle, 'a social movement is a collective effort to transform established relations within a particular society'.
- Social movements do not just happen. It is social unrest that gives rise to a social movement.
- Sociologists have categorized social movements into the following types based on their aims:
  i. Reform movements
  ii. Revolutionary movements
  iii. Reactionary/revivalist movements
  iv. Resistance movements
  v. Utopian movements
- During the 18th century, and afterwards, a great change swept across India. The Hindu mind that had been moulded for centuries by a fixed set of religious ideas and social conventions, was exposed to new ideas and new ways of thinking.
- The Arya Samaj movement was an outcome of the reaction to Western influences. It was revivalist in form, but not in content. The founder, Swami Dayanand, rejected Western ideas and sought to revive to unite India religiously, socially and nationally
- The backward classes/castes movement started in the early part of the 20th century. The backward classes or castes represent the underprivileged sections of the Indian society.
- Peasant movements had been a part of national movement against the British supremacy.
- Of the various struggles that Indian peasants had undertaken prior to Independence, the following may be noted as significant ones.
  i. Santhal Insurrection (1855–56)
  ii. Peasant Revolt in Punjab (1930)
  iii. Champaran [Bihar] Movement (1917–18)
  iv. Kheda Peasant Struggle (1918)
  v. The Bardoli Satyagraha (1920)
  vi. Moplah Rebellion in Malabar (1921)
- The most scathing attack on colonialism was Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* in which he argued that India's poverty was mainly due to the drain of wealth by the British government through tribute and home charges.
- One of the earliest western writers Morris D Morris centred his argument of underdevelopment of independent India on her social structure.
- The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 is a great landmark in the constitutional history of India. This declaration of policy remained the basis of Indian administration up to 1917, when a new declaration was made.
- The Indian Council Act of 1861 marked an important step in the constitutional history of India. It made a beginning in representative institutions and legislative devolution.

Check Your Progress

10. What was the other name for the Queen's Proclamation of 1858?
11. Which governments were given the power to nominate the Advocate-General under the Indian Council Act of 1861?
12. What was the main feature of the Act of 1909?

- For 31 years after 1861, the British Government did not consider it necessary to give a further instalment of reforms to the people of India. Ultimately, Lord Dufferin suggested the grant of further reforms so that there may be no agitation. His detailed proposals, after notification, were carried through by Lord Cross as the Indian Councils' Act, 1892.
- The Act of 1909 increased the size of the legislative councils. The additional members of the Governor-General's Council were increased up to a maximum of 60, those of Madras, Bengal, V.P., Bombay and Bihar and Orissa to a maximum of 50 and those of the Punjab, Burma and Assam to 30.

6.6 KEY TERMS

- **Backward classes movement:** A kind of struggle waged by the lower castes against the supremacy of the Brahmins in pre and post independent India.
- **Self-Respect movement:** It was a movement to instil the ideas of self-dignity, self- confidence and self-respect amongst the so called lower castes in India.
- **Zamindar:** A zamindar was a landowner, esp. one who leased his land to tenant farmers.
- **Ryotwari:** One of the two main systems used to collect revenues from the cultivators of agricultural land.
- **Taluqdar:** Indian land holders in Mughal and British times, responsible for collecting taxes from a district.
- **Sanskritisation:** Sanskritisation is a particular form of social change found in India. It denotes the process by which castes placed lower in the caste hierarchy seek upward mobility by emulating the rituals and practices of the upper or dominant castes. It is a process similar to passing in sociological terms.

6.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The features of a social movement are as follows:
   (i) It is an effort by a group.
   (ii) Its aim is to bring or resist a change in society.
   (iii) It may be organized or unorganized.
   (iv) It may be peaceful or violent.
   (v) Its life is not certain.
2. Sociologists have classified social movements into the following types on the basis of their objectives:
   (i) Reform movements
   (ii) Revolutionary movements
   (iii) Reactionary/Revivalist movements
   (iv) Resistance movements
3. The Deoband School was basically a revivalist movement, founded with two objectives:
   (i) To propagate among the Muslims the pure teachings of the Quran and the Hadith.
   (ii) To keep alive the spirit of fighting against the foreign rulers.

4. Ambedkar suggested the following three principles to govern the Dalit Movement:
   - Education
   - Agitation
   - Organization
5. The basic premise of Ranade's argument was that poverty in India was a by-product of India's overdependence on agriculture.
6. To check poverty, Dutt suggested two steps. The first was to revive the cottage industry to remove unemployment and underemployment outside cities. He also wanted the government to extend the irrigation facilities to decrease dependency on monsoon. Second, he wanted the government to be economical in its expenditure and lower the rate of interest on public debt. Dutt's aim was to curb the flow of wealth outside India.
7. According to Bipan Chandra, the Indian economy became capitalist in nature under the British.
8. N. K. Sinha and Sumit Sarkar are two Marxist historians.
9. The basic premise of Trithankar Roy's argument on the Indian economy under the British period was the idea of continuity from the colonial to the post-colonial period.
10. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 is also called the Magna Carta of India.
11. The Governments of Bombay and Madras were given the power of nominating the Advocate-General under the Indian Council Act of 1861.
12. The main feature of the Act of 1909 was that it introduced separate electorates for Muslims.

6.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the Arya Samaj.
2. Write a note on Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and his reforms.
3. What were the causes of conversion movements?
4. What were the main goals of the backward class movement?
5. What were the criticisms of the Act of 1909?
6. What was Bipan Chandra's view of the Indian economy under British rule?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Elucidate the main effects of social movements.
2. Discuss the factors that contributed to the backward classes movement.
3. Examine the contribution of Jyothirao Phule to the backward classes movement.
4. Discuss the main causes of agrarian unrest or peasant struggle.
5. What were Ranade's view of the Indian economy under the British period? Discuss.
6. How did Ranade and Dutt differ on the conditions of India's economy under British rule? Explain.

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UNIT 7 INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT: EARLY PHASE

Structure

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7.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we will begin discussing the early phases of the Indian freedom movement. The Indian freedom movement effectively begins with the formation of the Indian National Congress (INC). The emergence of Indian nationalism and the formation of various political associations from the 1860s to the 1880s played a significant role in laying the foundation of the Indian National Congress. The primary objective of the INC was to unite people and to achieve complete independence from the shackles of British imperialism.

Since its inception in 1885, till the time India won its independence in 1947, the Congress was the largest and most prominent Indian organization in the political sphere. In its initial stages, the Indian National Congress was a political unit, however, in due course of time, it also began supporting the cause of social reform and human development.

The early stages of the Congress was marked by the learning of democratic methods and techniques. The leaders of the INC believed that the British government was responsive to their needs and willing to make changes accordingly. They began to demand small changes in British administration in India through petitions. However, over a period of time, the INC leaders became disillusioned with the concept of petitioning. They suddenly became aware that their petitions were not as fruitful as expected and that the British were subtly avoiding taking any action. However, even in the phase of

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dissatisfaction, there were some Congress leaders who believed in the methods of the British government and came to be known as the moderates. Since these moderate leaders failed to produce desired results, a new stream of leaders came up who were known as the extremists. These extremists disagreed with the traditional methods of the moderates, which were limited to writing petitions and conducting agitations to get themselves heard. The extremists were not satisfied with a dominion status and demanded complete independence from the British government.

The unit examines the early role of the Indian National Congress and its division between the moderates and the extremists. Apart from their ideologies and differences between the two factions, the unit shall also focus on the policies of Lord Curzon who made several reforms during this phase. The unit will also examine the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.

After the end of the First World War, in response to the demand for dwaraj and dominion status, the British introduced another set of reforms – the Government of India Act of 1919, also known as the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The reforms did little to meet the aspirations of Indians, who felt short-changed after fighting alongside the British in the War. They were not ready to settle for anything less than self-rule, or Swaraj.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- List the causes of the emergence of Indian nationalism
- Discuss the objectives of the Indian National Congress
- Assess the factors leading to the formation of an extremist faction in the INC
- Evaluate the causes and effects of the partition of Bengal
- Discuss the Morley-Minto reforms

7.2 GROWTH OF POLITICAL AWARENESS AND NATIONALISTIC FEELING

There were a number of causes for the emergence of Indian nationalism. Some of these causes are as follows:

(i) **British imperialism:** British rule facilitated in uniting Indians, as during the British Raj, the whole country came under one sovereign power and became one single political union. Before the arrival of the British, southern India was separated from the rest of the country except for short intervals.

(ii) **Role of transport and communication:** The advancement in the field of transportation and communication helped in accelerating the pace of the movement as leaders of the country were able to reach out to all Indians. The leaders were able to meet one another frequently and spread their ideas in all parts of the country.

(iii) **Administrative unification of India:** During the British rule, the administrative system was highly centralized. The British used modern administrative systems to unify the whole country administratively. After the chaotic condition in the 18th century, due to waging of wars by European companies, the British rulers made efforts to establish peace and unified the country through their administrative system.

(iv) **Influence of India's past:** Many European scholars such as Max Muller, Monier Williams, Roth, and Sassoon conducted historical researches on ancient Indian history. According to them, India had a glorious past and had a rich cultural heritage. These scholars appreciated the Vedas and Upanishads to a great extent. They also said that Indo-Aryans were from the same ethnic group to which Europeans belonged. These studies and researches boosted the morale of Indians and instilled the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in them.

(v) **Western thought and education:** Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, T.B. Macaulay and Lord William Bentick introduced English as a medium of instruction in the education system of the country. The introduction of English language was aimed at filling some clerical posts at the administrative level. However, it exposed Indian's to the liberal and radical European thought. The outlook of European writers aroused the spirit of nationalism in Indians. Indians also learnt the ideals of secularism and democracy from these writers. Thus, English language became an important cause of Indian nationalism.

(vi) **Role of press and literature:** The Indian press and literature played a phenomenal role in promoting nationalism. It helped in organizing political movements and mobilizing common people. Some newspapers which helped in arousing the spirit of nationalism were *The Kesari*, *The Hindu*, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Bengalee*, *The Hurkura*, *The Bengal Public Opinion*, *The Somprakash*, *The Sulabh Samachar*, *The Sanjibam*, *The Reis and Rayet*, *The Sadharm*, *The Hitavadi*, *The Indu Prakash*, *Rast Goftar*, *The Standard*, *The Swadeshmitram*, *The Herald of Bihar* and *The Advocate of Lucknow*. These newspapers published various articles and reports, which exposed the way British Indian administration exploited Indians. Educated Indians also shared their views about liberty, democracy, and independence through these newspapers. Thus, these newspapers played an important role in promoting Indian nationalism.

Various novels, poems and essays were also published during this period, and these writings helped in arousing the feeling of patriotism among people. Some of the popular writers were Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore, Lakshminath Bezbarua, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, Subramanya Bharathi, Bharatendu Harish Chandra, Prem Chand, Altaf Husain Hali, Mohammed Shibli Nomani and Mohammed Iqbal.

(vii) **Impact of socio-religious reform movements:** Some of the prominent social and religious reformers of this period were Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Debendra Nath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramhans and Vivekanand. These reformers influenced common people to a great extent.

When reformers learnt about western philosophy, ideals and science, they started examining the social practices, customs and beliefs of India in the light of western knowledge. These ideas gave rise to various social and religious reform movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Theosophical Society, Ramakrishna Mission and many other movements for the reformation of Muslim, Sikh and Parsi societies.

These movements were aimed at reformation and re-organization of society. Therefore, these movements promoted the ideas of equality, liberalism and

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enlightenment, and attacked idol worship, superstitions, caste system, untouchability and hereditary priesthood. In this way, reform movements also helped in developing the spirit of nationalism and patriotism.

(viii) Influence of contemporary European movements: Contemporary strong currents of nationalist ideas, which pervaded the whole of Europe and South America also stimulated Indian nationalism. The American Revolution of 1776 infused strong aspirations for liberation and nationalism. In Europe, the national liberation movements of Greece and Italy in general and of Ireland in particular encouraged Indians to fight for their independence. Indians were also greatly inspired by the French Revolution, The likes of Surendranath Banerji delivered lectures on Joseph Mazzini and also organized the 'Young Italy' Movement. Lajpat Rai often referred to the campaigns of Garibaldi and the activities of Carbonaris in his speeches and writings.

(ix) Racialism: The British called Indians 'half Gorilla, half Negro'. Indians were discriminated on the grounds of racialism and were considered inferior. They were not allowed to share train compartments with the British. They were humiliated by the British.

The law and police system of the British was partial towards white people. Whenever an English person was involved in a dispute with an Indian, the court used to favour the white person. Indians were not allowed to enter a number of public places. Thus, the contempt of the British towards Indians made them come together to fight against the British.

(x) Economic exploitation: The British destroyed the local self-sufficient economy of India and introduced modern trade and industry. Indians realized that they had been exploited by the British. Under British rule, the economic system of India was made in such a way that it befitted the Englishmen.

The interest and welfare of Indians was not kept in mind under British rule. The value of Indian rupee in terms of English pound was kept less to promote imports from England and discourage exports from India. Indian agriculture was encouraged to produce raw materials for the industries of England. This factor made Indians dependent on England for finished goods. Later on, free trade policy was introduced to help the British industrialists in exporting goods to India without any hassles. All these factors led to increase in public debt.

The extravagant civil and military administration, the denial of high posts to Indians, the ever-mounting 'Home Charges', and the continuous drain of wealth from India resulted in stagnation of the Indian economy. Periodical famines became a common feature of Indian economic life. During the second half of the 19th century, 24 famines occurred in various parts of India taking an estimated toll of 28 million lives. What is worse is that even during the famine times, export of food grains from India continued.

The acknowledged high priest of the 'drain theory' was Dadabhai Naoroji. Indian nationalists like Romesh Chandra Dutt, G.K. Gokhale, Justice Ranade, K.T. Telang etc., developed the 'theory of increasing poverty in India' and attributed it to Britain's anti-India economic policies. This developed a hatred for foreign rule and love for Swadeshi goods and Swadeshi rule. The spirit of nationalism received a powerful stimulus in the process.

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(xi) Ilbert Bill controversy: Lord Ripon made an attempt to address some of the problems faced by Indians, but the Ilbert Bill that he introduced created a huge controversy and enraged the Europeans. The objective of this Bill was to bring Indian judges on the same level as that of the European judges in the Bengal Presidency.

According to this Bill, Europeans could be tried by Indian judges. This Bill enraged all the Europeans in India and all of them stood against this Bill. Later, the Bill was modified which it defeated its original objective. Though this Bill could not favour Indians, yet it made them realize that organized agitation can help them.

(xii) Lord Lytton's policies: The following short-sighted acts and policies of Lord Lytton acted like a catalyst and accelerated the nationalist movement:

(a) To ensure that Indians are not able to share their opinion on a mass scale, Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act in 1878. This Act put a lot of restrictions on the Press. All Indians condemned this Act.

(b) Lord Lytton organized the grand Delhi Darbar in 1877. At the same time, south India was facing a severe famine. Many people condemned this indifference of Lord Lytton.

(c) Indians criticized Lytton a lot for the money he spent on the second Afghan War. This money was taken from the Indian treasury.

(d) Before Lytton's reign, the maximum age limit for the Indian Civil Service (ICS) Examination was 21 years. He lowered this age limit to 19 years with the help of a regulation that was passed in 1876. This age limit made it almost impossible for Indians to sit for this examination.

(e) Lytton passed one more Act in 1878 named the Arms Act. According to this Act, Europeans were given permission to keep arms, however, Indians could not keep arms without a licence. This Act clearly showed his policy of racial discrimination and his contempt towards Indians.

(f) In order to help the British manufacturers, Lytton removed the import duty on cotton manufactured in Britain.

7.2.1 Formation of Political Associations (up to 1885)

British domination of India gave rise to some forces, which ultimately challenged British imperialism. For instance, the British forced English as medium of instruction in the education system of India. This act eventually went against the British as Indians came across Europeans ideas of nationalism, political rights and democracy. These resulted in a number of political associations, which were not known to Indians until then.

Many political associations were formed after 1836. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organized the East India Association in London. The objective of this association was to influence British 'to promote Indian welfare'. After some time, he opened its branches in various cities of India.

Political associations in Bengal

Raja Rammohan Roy was the first Indian leader to start an agitation for political reforms in India. He was greatly influenced by Western ideas. He supported a number of popular movements all over the world. In 1821, when constitutional government was established in Spain, Rammohan Roy celebrated the event in Calcutta.

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Rammohan Roy demanded liberty of the Press, appointment of Indians in civil courts and other higher posts, codification of law, and so on. The task of organizing political associations was left to the associates of Rammohan Roy.

(i) **Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha:** The first such association called 'Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha' was formed in 1836. The association discussed various topics related to the policy and administration of the Government. It also sought redressal by sending petitions to the Government.

(ii) **Zamindary Association:** Formed in July 1837, it was more popularly known as the Landholders' Society. It was founded with an objective to safeguard the interests of the landlords in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Although limited in its objectives, the Landholders' Society marked the beginning of an organized political activity. It used the methods of constitutional agitation for the redressal of grievances. The Landholders' Society of Calcutta cooperated with the British India Society, which was founded by Mr. Adams in London in the year 1839. The association functioned till 1844.

(iii) **Bengal British India Society:** This society was formed in April 1843. The objective of this society was the 'collection and dissemination of information relating to the actual condition of the people of British India...and to employ such other means of peaceful and lawful character as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects.' This organization merged with Zamindary Association in 1851 and formed the British Indian Association.

(iv) **British Indian Association:** Due to the failure of the Landholder's Society and the Bengal British India Society, the two associations were merged on 29 October 1851 to form a new British Indian Association. This association was dominated by members of the landed aristocracy and the primary objective of this association was to safeguard the interests of this class. However, the association followed a liberal approach and when the time came for the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, it sent a petition to the Parliament in 1852. In this petition, it appealed for the establishment of a separate legislature of a popular character, separation of judicial from executive functions, reduction in the salaries of higher officers, abolition of salt duty, abkari and stamp duties. The appeals of the association were partially met and the Charter Act of 1853 provided for the addition of six members to the Governor-General's Council for legislative purposes. The British Indian Association continued its existence as a political body till the 20th century even though it was over-shadowed by the Indian National Congress.

(v) **India League:** Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose founded this association in September 1875. The objective of this association was 'stimulating the sense of nationalism amongst the people'. This association also aimed at promoting political education.

(vi) **Indian Association:** Within a year, the India League was superseded by the Indian Association. It was founded by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee on 26 July 1876. The Indian Association hoped to attract not only 'the middle classes' but also the masses, and therefore, it kept its annual subscription at ₹ 5 as opposed to the subscription of ₹ 50 p.a. fixed by the British Indian Association. Soon, the Indian Association became 'the centre of the leading representatives of the educated community of Bengal'.

Lytton's unpopular measures whipped up political activity in India. A regulation of 1876 reduced the maximum age for appearing in the ICS Examination from 21 to 19 years. Since the examination was held only in London, young Indians had to face innumerable difficulties. The Indian Association took up this problem and organized an all-India agitation against it, which was popularly known as the Indian Civil Service Agitation. The Indian Association merged with the Indian National Congress in December 1886.

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Political associations in Bombay

(i) **Bombay Association:** Bombay Association was founded on the lines of the British India Association of Calcutta on 26 August 1852. The Bombay Association sent a petition to the British Parliament urging the formation of new legislative councils which should have Indian representative as well. The Association condemned the policy of exclusion of Indians from higher services, and lavish expenditure on sinecure posts given to Europeans. This association did not survive for long.

(ii) **Bombay Presidency Association:** The policies of Lytton as well as the Ilbert Bill controversy caused political turmoil in Bombay. This led to the formation of Bombay Presidency Association in the year 1885. It was formed by the popularly called brothers-in-law: Mehta, Telang and Tyabji, representing the three chief communities of Bombay town.

(iii) **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha:** This was established at Poona by Justice Ranade and others in the 1870s, with the objective to serve as a bridge between the Government and the people. The Bombay Presidency Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha worked in close collaboration.

Political associations in Madras

(i) **Madras Native Association:** This was set up as a branch of British Indian Association, Calcutta on 26 February 1852. The Madras Native Association also sent petition to the Parliament on the eve of the passing of the Charter Act of 1853. It made demands similar to that of the British Indian Association and the Bombay Association. However, the Madras Native Association was not popular.

(ii) **Madras Mahajana Sabha:** This was formed by M. Vijayraghavachari, G. Subramanya Iyer, Ananda Charlu, Rangayya Naidu and others on 16 May 1884. It was aimed at coordinating the activities of local associations and providing a focus for the non-official intelligence spreading through the Presidency. It held two popular conferences: one was from 29th December to 31st December 1884, and second on 1st and 2nd January 1885. It demanded expansion of legislative councils, representation of Indians in legislative councils, separation of judicial from revenue functions, and so on.

7.2.2 Foundation of the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress was formed due to the efforts of a number of people across the country. The British civil servant Allan Octavian Hume is generally considered to be the founder of the INC. He formed the Indian National Congress to 'provide a 'safety-valve' to the anticipated or actual discontentment of the Indian intelligentsia and to form a quasi-constitutional party, similar to 'Her Majesty's Opposition in England.' According to W.C. Banerjee, the First Congress President, the Indian National Congress was formed with the help of Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy of India. He also believed that Lord Dufferin formed it because he wanted a political organization which could

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understand the 'real wishes' of the Indian people so that the British government could prevent political outbursts in the country. Not many people agree with the theory of the 'safety valve'. Hume had sincere love for the country as well as its farmers. Probably, Indian leaders took his help because they did not want any British official to be suspicious of their activities.

On 1 March 1883, in an open letter, Hume had appealed to the students of Calcutta University to set up an organization in India. He officially clarified that his objective was 'to form a constitutional method to prevent the spread of dissatisfaction caused by western ideas, education, inventions, and machines and it was essential to take measures for the security and continuity of the British Government'. Recently, some scholars analysed Dufferin's correspondence to Hume as well as the activities of the early nationalist and concluded that the theory of 'safety valve' is a myth.

The Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885 at Sir Tej Pal Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Bombay. It will not be correct to say that it was a sudden event, rather, it was as Bipan Chandra states, 'the culmination of a process of political awakening that had its beginnings in the 1860s and 1870s and took a major leap forward in the late 1870s and early 1880s'. Also, a lot of attempts were made by Indian nationalists for the formation of a political organization on an all-India scale. For instance, two National Conferences were organized by the Indian Association.

However, A.O. Hume succeeded in forming an All India Party, which was attended by 72 delegates. Most of the Indian leaders could not attend this session as the National Conference was going on in Calcutta at the same time. The objectives of both these organizations were same, thus, the Indian National Conference was later merged into the Congress. It would be wrong to believe that Hume laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress single-handedly, as many people were involved in its formation. Most of the leaders were able to accept Hume because they felt that he would not be biased towards any region or caste.

Some of the members of the Indian National Congress were Pherozeshah Mehta, W C Banerji, Anandamohan Bose, Badruddin Tyabji, Surendranath Banerji, and Romesh Chandra Dutt. This association was different from others as none of the earlier associations had complete independence as their agenda. The Congress made demands that can be divided into three categories: political, administrative and economic.

1. Political demands

(a) Greater power to the Supreme Council and local legislative councils

(b) Discussion on budget to be held by the council

(c) Representation on the council through local bodies like Universities and Chambers of Commerce

(d) Creation of a Legislative Assembly in Punjab, Awadh (NWP) and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)

2. Economic demands

The Congress sessions, between 1855 and 1905, regularly passed resolutions for:

(a) Reduction in land revenue

(b) Establishment of agricultural banks

(c) Reduction in home charge and military expenditure

(d) Ending unfair tariffs and excise duties

(e) Enquiring the causes behind India's poverty and famines

(f) Providing more funds for technical education

(g) Development of Indian industries

(h) Better treatment for Indian coolies in foreign countries

(i) Change in forest laws so that tribal can to use forest

3. Administrative demands

(a) ICS Examination in India as well as England

(b) Increasing Indian volunteer force

(c) Understanding of Indian needs on the part of administration

(d) Separation of Judiciary from Executive power and extension of trial by jury

(e) Higher posts in the army for Indians

Objectives of the Congress

The primary objective of the Congress was to make people feel that they belong to a single nation—India. The diversity in India, in terms caste, creed, religion, tradition, language, made this a difficult task. However, it was not impossible.

Many important people like Pherozshah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, K.T. Telang and Dinshaw Wacha, attended the first session of the Indian National Congress. The objectives of the Congress laid down by W.C. Banerjee, the President of the first session of the Indian National Congress, are as follows:

- Promoting personal intimacy and friendship among people who are working for the cause of the country
- Eradicating prejudices related to race, creed and provinces through friendly interaction
- Consolidating the sentiments of national unity
- Maintaining an authoritative record of the educated Indians' views on the prominent issues of the day
- Determining methods by which native politicians can work towards public interest during the next twelve months
- Training and organizing public opinion
- Formulating and presenting popular demands before the government through petitions

The Congress was supported by people of all religions. W.C. Banerjee, the first President of the Indian National Congress, was an Indian Christian. The second President was Dadabhai Naoroji, who was a Parsee. The third President was Badruddin Tayabji who was a Muslim. The fourth and fifth Presidents were George Yule and William Baderburn who were British.

Early nationalists

1. **Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912):** He was of Scottish descent. He joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1849 and made a lot of efforts to remove the social

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maladies of the country. His superiors did not favour him, thus, he had to retire in 1882. He took initiative to form the Indian National Congress in 1885. In 1889, he helped in setting up the British Committee of the Congress in London as well. This committee started its journal named *India*.

2. **Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917):** He was known as 'the Grand Old Man of India'. He was associated with the Indian National Congress right from its inception and became its president thrice: in 1886, 1893 and 1906. He was the first Indian to become a Member of the House of Commons on the Liberal Party's ticket. During his stay in England, from 1855 to 1869, he educated British public on Indian affairs through the London Indian Association and the East India Association. A book by Naoroji *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* was published in 1901. This book had statistics to prove that the drain of wealth from India to Great Britain was the cause of growing poverty in India.

3. **Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915):** He was born in a middle class Parsi family of Bombay. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian National Congress. He was also a pioneer of the Swadeshi and founded the famous *Bombay Chronicle* in 1913.

4. **Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925):** He was an eminent leader who passed the ICS examination in 1871 and started his career as an Assistant Magistrate at Sylhet. A controversy with the Government led him to leave the job. He was the founder of the Indian Association in 1876. In 1883, he convened a National Conference which was the precursor of the Indian National Congress. He presided over the Congress sessions twice. He was elected the first President of the Indian National Liberal Federation in 1918 and in 1921, he became a Minister in Bengal.

5. **Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906):** He was the first Indian barrister at Bombay High Court and was nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1882. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian National Congress. He was the President at the third Congress session in Madras in 1887. He helped Muslims in the causes of educational advancement and social reforms as the Secretary and then as the President of the Anjuman-i- Islam of Bombay. He strongly pleaded for the education of women.

6. **Womesh Chander Banerjee (1844-1906):** He represented the Calcutta University in the Bengal Legislative Council. He was the first Congress President at Bombay in 1885. He left India in 1902 to settle in England to practise before the Privy Council. He financed the British Committee of the Congress in London and its journal *India*.

7. **Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946):** He was born and educated at Allahabad. He started his career as a lawyer and as an able Parliamentarian. He was a member of the Provincial and Central Legislatures for several terms. He promoted the use of indigenous products and helped in organizing the Indian Industrial Conference and the UP Industrial Association at Allahabad in 1907. In 1926, he organized his own Nationalist Party. He also established the Banaras Hindu University and for several years served as its Vice-Chancellor.

8. **Tej Bahadur Sapru (1872-1949):** He was a conscientious and successful lawyer who specialized in constitutional law. He helped Mrs Besant to build up the Central Hindu College at Banaras and to establish the Banaras Hindu University in collaboration with Malaviya. He entered politics during the Home Rule movement and associated in drafting Nehru Committee Report of 1928. He participated in the Round Table conferences as well.

9. **Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915):** He was a follower of Mahadev Govind Ranade who was popularly known as the Socrates of Maharashtra. He joined the Deccan Educational Society founded by Ranade. He edited the quarterly journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. He played a great part, officially and unofficially, in the formulation of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. His principles attracted Gandhi, who became Gokhale's pupil. In 1905, he laid the foundation of the 'Servants of India Society' for the training of national missionaries and to promote, by constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people.

10. **Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-1893):** He was a co-founder of the Bombay Presidency Association. He was one of the leading men who founded the Congress and became its first 'hardworking secretary'. He was active in the sphere of social reforms and was the President of the National Social Conference. He rose to the position of a High Court Judge.

11. **Rashbehari Ghose (1845-1921):** After obtaining his law degree, Rashbehari Ghosh enrolled himself as an advocate at the Calcutta High Court. He became a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1889. He was the Chairman, Reception Committee of the Congress, in its Calcutta session in 1906. He was also the President-elect for the Surat session of the Congress in 1907. He was deputed by the Congress to proceed with its delegation to England and forward its point of view before the British Government.

7.3 MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS

Due to the low-level of political awareness in Indian society, the achievements of moderate nationalists were quite less. By 1907, the moderates were pushed to the background with the emergence of an extremist class in the Congress. This extremist group was created due to the failure of the moderates to produce any results for the welfare of the people.

7.3.1 Moderates

Leaders of the moderate phase mainly came from Bombay, Bengal and Madras. For example, Badruddin Tayybji, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, K.T. Telang and Govind Ranade were from Bombay. Wumesh Chander Banerji, Anand Mohan Bose. Surendra Nath Banerji and Ramesh Chandra Dutta were from Bengal. Similarly, Subamanya Ayer, Anand Charlu, and Raghavacharya were from Madras. Very few leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pundit D.P. Dhar came from North India. These moderate leaders treated British rule as a blessing. They sincerely believed that the British rule would make India a developed democratic and liberal country. They had the illusion that the British would introduce modern institutions and remove superstitious beliefs. They saw England as a source of inspiration and treated English as their political, guru. Many of these nationalist leaders had anglicized lifestyles. All they wanted and expected from the British was a 'reform package' for Indians.

Demands of the moderates

The moderates believed in peaceful methods to get their demands across. They believed in writing petitions and peaceful protests. Though the moderates failed to

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Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words:
   (i) The objective of introducing English language in the education system was to fill some _____ at the administrative level.
   (ii) _____ of 1776 infused ideas of liberation and nationalism in educated Indians.
2. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (i) The national liberation movements of Greece, Italy and Ireland encouraged Indians to fight for their independence.
   (ii) Free trade policy was made to favour Indian manufacturers.
3. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (i) The objective of the East India Association in London was to promote _____ welfare.
   (ii) Bengal British India Society was formed in April _____.
4. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (i) Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose was the founder of India League.
   (ii) Policies of Lytton and Ilbert Bill controversy caused political turmoil in Madras.
5. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (i) The Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885 at _____, Bombay.
   (ii) The Congress demanded the representation of the council through local bodies like Universities and _____
6. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (i) The Congress demanded the integration of Judicial and Executive powers.
   (ii) Consolidating the sentiments of national unity was one of the primary objectives of the Congress

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make the same impact as the extremists, they petitioned for a number of reforms during this time.

1. **Constitutional reforms:** The moderates demanded the expansion and reform of the existing legislative councils from 1885 to 1892. They demanded the introduction of the system of direct elections and an increase in the number of members and powers of the legislative councils. It is true that their agitation forced the Government to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892, but the moderates were not satisfied with what was given to the people of India. No wonder, they declared the Act of 1892 as a 'hoax.' They demanded a large share for the Indians in the legislative councils. By the beginning of the 20th century, the moderates put forward the claim for Swarajya or self-government within the British Empire on the model of the other self-governing colonies like Australia and Canada. This demand was made from the Congress platform by Gokhale in 1905 and by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906.

2. **Demand for economic reforms:** They opposed the British attempt to develop in India the basic characteristics of a colonial economy, namely, the transformation of India into a supplier of raw materials, a market for British manufacturers and a field of investment for foreign capital. The moderates took note of all the three forms of contemporary colonial economic exploitation, namely through trade, industry and finance. They organized a powerful all-India agitation against the abandonment of tariff-duties on imports and against the imposition of cotton excise duties. The moderates carried on agitation for the reduction of heavy land revenue payments. They urged the Government to provide cheap credit to the peasantry through agricultural banks and to make available irrigation facilities on a large scale. They asked for improvement in the conditions of work of the plantation labourers. They demanded a radical change in the existing pattern of taxation and expenditure that put a heavy burden on the poor, while leaving the rich, especially the foreigners, with a very light load. They demanded the abolition of salt tax which hit the poor and lower middle classes hard.

   The moderates complained of India's growing poverty and economic backwardness and put all the blame on the politics of the British government. They blamed the government for the destruction of the indigenous industries like traditional handicrafts industries in the country. They demanded rapid development of modern industries that would help in the removal of India's poverty. They wanted the government to give tariff protection to the Indian industries. They advocated the use of Swadeshi goods and the boycott of British goods. They demanded that the economic drain of India by England must stop.

   Most of them opposed the large scale investment of foreign capital in Indian railways, plantations and industries on the ground that it would lead to the suppression of Indian capitalists and the further strengthening of the British hold on India's economy and polity.

3. **Administrative and miscellaneous reforms:** Moderates criticized the individual administrative measures and worked hard to reform the administrative system that was ridden with corruption, inefficiency and oppression. They demanded the Indianization of the higher grades of the administrative services; the demand was put forward on economic, political and moral grounds. Economically, the high salaries paid to Europeans put a heavy burden on Indian finance, and contributed to the economic drain. Indians of similar qualifications could be employed on lower salaries. Europeans sent out of India a large part of their salaries and also got their pensions in England. That added to the drain of wealth from India. Politically, the European civil servant ignored the needs of the Indians and favoured the European capitalists at the cost of their Indian counterparts. It was hoped that the Indianization of services would make the administration more responsive to Indian needs. Morally, the existing system dwarfed the Indian character reducing the tallest Indian to permanent inferiority in his own country.

   Moderates demanded the separation of the judiciary for the executive so that the people might get some protection from the arbitrary acts of police and bureaucracy. They were opposed to the policy of disarming the people of India by the Government. They opposed the aggressive foreign policy against India's neighbours. They protested against the policy of the annexation of Burma, the attack on Afghanistan and the suppression of the tribal people in North-Western India. They wanted the Government to spend more money on the spread of education in the country. They also took up the cause of the Indians who had been compelled by poverty to migrate to British colonies in search of employment. In many of these foreign lands, they were subjected to severe oppression and racial discrimination.

4. **Defence of civil rights:** The Moderates opposed the restrictions imposed by the government on modern civil rights, namely the freedom of speech and the press. Almost from the beginning of the 19th century, politically conscious Indians had been attracted to modern civil rights, especially the freedom of the press. As early as 1824, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had protested against a regulation restricting the freedom of the press. In the period from 1870 to 1918, the main political task was that of politicization of nationalist ideology. The press was the chief instrument for carrying out this task. Indian newspapers began to find their feet in 1870's.The Vernacular Press Act of 1878, directed only against Indian language newspapers, was conceived in great secrecy and passed at a single sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council. The act provided for the confiscation of the printing press, paper and other materials of a newspaper if the government believed that it was publishing seditious material and had flouted an official warning. Indian nationalist opinion firmly opposed the Act. Various public bodies and the Press also campaigned against the Act. Consequently, it was repealed in 1881 by Lord Ripon. Surendranath Banerjee was the first Indian to go to jail in performance of his duty as a journalist. But, the man who is most frequently associated with the struggle for the freedom of press during the nationalist movement was Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

In 1897, B. G. Tilak and many other leaders were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for spreading affection against the Government through their speeches and writings. The Natu brothers of Poona were deported without a trial. The entire country protested against this attack on the liberties of the people. The arrest of Tilak marked the beginning of a new phase of the nationalist movement.

7.3.2 Failure of the Moderates

The basic weakness of the moderates was their narrow social base. Their movement did not have wide appeal. In fact, the leaders lacked political faith in the masses. The area of their influence was limited to the urban community. As they did not have the support of the masses, they declared that the time was not ripe for throwing out a

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challenge to the foreign rulers. That was likely to invite mature repression. However, it must not be presumed that moderate leaders fought for their narrow interests. Their programmes and policies championed the cause of all sections of the Indian people and represented nation-wide interests against colonial exploitation.

Critically evaluating the work of the moderates, it appears that they did not achieve much success. Very few of the reforms advocated by them were carried out. The foreign rulers treated them with contempt. The moderates failed to acquire any roots among the common people and even those who joined the Congress with high hopes were feeling more and more disillusioned. The politics of the moderates was described as 'halting and half-hearted.' Their methods were described as those of mendicancy or beggary through prayers and petitions.

The moderates failed to keep pace with the yearnings and aspirations of the people. They did not realize that the political and economic interests of the Indians and the British clashed, and consequently the British people could not be expected to give up their rights and privileges in India without a fight. Moreover, it was during this period that a movement started among the Muslims to keep away from the Congress and that ultimately resulted in the establishment of Pakistan. In spite of their best efforts, the moderates were not able to win over the Muslims.

The social composition of Congress remained, by and large the same till 1905. A. O. Hume tried his best to bring Muslims and peasants into the Congress fold, but with little success. The Muslim elite, especially from Aligarh, felt that they would lose from the elected councils and that the Hindus would dominate (Hindus were in majority in most places). The Muslim elite also opposed competitive examinations for the recruitment into civil services, as it was based on modern English education and the Muslims were far behind the Hindus in this field. They feared Hindu domination in the civil services too. All these factors kept Muslims away from the Congress; neither did the Congress give a serious look into inducting Muslims. This was a big mistake, as they realized in later years.

7.3.3 Extremists

The last decade of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress that was sharply critical of the ideology and methods of the old leadership. These 'angry young men' advocated the adoption of Swaraj as the goal of the Congress to be achieved by more self-reliant and independent methods. The new group came to be called the extremist party in contrast to the older one which began to be referred to as the moderate party.

Growth of the extremists

The militant form of Nationalism was first found in the teachings and preaching of Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Bankim Chandra Chatterji was inspired by the *Bhagavad Gita* and visualized a united India through Sri Krishna, who (according to Bhagavad Gita) established 'dharam rajya' after destroying evil. Vivekanand added a spiritual dimension to the idea of nationalism. Bipin Chandra Pal called him the prophet of nationalism. He inspired the youth of his time, more than anyone else.

The root of extremism lay in two important factors-the policies of Colonial rule and failure of moderate leaders to attract younger generation and common people. However,

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there are many other factors that led to the rise of the extremist class within the Congress. They are as follows:

1. **Political events:** The political events between 1892 and 1905 disappointed nationalists and forced them to think of more radical politics. The Indian Council Act of 1892 was a complete disappointment. On the other hand, even the existing political rights of the people were attacked. In 1898, a law was passed making it an offence to excite 'feeling of disaffection' towards the foreign government. In 1899, the number of Indian members in the Calcutta Corporation was reduced from 75 to 50. The 25 members who were eliminated were those persons who were the representatives of the people of Calcutta. The result of this measure was that there was a European majority in the Corporation. In 1904, the famous Official Secrets Act was passed. The definition of the term 'sedition' was widened. The Official Secrets Acts of 1889 was related to the disclosure of only military secrets. The Act of 1904 also covered the official secrets related to civil affairs and newspaper criticism that was likely to bring the government into contempt. The Natu brothers were deported in 1897 without being tried; even the charges against them were not made public. In the same year, Lokmanya Tilak and other newspaper editors were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for arousing people against foreign rule. The anti-Indian attitude of Lord Curzon convinced more and more people that it was useless to expect any political and economic advance as long as Britain ruled India.

   Even socially and culturally, the British rule was no longer progressive. Primary and technical education was not making any progress. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was seen by the nationalists as an attempt to bring Indian universities under tighter official control and to check the growth of higher education. Thus, an increasing number of Indians were realizing that self-government was essential for the sake of the economic, political and cultural progress of the country.

2. **Enlightenment of the true nature of British rule:** By their painstaking studies and writings, the early nationalist leaders exposed the true nature of British rule in India. They conclusively proved by elaborate statistical data that British rule and its policies were responsible for the economic ruin of India and her deepening poverty. Dadabhai Naoroji, for example, exposed the exploitative nature of British rule in India and proved that Britain was 'bleeding India white' and the constant 'drain of wealth' from India was directly responsible for India's economic miseries. R.C. Dutt and G.V Joshi, examined the true nature of British land revenue policy, while S.N. Banerjee explained at length the big gap between the professed aims and practiced policy of the Government of India in matters of recruitment to public services. The 'poverty verging on starvation' of fifty millions of the population was described by the Congress as due to the most extravagant civil and military administration, mounting Home Charges, discriminating tariff policy (as evident from the frequent changes in the cotton duties and sugar duties, etc.), short-sighted land revenue policy, indifference to technical and industrial development of India and exclusion of the sons of the soil from a share in the higher and minor services. The evil economic consequences of foreign rule which caused discontentment among the Indian people were the outbreak of famines from 1896 to 1990. It took a toll of over 90 lakhs people. The outbreak of the Bubonic plague also added to the discontentment among the people.

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3. **Dissatisfaction with the performance of the Congress:** The younger elements within the Congress were dissatisfied with the achievements of the Congress during first 15-20 years and were disgusted with cold and reactionary attitude of the Government. They had lost all faith in the British sense of justice and fair play. They were strongly critical of the methods of peaceful and constitutional agitation, popularly nicknamed 3 Ps-Petition, Prayer and Protest-and described these methods as 'political mendicancy'. They advocated the adoption of European revolutionary methods to meet European imperialism. The younger generation of Congressmen (also called the extremists) had nothing but disgust for the old guard. According to them, the only 'political religion' of the Congress was loyalty to the Crown; their only 'political aim' to improve their chances of getting seats in the central provincial legislatures or judicial services or acquiring titles, etc.; their only 'political activity' excessive speechifying and attending Congress sessions towards December-end every year. The moderate leaders were accused of limiting the range of their activities for the benefit of the middle class intelligentsia and limiting the membership of the Congress to the middle class for fear of losing their leadership if the masses joined the movement. Thus, the moderate leaders were accused of 'trading in the name of patriotism'.

4. **International influences:** Events outside India exercised a powerful influence the growth of militant nationalism in India. The humiliating treatment meted out to Indians in British colonies especially in South Africa, created anti-British feelings. Further, nationalist movements in Egypt, Persia, Turkey and Russia gave Indians new hopes and new inspirations. The rise of modern Japan after 1868 showed that a backward Asian country could develop itself without western control. Indian nationalists gained more confidence and drew inspiration from Abyssinia's repulsion of the Italian army (1896) and Japan's thumping victory over Russia (1905). If Japan could become a great power on its own, what— but for the British grip— was holding India back. The spell of European invincibility was broken. It greatly inspired the liberation hopes of the Indians.

5. **Increasing westernization:** The new leadership felt the stranglehold of excessive Westernization in Indian life, thought and politics-Christianity and utilitarianism (visible in the teachings of Brahmo Samaj) were a challenge to Indian religion and thought; the materialistic and individualistic Western civilization was eroding the values of Indian culture and civilization; and the merger of Indian national identity in the British empire was being attempted.

   The intellectual and emotional inspiration of the new leadership (extremists) was Indian. They drew inspiration from Indian spiritual heritage; they appealed to heroes of Indian history and hoped to revive the glories of ancient India. The writings of Bankim Chandra, Vivekananda and Swami Dayanand appealed to their imagination. Vivekanand, a great Vedantist, gave a feeling of self-confidence to the youth and gave them a new mission-to conquer the West with India's spirituality. Swami Dayanand exploded the myth of Western superiority by referring to India's rich civilization in the Vedic Ages, when Europe was steeped in ignorance.

6. **Militant nationalist school of thought:** From almost the beginning, of the national movement, a school of militant nationalism represented by Rajnarain Bose and Ashwini Kumar Dutt in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra had existed in the country. The most outstanding representative of this school was Bal Gangadhar Tilak, later popularly called as 'Lokmanya Tilak'.

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Born in 1856 and graduated from the Bombay University, Tilak during the 1880s helped to found the New English School, which later became the Fergusson College; newspapers like the *Mahratta* (in English) and the *Kesari* (in Marathi) through which he preached nationalism. In 1893, he started using the traditional religious Ganapati festival to propagate nationalist ideas through songs and speeches, and in 1895, he started the Shivaji festival to stimulate nationalism among young Maharashtrians by holding up the example of Shivaji for emulation. During 1896-97, he initiated a no-tax campaign in Maharashtra. He asked the famine stricken peasants of Maharashtra not to pay the land revenue if their crops had failed. He was arrested in 1897, on the charge of spreading hatred and disaffection against the government and was sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment. Thus, he became a living symbol of the new national spirit of self-sacrifice.

At the dawn of the 20th century, the school of militant nationalists found a favourable political climate and its adherents came forward to lead the second stage of national movement. The most outstanding leaders of militant nationalism, apart from Lokmanya Tilak, were Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, and Lala Lajpat Rai.

7. **Growth of self-respect:** Leaders like Tilak and B.C. Pal preached the message of self-respect and asked the nationalists to rely on the character and capacities of the Indian people. They called upon the people to build their own future by their own efforts. They advocated agitation and mass action. They had no faith in the efficacy of constitutional methods. Indians in the countries belonging to the commonwealth and empire were maltreated. They were meted out discriminatory treatment.

8. **Growth of education:** The growth of education in India increased the influence of Western ideas of democracy, nationalism and radicalism. The educated Indians became the strongest advocates of militant nationalism. The treatment given to them by the foreigners added to their bitterness. They were paid low wages. Many of them were unemployed. They felt very strongly against foreign domination. There was a feeling in the country that self-government was necessary for the economic, political and cultural advancement of the country.

9. **Partition of Bengal:** The worst and most-hated aspect of Curzon's administration was the partition of Bengal into two provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam. The partition forced in teeth of Bengali opposition and protests from the Indian National Congress (in 1904) showed the contemptuous disregard Curzon and the Home authorities had for Indian public opinion. It was abundantly clear that the partition of Bengal was a Machiavellian devise to divide the people on the basis of religion and to put the Muslims against the Hindus. The utter disregard Curzon showed for public opinion gave ample evidence, if any evidence was still needed, that the moderates' policy of 'petitions, prayers and protests' was barren of results.

7.3.4 Objectives and Methods of Extremists

The new turn in Indian politics found expression in two forms- formation of an extremist group within the Congress and the growth of terrorism or revolutionary movement in the country at large. Four prominent Congress leaders-Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose and Lala Lajpat Rai, defined the creed of the new group, gave

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articulate form to its aspirations and guided its operations. One of the earliest leaders who criticized the moderate politics systematically, in a series of articles entitled *New Lamps for Old* was Aurobindo Ghose. He did not like constitutional method of struggle based on English model and attacked the soft attitude of the Congress. He told them not to take inspiration from England, but to take inspiration from the French Revolution (1789). He also suggested bringing proletariat (working) class in the national movement.

The emerging leaders in the Congress were not happy with the 'prayers' and 'petitions' methods. They were in favour of self-reliance, constructive work, mass contact through melas, public meetings, use of mother tongue in education and political work. Leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Ashwini Kumar Dutta, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak were of this view. They argued that 'good government is no substitute for self-government'. The issue of Swadeshi Movement widened the gap between the moderates and the extremist. The extremists wanted to spread the movement in the entire country and complete non-cooperation with the government. Lajpat Rai and Tilak were more aggressive in their ideas and plan. Lajpat Rai thundered 'no nation is worthy of any political status if it cannot distinguish between begging rights and claiming them'. He further argued that 'sovereignty rests with the people; the state exists for them and rules in their name.' Nevertheless the true founder of militant nationalism was Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahmin of Poona. He criticized the moderates in his unique style– 'we will not achieve any success in our labours if we croak once a year like a frog'.

He was quick to set the political goal of India-'Swaraj' or self-government instead of reform in administration. He showed greater confidence and ability when he declared 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it'. He was a pioneer in many ways. Tilak:

- Used religious symbols and festivals like Ganesh festival since 1894, to mobilize people
- Used a patriotic-cum-historical cult through the Shivaji festival since 1896, to inspire the youth
- Started a no-revenue campaign in 1896-97, during severe famine in Maharashtra. He called upon the government to take those measures of relief, which were provided under law in the Famine Relief Code. Then, through his paper, *Kesari*, he made an appeal to the people to refuse to pay taxes. He wrote angrily 'can you not be bold even in the grip of death
- Started a boycott movement on the issue of countervailing cotton exercise of 1896

It should be clearly understood that the extremists demand for Swaraj was a demand for 'complete freedom from foreign control and full independence to manage national affairs without any foreign restraints.' The Swaraj of the moderate leaders was merely a demand for colonial self-government within the Empire. The methods employed by the two groups (moderates and extremists) were different in their tempo and approach. The extremists had no faith in the benevolence of the British public or parliament, nor were they convinced of the efficacy of merely holding conferences. The extremists also affirmed their faith in passive resistance, mass agitation and strong will to suffer or make self-sacrifices. The new leadership sought to create a passionate love for liberty, accompanied by a spirit of sacrifice and a readiness to suffer for the cause of the country. They strove to root out from the people's mind the omnipotence of the ruler and instead give them self-reliance and confidence in their own strength. They had deep

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faith in the strength of the masses and they planned to achieve Swaraj through mass action. They, therefore, pressed for political work among the masses and for direct political action by the masses. The extremists advocated boycott of the foreign goods use of Swadeshi goods, national education and passive resistance.

Thus, the emergence of militant nationalism had developed when in 1905 the partition of Bengal was announced and the Indian national movement entered its second phase. On 20 July 1905, Lord Curzon issued an order dividing the province of Bengal into two parts: Eastern Bengal and Assam with a population of 31 million and the rest of Bengal with a population of 54 million of whom 18 million were Bengalis, and 36 million Biharis and Oriyas. Although the main argument advanced by the government in favour of the partition was that the existing province of Bengal was too big to be efficiently administered by a single provincial government, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and Muslims, and destroying the solidarity of 78 million of Bengalis by dividing them into two blocs.

The Indian National Congress and the nationalists of Bengal firmly opposed the partition. They realized the principal motive behind the partition was the destruction of the solidarity of the Bengalis on religious grounds—for in the eastern part Muslims would be in big majority and in the western part Hindus- and thus to disrupt and weaken nationalism in Bengal. Besides in the new province of Bengal, the Bengalis with a population of 18 million, would be outnumbered by the Hindi speaking population of 20 million, to which may be added the Oriya speaking minority. Thus, the Bengali Hindus would be in minority in both the provinces in which their homeland was to be divided. There was still deeper apprehension among the Bengalis. They could not but feel that the partition was a measure deliberately adopted to kindle rivalry and animosity between the Hindus and Muslims-the two great communities in Bengal.

The Partition led to widespread agitation. Its most prominent leaders at the initial stage were moderate leaders like Surendranath Banerjee and Krishna Kumar Mitra; militant and revolutionary nationalists took over in the later stages. The anti- partition agitation was initiated on 7 August 1905 at the Town Hall, Calcutta, where a massive demonstration against the partition was organized. 16 October, 1905 was the day fixed for the coming into force of partition and after a month, Lord Curzon left India.16 October 1905 was declared to be a day of national mourning throughout Bengal. It was observed as a day of fasting. There was a hartal (strike) in Calcutta. People went to the Ganges barefooted in the early hours of the morning and took their bath. Rabindranath Tagore composed a national song, *Amar Sonar Bangla*, for this occasion which was sung by huge crowds parading the streets. There were cries of Bande Mataram, which became a national song of Bengal. The ceremony of Raksha Bandhan was observed on 16 October 1905. Hindus and Muslims tied rakhis on one another's wrists as a symbol of the unbreakable unity.

7.3.5 Swadeshi Movement

It began as an anti-partition agitation in Bengal and boycott was first suggested by Krishna Kumar Mitra in *Sanjivani* in 1905. The boycott of British products was followed by the advocacy of Swadeshi and to buy indigenously produced goods as a patriotic duty. The leaders of Bengal felt that mere demonstrations, public meetings and resolutions were not enough and something more concrete was needed and the answer was Swadeshi and boycott. Mass meetings were held all over Bengal and big crowds took the oath of

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Swadeshi. Patients refused to take foreign medicines and were willing to face the consequences. People burnt foreign clothes and foreign cigarettes. The Swadeshi Movement was an immense success.

An important aspect of the Swadeshi Movement was the emphasis placed on self-reliance or atma-shakti. Self-reliance meant assertion of national dignity, honour and self-confidence. In the economic field, it meant indigenization of the industry. Many textile mills, soap and match factories, national banks and insurance companies were started. A prominent part was played by the students of Bengal in the Swadeshi agitation. They picketed the shops selling foreign cloth and other foreign goods. Women also joined processions and picketed the shops dealing in foreign goods. The programmes of Swadeshi and boycott went hand in hand.

As a consequence of Swadeshi Movement, there was a flowering of nationalist poetry, prose and journalism. The leader of Bengal took up the work of national education in right earnest. National educational institutions were opened by them and literary, technical and physical education was given there. On 15 August 1906, a National Council of Education was set up and Aurobindo Ghose was appointed the first Principal of the National College.

Growth of militancy: The government of the new province tried to suppress the anti-partition agitation with a heavy hand. Meetings were broken and political leaders were insulted and threatened. Gorkha soldiers were let loose on the people. Brutal repression took its heaviest toll at Barisal in East Bengal where the Provincial Council was disbanded on the strict orders of the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the new province warned the Hindus that they would be thrown 500 years back and barred from government service for 3 to 4 generations. Students were sent to jail for throwing away sweets made of foreign sugar. Gorkha soldiers were ordered to stop the singing of Bande Mataram by the people.

Orders were issued to stop the grants-in-aid to the educational institutions suspected of being against the government. Disciplinary action against the teachers and professors was threatened. The government also followed a policy of 'divide and rule.'

In its earlier stages, the anti-partition movement was led by the moderates, but they were disheartened when Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, declared that the partition was a settled fact which would not be changed. At this stage, the militant nationalists or the extremists came to the fore and gave a call for passive resistance in addition to Swadeshi and boycott. They called upon the people not to open with the government and boycott the government schools and colleges, courts.

During the Benaras Session Congress in 1905, over which Gokhale presided, there was much public debate and disagreement between the moderates and extremists. The latter wanted to extend Swadeshi and boycott movement from Bengal to the rest of the country and to extend the boycott to every form of association with the colonial government. The moderates wanted to confine the boycott movement to Bengal and there too limit it to the boycott of foreign goods. There was a tussle between the two groups for presidentship of the National Congress for that year (1906). The cleavage between the two was saved by the election of Dadabhai Naoroji, respected by both as the 'Grand Old Man of India', as the President. With a view to conciliate the extremists and the moderates, Naoroji boldly defined the goal of Indian national movement was 'self-government or 'Swaraj like that of the other colonies of United Kingdom'. The

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Congress also adopted the resolutions on 'Self-Government, Boycott, Swadeshi and National Education'.

The difference between the moderates and extremists was accentuated by the return of Liberal Party to power in Britain in 1905. The Congress President, G.K. Gokhale remarked, 'High hopes have risen with the advent to power of the Liberal Government in England.' The autocratic regime of Lord Curzon, which was a great blow to the moderate party's cherished ideals, seemed to blast the hope of people in general of receiving any justice from the British. The liberal traditions of the new government, and specially the appointment of John Morley as Secretary of State of India, revived the hope that Indians might still achieve a great deal by following the old policy of petitions and agitations. On the other hand, extremists were encouraged by Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. The emergence of the extremist party alarmed the British and made them turn towards the moderates as the only friends of the British government. Hence, grew the British policy of rallying the moderates. They were coaxed into the belief that the Liberal Party, which was in power in Britain, would grant India substantial instalment of reforms. But it soon became clear that the condition precedent to it was the dissociation of the moderate party from the extremists.

The lure of achieving their cherished goal through constitutional means, on which they had hitherto pinned their faith, made the moderates swallow even this bitter pill and in 1907, at the Surat session of the National Congress, the extremists were forced to leave the Congress because the moderates were bent upon altering the resolutions of 1906, National Congress Session.

However, in the long run, the split of INC did not prove useful to either party. The moderate leaders lost touch with the younger generation of nationalists. The British government played the game of 'divide and rule'. While suppressing the militant nationalists, it tried to win over moderate nationalist opinion so that the militant nationalists could be isolated and suppressed. To placate the moderate nationalists, it announced constitutional concessions through the Indian Councils Act of 1909 which are known as the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. In 1911, the government also announced the annulment of the partition of Bengal. Western and eastern Bengals were to be reunited while a new province consisting of Bihar and Orissa Government offices.

The government passed the Public Meetings Act, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, 1907, the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908, and the Indian Press Act, 1910 to take effective action against the extremists. Several circulars and ordinances were issued, which had the effect of abrogating the right of free speech and criticism. Processions, meetings and demonstrations were banned. Students and citizens were prohibited from taking part in politics. Many leaders were deported from Bengal alone. In 1907, Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported from Punjab. In 1908, Tilak was arrested and sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment. Chidambaram Pillai in Madras and Harisarvottan Rao and others in Andhra were put behind the bars. Aurobindo Ghose was arrested and prosecuted and although acquitted, he retired to Pondicherry. Madan Lal Dhingra was hanged. Bhupendra Nath Datta, Editor of the *Yugantar*, was given a long sentence of imprisonment. The *Yugantar*, the *Sandhya* and *Bande Mataram*, were suppressed. Police raids, house searches, confiscations and espionage became the order of the day. CID officers were let loose upon society. So great was the repression that Lord Morley had to ask Lord Minto to have more restraint.

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Lord Minto was succeeded by Lord Hardinge, and he and Robert Crewe-Milnes, the 1st Marquis of Crewe, who was then Secretary of State for India, decided to take steps to pacify Indian resentment over the partition of Bengal. At the Delhi Durbar held in 1911, the King and Queen and the Secretary of State for India were present. The occasion was taken advantage of to announce the cancellation of the partition of Bengal. It was also announced that the capital of British India would move from Calcutta to Delhi.

7.3.6 Extremists Leaders

Though the moderates sowed the seeds of Indian nationalism, they were unable to gain anything fruitful for the cause of independence. The moderates believed in peaceful resistance through prayers and petitions and the Indian people were tired of this subdued method. Very soon, disagreements in the Congress led to the emergence of another faction who believed in direct action in the form of protests and agitations. This group of Congress came to be known as the extremists. They not only believed in strong action, but they also wanted complete independence from British rule. Some of the main leaders of the extremist sect have been mentioned in detailed.

1. **Shri Aurobindo (1872-1950)**: He passed the ICS examination with record marks and returned to India in 1892. He had flair for composing poems, contemplated an armed rebellion in India and planned for secret societies in Maharashtra and in Bengal from 1902; showed his political leadership during the partition of Bengal in 1905. He started the Bengali daily *Jugantar*; joined Bipin Chandra Pal in running *Bande Mataram*, forged unity with Tilak, and fostered the extremist challenge against a moderate Congress. He started weeklies *Karma Yogin* and *Dharma*; in 1910 and withdrew from political activities to French Chandranagore and finally to the life of Yogi at Pondicherry. He met Paul and Madame Richard (the Mother) and started with their help the monthly philosophical review the Arya.
2. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1857-1920):** He was the first nationalist leader who sought close contact with the masses. In this respect, Tilak was a forerunner of Gandhi. He started akharas, lathi clubs, Shivaji and Ganapati festivals to inculcate among the people the spirit of service to the nation. He started two newspapers— *The Mahratta* (English) and *Kesari* (Marathi). The first Congress leader to suffer several terms of imprisonment for the sake of the country, he played a leading role in organizing, in collaboration with Lala Lajpat Rai and B.C. Pal in the Nationalist Party (the Extremist Party). He openly declared: 'Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it'. Due to his effort's the Congress resolution at Calcutta (1906) demanding 'Self-Government, Boycott and National Education' was passed. He favoured a policy of responsive cooperation, and wrote the *Gita Rahasya*.
3. **Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932):** He entered into the Brahmo Samaj and founded the English weekly-*New India*. Initially a follower of Surendranath in politics, B.C. Pal grew into a radical. He was the first great publicist to give an articulate expression to national aspirations and one who also led the Swadeshi movement. He founded *Bande Mataram* in 1906 and was imprisoned for refusing to give evidence in the Bande Mataram sedition case in 1907. He opposed the Gandhian programme of non-cooperation.
4. **Chakravarti Vijayaraghavachariar (1852-1944):** He was the first Indian leader to undergo imprisonment in 1882. He assisted Hume and Naoroji when the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. He was a member of the committee that framed the constitution of the Congress and a distinguished member of the Imperial Legislative Council between 1913 and 1916. He brought a resolution in 1919 on the declaration of Fundamental Rights and obtained the approval of the Congress. Chakravarti Vijayaraghavachariar presided over the Congress session in 1920, which adopted the Gandhian plan for non- cooperation. He was the first Indian to draft a Swaraj Constitution for India which he presented at the Madras session in 1927.
5. **Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928):** He was popularly known as the Sher-e-Punjab; philanthropist, a social reformer and a true nationalist. He was also an Arya Samaji and was associated in the foundation of the DAY College, Lahore. He founded and edited *The Punjabee*, the *Bande Mataram* and the English weekly *The People*. Although inclined towards 'extremism', He first was not in favour of the policy of non-cooperation, but later on fell in line with Gandhi. He entered the Central Legislature as a Swarajist, and in 1928, led a demonstration against the Simon Commission when it visited Lahore; in which he succumbed to the injuries received in a brutal lathi charge.

7.3.7 Differences in the Aims and Methods of Moderates and Extremists

Though the moderates and extremists, both were part of the Indian National Congress, they were as different as chalk and cheese in their objectives, methods and approach towards the British government. These differences are evident in their features which have been summed below:

Moderates

- Most of the moderate leaders were loyal to the British. Many of them held high ranks under the British government.
- Moderates aimed at administrative and constitutional reforms. They wanted more number of Indians in the administration and not an end of British rule.
- Moderate leaders had faith in the British sense of justice and fair play.
- Moderates believed in constitutional means and worked within the framework of the law. Their methods included passing resolutions, persuasion, sending petitions and appeals. They believed in cooperation and reconciliation.
- Moderates received their support from the intelligentsia and urban middle class. They had a narrow social base.
- Most of the moderate leaders were inspired by the ideas of western philosophers like Mill, Burke, Spencer and Bentham. They imbibed western ideas of liberalism, democracy, equality and freedom.

Extremists

- Extremists rejected British rule and held it responsible for the backwardness and poverty of the Indian people.
- Extremists aimed at nothing short of Swaraj as it existed in United Kingdom and in its self-governing colonies. Tilak said, 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it.' They wanted an end to British rule.

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- The extremists were radical in their approach. Their demands were aggressive. They believed in militant methods including Swadeshi and boycott; According to Tilak, freedom had to be fought for. They believed in atma-shakti or self- reliance as a weapon against domination.
- Extremists drew their support from the masses. Their supporters included people from all sections including the lower middle class, workers and farmers. They thus, had a wider social base.
- Extremists denounced British rule and defied it. Many of them were arrested because of anti-British activities
- Extremists drew their inspiration from India's past. They revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals to arouse the masses. They wanted to inculcate pride in India's glorious culture to generate the spirit of nationalism. They invoked goddesses Kali or Durga for strength to fight for the motherland.

Analysis of extremists

Advocates of extremism ranged from active revolutionaries at one end to secret sympathizers of revolutionary activities, to those who were opposed to all violent methods at the other end. Furthermore, its top leaders such as Aurobindo, Tilak, Pal and Lajpat Rai differed in their emphasis regarding political ideals and practical course of action. Even the views of individual leaders underwent change with changing circumstances. For example, Tilak's conception of Swaraj meant, some sort of self- government, while Aurobindo conceived of Swaraj as 'complete independence' from foreign rule. Further, Tilak's revolutionary fervour somewhat mellowed towards the end of his political career and he showed signs of cooperation with the government, while Aurobindo's concept of 'complete independence' was transformed into 'human unity' and 'world union' in his later career. However, it must be stated that all extremist leaders were united in realizing the evils of foreign rule and in demanding some degree of independence from colonial stranglehold. Extremism was, in fact, an attitude of mind and a practical strategy to meet a particular situation. The extremists talked of democracy, constitutionalism and progress and talked of broadening the social base of the national movement. Most of them represented the urban lower middle class and aimed at spreading Congress's message to the people. They spoke, wrote and edited newspapers in vernacular languages and thus, succeeded in conveying their message to a larger audience.

The extremists clearly saw the clash of interest between the British rulers and Indian national interests. Thus, the main highlight as of their politics was (i) to get a larger share for Indians in the administration of their country and (ii) to end Britain's economic exploitation of India. They also realized that these objectives could not be realized without pressure tactics and some sort of direct action. Hence the moderates' philosophy of operation gave place to non-cooperation and resistance to unjust acts of the government. Thus, the extremists gave new slogans to the Indian nationalist movement—non-cooperation, passive resistance, mass agitation, self-reliance, discipline of suffering, etc.

Socially speaking, the rise of extremist ideology proved to be a reactionary development. In contrast to the moderates (who were modernists and enlightened in matters of social reform), extremists became revivalists and obscurantists in matters of social reform. Tilak's opposition (for whatever reasons) to the Consent Bill (which proposed to raise the age of consummation of marriage for girls from 10 to 12 years), his

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association with anti-cow-killing societies, his organization of the Ganesh Festival (1893) as a national festival, projects him as the leader of Hindu orthodoxy and Hindu nationalism. Similarly, Lala Lajpat Rai and B.C. Pal, though ardent advocates of social reform, spoke of Hindu nation and need for protection of Hindu interests at political levels. Though the revivalist dimension of extremist politics was mainly directed against the foreign rulers, it developed an unhealthy inter-relationship between religion and politics apart from encouraging communalism and Muslim discrimination.

The policy of the extremists yielded good dividends. The partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911, which gave a new self-confidence and self-assurance to Indian nationalists. The aim of Swaraj though denied by Lord Morley was no longer looked upon as a revolutionary demand and the shock of the First World War forced the British Government to proclaim self-governing institutions, as the goal of constitutional development in India.

7.3.8 India under Lord Curzon

Lord Curzon was a great administrator and his advent in India marked the beginning of new era of reforms. His aim was to increase the efficiency of each department of the government. His reforms and noteworthy administrative works may be studied under the following headings:

1. **Agricultural reforms:** Lord Curzon gave his attention to the problem of land revenue and condition of the peasants. He introduced greater elasticity, both, in the assessment and collection of the land revenue. He laid down the salutary principle that the Government demand should vary according to the character of the season. In cases where assessment has to be increased, it should be done by graduated steps.
2. **Measures to benefit cultivators:** He took several measures for improving the condition of the peasants. Lord Curzon passed the Punjab Alienation Act of 1900. This act prohibited the sale of agricultural lands or its attachment in execution of a degree. Lord Curzon started cooperative credit societies to provide cultivators with necessary capital at a very low rate of interest. This lessened the burden of their debts. He also appointed an inspector General of Agriculture and founded an Imperial Agricultural Department to encourage the application of scientific methods to Indian agriculture. Zamindar banks were opened to give loans to the agriculturists at low rate of interest. An Agricultural Research Institute was established at Pusa in Bengal. The Institute was to make experiments in the methods of tropical agriculture with a view to improve the agriculture in the country. Irrigation facilities were extended. The construction of several new canals such as upper Jhelum, upper Chenab Doab and Lower Bari Doab Canals was started.
3. **Famine and plague:** During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Curzon, there was a severe famine in India in 1899. About 10 lakh people died in the famine, which was followed by plague, cholera and malaria. The whole of northern India, including Punjab, Bombay, Central Province, Berar, Rajputana, Baroda, Hyderabad and Gujarat were badly affected. Lord Curzon made a tour of the affected areas. He asked for help from every quarter in order to give relief to the people in the famine stricken areas. The government spent over sixty lakh rupees on famine relief work. In spite of this the government was subjected to severe criticism. It was complained that the government did not grant remission of taxes and land revenue. A commission was set up by him, under MacDonnell, to enquire into the

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famine relief measures. He accepted most of the commission's recommendations. The commission made the following recommendations:

- It emphasized the advantages of non-official assistance
- It emphasized the need of preventing demoralization among the people
- It recommended construction of more railways to move food quickly to the famine stricken areas in times of emergency
- It also recommended establishing agricultural banks and cooperative credit societies
- Irrigation facilities should also be increased in the country

4. **Administrative reforms:** Numerous reforms were made in the field of administration. They are as follows:

   (i) **Calcutta Corporation Act:** He was against the system of Lord Ripon's local self-government as he did not have faith in the ability of the Indians. After making certain changes in the Bill introduced by Ripon, he passed the Calcutta Corporation Act. The number of members was reduced to 50 from 75. This reduction of the members was made from amongst the members who were to be elected. The Act marked the extinction of local self-government because now the nominated members came to have a majority in the Calcutta Corporation.

   (ii) **Reforms of bureaucratic machinery:** He found that the bureaucratic machinery was very defective. The system of working was also very defective. Long delays were caused in every matter of administration. He established a Committee of Departmental Secretaries and enforced the regulations drawn by it throughout the Central Secretariat. The copies of the regulations drawn by the Committee of Departmental secretaries were sent to the provincial Governments with instructions to force them in their respective departments. He directed the departments to settle the matters by personal consultation rather than by long notes, drafts and differences. The printing of government reports and statistics was also considerably reduced by Curzon.

   (iii) **Status of presidency governors:** Lord Curzon was in favour of centralization in every sphere. He did not like the separate status of the Presidency Governors. He suggested to the Government of England to bring the posts and status of the Presidency Governors at par with Provincial Governors. This step in his opinion was likely to increase the esteem and popularity of the Indian Civil Service. The Home Government did not accept this suggestion of Lord Curzon.

   (iv) **Reforms in railways:** Some parts of the Indian railways were managed by companies, while the rest were managed by the Public Works Department of the Government of India. He appointed a Railway Commission under Sir Thomas Robertson. This commission suggested that the railways should be managed as commercial undertakings and the old system should be stopped. In 1905, Lord Curzon abolished the Railway Branch of the Public Work Department and entrusted the working of the Railways to a Board of three members. Several new railway lines were constructed and the work of construction of 28,150 miles was completed.

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5. **Police reforms:** Lord Curzon appointed the Fraser Commission to enquire into the system of police and make necessary suggestions. The commission made the following recommendations:

   - The number of Provincial policemen should be increased
   - Instead of promotions on higher posts, direct appointments should be made
   - The salary of the policeman should be sufficient for his subsistence. It should not be less than ₹ 60
   - Training institutes should be opened for the proper training of policemen and officers
   - Investigation of the crime should be made on the spot and the arrest of suspected persons without formal warrants should be considered ill-legal
   - A criminal investigation branch should be set up in every province and it was to work under the Central Government with Director of Criminal Intelligence

6. **Military reforms:** The Imperial Cadet Corps was established to give military training to young men of princely and noble families. For the defence of the coast of India, a naval defence squadron was established. Later, it was amalgamated with the Royal Navy in 1903. A large number of Sikhs and Gorkhas were recruited in the army and they were placed under the command of English officers. Better guns were supplied to the artillery. Military transport was reorganized. The services of Indian army were utilized in foreign countries.

7. **Partition of Bengal:** After the grant of the Diwani of the Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Bengal Presidency had presented a difficult administrative problem. In 1854, it was put under the charge of a lieutenant governor. The creation of the N. W. Provinces in 1865 and the placing of Assam under a separate Chief Commissioner in 1874 lightened the burden of the Presidency of Bengal. But the Province of Bengal was very large and difficult for one Lt. Governor to administer. On 7 December 1903, proposals for partitioning of Bengal were published. A new province of East Bengal and Assam was created with Dacca as its capital. The new province had a Muslim majority. There were undoubted administrative advantages for dismembering Bengal. The people understood the partition of Bengal to be a British mischief to break the unity of the Bengali people.

8. **Reforms for preservation of ancient monuments:** Lord Curzon passed an act in order to protect and preserve ancient monuments. He established the department of the Archaeological Survey which has done much to preserve the relics of the past and to excavate the sites of antiquity. This has promoted the growth of historical research and archaeological study in the country.

9. **Financial reforms:** Some of his financial reforms were as following:

   - Gold was made legal tender in India
   - ₹ 15/- was fixed as the rate of exchange to the Sovereign
   - Salt tax was reduced
   - The Quinquennial settlement of financial decentralization introduced by Lord Ripon was made semi-permanent
   - Taxable income limit was raised from ₹ 500 to ₹ 1000
   - Due to the outbreak of severe famine of 1899-1900, some remissions in taxes were also allowed

Check Your Progress

7. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words:
   (i) _____ was the first Indian to go to jail in performance of his duty as a journalist.
   (ii) The moderates declared the _____ as a 'hoax.'
8. State whether the following statements are true or false:
   (i) The moderates were pro-British and treated the British rule as a blessing.
   (ii) The moderates had most of their support coming from the Muslims.
9. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (i) In 1905, ____ in Sanjivani suggested to boycott British products and buy indigenous goods as a sign of patriotism.
   (ii) _____ was a Machiavellian devise to divide the people on the basis of religion and to put the Muslims against the Hindus.

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10. **Educational reforms:** Lord Curzon passed the Indian Universities Act in 1904 to bring the Universities under the control of the British Government. Indian Universities Act 1904, reorganized the constitution of the Syndicates provided for the official inspection of the colleges and placed the final decision concerning the affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges in the hands of the Government of India. Steps were also taken to develop the Universities from examining to teaching bodies. The Universities should not remain merely examining bodies, but they should also give an impetus to research work by appointing university professors and lecturers. The size of university Senate; and Syndicates was considerably reduced. New faculties were created. The government was to nominate 80 percent of the members in the Senates. In all the provinces, the respective vernacular was to be the medium of instruction in the primary schools while English was to be the medium in the grades of higher education. Lord Curzon wanted to raise the standard of education in India. Training colleges were started in the various provinces for training the students as teachers.

There was a controversy regarding the University Act of 1904. On account of the nomination of 80 percent of the members of the Senates, Lord Curzon had officialized the Indian Universities and brought them under the control of the Government. This was not considered well for the healthy growth of education in the country. A conviction grew in the minds of the common people that the government was restricting the education to the higher sections of Indian society and especially to aspiring young men for higher education. This Act made Lord Curzon very unpopular among the Indian masses. The Indian University Act, 1904, was severely criticized by scholars like Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

10. State whether the following statements are true or false.
    (i) As a consequence of the partition of Bengal there was a flowering of nationalist poetry, prose and journalism.
    (ii) Most of the moderate leaders were inspired by the ideas of western philosophers like Mill, Burke, Spencer and Bentham. They imbibed western ideas of liberalism, democracy, equality and freedom.
11. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
    (i) Lord Curzon passed the ____, according to which sale of agricultural lands was prohibited.
    (ii) The _____ of financial decentralization introduced by Lord Ripon was made semi-permanent by Lord Curzon.

7.4 FIRST WORLD WAR, HOME RULE MOVEMENT AND MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS OF 1919

The First World War began in June 1914. France, Great Britain, Russia and Japan was on one side, and Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey was on the other side. Later, Italy also joined the former group. This war awakened the spirit of nationalism in people.

When the war began, the Congress was led by Gokhale and the moderates. The Congress decided to help the British because they took it as their duty. Another reason to support the British was that they thought that after getting help from India, the British would feel grateful and would allow India to have self-governance. Indian leaders at that time did not realize that the war was fought between these groups in order to safeguard their colonies. However, the Congress did not support the British when Tilak came back from jail. Tilak opined that pleading in front in the British for their rights was of no use. He believed that freedom was the birth right of every Indian. Thus, he laid the foundation of the anti-government movement which was later led by Gandhi.

Most of the Indian leaders realized that the British government would not allow India to have self-government if they were not pressurized for the same. Thus, they felt the need to begin a mass movement. There were many other reason behind the decision of the people to start a mass movement. During the war, heavy taxes were imposed on people and the prices of the necessary goods were also increased. Thus, the First World War years led to intense agitation towards the British government.

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7.4.1 Revolutionary Activities

Indian leaders took the war years as an opportunity for revolutionary movement. Many troops of the English were used in the war and there were not enough troops to stop the revolutionaries. The leaders also realized that they could seek financial and military help from Turkey and Germany. In August 1919, they appropriated 50 Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of ammunition from the Rodda firm in Calcutta. Under the leadership of Jatin Mukherji, the revolutionaries from Bengal made plans to disrupt rail communication, land German arms and seize Fort William in Calcutta. These plans could not be executed properly as there was a lack of coordination among the group. Due to this, Jatin was caught by the police and later he died. When the Ghadrites came to know about the plans of revolution, they came to take part in it.

Though, the revolution was not successful, however, it gave rise to many scattered revolts to overthrow the British.

Lucknow Pact (1916)

When Bal Gangadhar Tilak came out of jail, he thought it was no use pleading in front of the British government, he tried to reunite with other members of the Congress. But some like Pherozshah Mehta, however, did not support Tilak.

In 1914, the rise of Annie Besant in the political domain helped in the reunification of the Congress. Annie Besant was a Theosophical leader who started her career as a politician in England. She was a proponent of free thought, radicalism, and theosophy. She decided to come to India in 1893 and set up the Theosophical Society. Many educated Indians became her followers. She was 66 years of age in 1914. She joined the Congress to promote nationalist political activity.

In 1915, after the death of Pherozshah Mehta, the Tilak group was allowed to re-enter the Congress. The Congress as well as the Muslim League met in Bombay. In 1916, the Lucknow pact was made. Muhammed Ali Jinnah was a member of the Muslim League. In 1916, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League negotiated to reach an agreement. As per this agreement, the two organizations decided to pressurize the British government to give Indians more authority.

Earlier, the objective of the Muslim League was to safeguard the interests of Muslims in India. Thus, the Lucknow Pact brought a significant change in the policy of the league. Jinnah was the mastermind and architect of this pact. This pact also brought the moderates and the extremist groups of the Congress together.

After a few months of the Bombay meetings, 19 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, Hindus as well as Muslims, addressed a memorandum to the Viceroy. The memorandum had the suggestions for reforms. Their suggestions were discussed, amended and accepted at the next meeting of the Congress and Muslim League leaders. The meeting took place at Calcutta in November 1916. After this, the Congress had its annual session on December 29 1916. Similarly, the annual session of the Muslim League was on December 31, 1916. The agreement made in the meeting at Calcutta were confirmed in the annual sessions of the organizations in Lucknow.

Some of the important clauses of this Pact were as follows:

1. There shall be self-government in India.
2. Muslims should be given one-third representation in the central government.

12. State whether the following statements are true or false.
    (i) Indian Universities Act of 1904 brought the universities under the control of the British Government.
    (ii) Imperial Cadet Corps was established to give military training to young men who were eager to join the British army.

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3. There should be separate electorates for all the communities until a community demanded joint electorates.
4. A system of weightage to minority political representation (giving minorities more representation in the government then is proportional to their share of the population) should be adopted.
5. The number of the members of Central Legislative Council should be increased to 150.
6. At the provincial level, four-fifth of the members of the Legislative Councils should be elected and one-fifth should be nominated.
7. The size of provincial legislatures should not be less than 125 in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.
8. All members, except those nominated, should be elected directly on the basis of adult franchise.
9. No bill concerning a community should be passed if the bill is opposed by three-fourth of the members of that community in the Legislative Council.
10. The term of the Legislative Council should be five years.
11. Members of the Legislative Council should themselves elect their president.
12. Half of the members of Executive Council should be Indians.
13. The same method should be adopted for the Executive Councils of Governors.
14. The India Council must be abolished.
15. The salaries of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs should be paid by the British government and not from Indian funds.
16. Of the two Under Secretaries, one should be Indian.
17. The Executive should be separated from the Judiciary.
18. The number of Muslims in the Provincial Legislatures would be laid down province by province.

This pact brought a change in the approach of the Muslims towards the 'Hindu – Congress'. Before this pact, the Muslim supported the British, however, this pact made their relations hostile with the British. Therefore, even though Hindu-Muslim unity did not last for long, yet it played an important part in the independence struggle of India.

Home Rule League

The All India Home Rule League was formed in 1916. It was a national political organization which aimed at leading the national demand for self-government. Self- government was termed as Home Rule. Indians wanted to obtain the status of a dominion within the British Empire as enjoyed by Canada, Australia, Newfoundland, South Africa, and New Zealand at that time.

From 1916 to 1918, when the First World War was in its last phase, many prominent Indians decided to organize a national alliance of leagues across India. The aim of these leagues was to demand Home Rule, or self-government within the British Empire throughout India. Some of the prominent Indians, who were a part of this alliance, were Joseph Baptista, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, G. S. Khaparde, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sir S. Subramania Iyer and Annie Besant.

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In one of the sessions of the Congress, Tilak proposed the formation of a working committee which could look after day to day affairs of the organization and take steps for the implementations of resolutions passed in its annual sessions. This proposal by Tilak was rejected by a number of members of the Congress. After some time, Tilak decided the formation of the Home Rule League. The first league was founded by Tilak in Pune, Maharashtra.

Besant proposed that Home Rule League in the country could be modelled on the Irish Home Rule movement in order to spread awareness among the people. During this movement, Tilak said, 'Do not ask for crumbs. Ask for the whole bread' and 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it'. He also demanded education in vernacular language.

The league organized discussions, conducted lecture tours and circulated pamphlets to spread awareness among the people. After the formation of the league, Mohammad Ali Jinnah became the head of Bombay branch of the league.

The national headquarters of this league was in Delhi. The main areas of league's activity were Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The league became popular and a number of members of the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League joined hands with the league.

The leaders of the league delivered speeches at various parts of the country. They took signatures of Indians on various petitions and submitted the petitions to the British government. During the movement, Annie Besant was arrested by the police. After her arrest, the movement spread to many other places of India such as Sindh, Punjab, Gujarat, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Madras.

By the end of 1917, Tilak got involved in a libel suit against Valentine Chirol and had to go to England for this case. In the absence of Tilak, Besant was not able to lead the league alone.

The movement of the league strengthened during Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience movement. His efforts to lead the farmers of Champaran, Bihar and Kheda, Gujarat against the British authorities during tax revolts made him really popular among the masses. Initially, many leaders, such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai, did not agree with the ideas of Gandhi. Later on, the transformation of Indian politics due to Gandhi's efforts made him popular among these leaders as well.

Before the participation of Gandhi, the Indian National Congress was a body of educated Indians and people from cities. Gandhi's participation made the Congress strong as 15 million across provinces, towns and villages joined the organization. In 1920, Mahatma Gandhi was elected as the President of All India Home Rule League. Within a year, the league merged with the Congress and formed a united Indian political front.

7.4.2 Government of India Act of 1919

The Government of India Act, 1919, was passed to increase the participation of Indians in the Government of India. The Act included the reforms which were suggested in the report of the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford.

Some of the features of the Act are as follows:

1. **Preamble:** The preamble of the Government of India Act includes the principles and policies which laid the foundation of this Act. The Preamble suggested a decentralized unitary form of government.

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The policy of the British Parliament was:

(i) To provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration

(ii) To develop self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the empire

(iii) The time and manner of gradual advance towards this goal to be decided by the British Parliament

2. **Distribution of functions of government:** The functions of the government were divided in two categories: central functions and provincial functions. The provincial subjects were subdivided into 'transferred' and 'reserved'. It was decided that the ministers who were accountable to the legislature would assist the governors in the transferred subjects. On the other hand, the councillors who were not accountable to the legislature, were to advise the governors in the reserved subjects. Thus, the dual set of governments were introduced in the provinces were both, accountable and non-accountable.

3. **Powers of Governor-General:** The Central Legislature was given the authority to consider, pass or reject legislation on any subject which was mentioned in the Central List. However, the authority of the final decision on any Bill, passed by the legislature was in the hands of the Governor-General. He had the authority to stop consideration of any Bill or a part of a Bill, if he believed that it might be dangerous for the peace of the country. He also had the power not to allow debate or adjournment motion on some issues, in the legislature.

   The Governor-General also had the authority to hold back his agreement on any Bill. No Bill could become an Act without his agreement. Moreover, he also had a power to enact a law which he believed was important for the peace and safety of the country, even if the Legislature did not pass it.

4. **Division of members:** In this Act, the members were divided into three categories: elected, nominated officials and nominated non-officials and they had 70 per cent, 10 per cent and 20 per cent members respectively.

5. **Voting qualifications:** According to this Act, the voting qualification varied in different provinces. Moreover, within the same province, the voting qualifications were different based on whether the area was rural or urban. There were two categories of constituencies namely general and special. The general constituency included Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Sikhs etc. Special constituencies represented land holders, universities, chambers of commerce, and so on.

6. **Two types of legislature:** According to this Act, legislature was categorized into two type namely the Council of States and the Central Legislative Assembly. The Council of States had 60 members, out of which 33 were elected and 27 were nominated. The Central Legislature Assembly had 145 members, out of which 104 were elected and 41 were nominated.

7. **Provincial legislatures and its powers:** The number of seats of provincial legislatures varied from province to province. The provincial legislative councils had the authority to legislate on the topics which were listed under provincial subjects. The Governor had the authority not to consider a Bill. If he considered the Bill dangerous for the peace and safety of the province, he had the authority to send the Bill back to the House for reconsideration. In some cases, he could keep the Bill to send to the Governor-General for his opinion. The Governor-General was empowered to reserve the Bill to take the opinion of the Crown.

8. **Executive Council of the Governor-General:** This Council was not accountable to the Central Legislature, rather it was accountable to the Secretary of State. There was no limit on the membership of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Three members out of the six members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General were to be Indians. A pleader who pleaded in the Indian High Court was also eligible to become a law member.

9. **Powers of the Secretary of State for India:** Earlier, the Secretary of the State for India had a lot of authority over the central and provincial administration. However, with the enactment of this, his powers were reduced.

Importance of the Act

Many prominent leaders of the time observed that the Act of 1919 was important as it was more comprehensive than any other Act enacted before. This Act introduced direct election and increased the franchise. After the enactment of this Act, Indian ministers for the first time, could handle some of the departments of provincial administration not merely as official nominees but as the leaders of the elected majorities. These ministers were responsible to the people. It gave an opportunity to the people to take first-hand experience in politics.

However, even though the Act had some commendable features, it was defective in many ways. Dr. A K. Heith said 'the executive remained wholly free from direct authority of the legislature'. The subjects which the Indian leaders were given to handle were not important from the point of view of politics. The system that came into being after this Act did not improve the efficiency of administration.

The ministers felt that they did not have enough authority to carry out their responsibility. Sir K. V. Reddy said, 'I was minister for Development without the Forest. I was the minister for Agriculture minus irrigation.' The moderates accepted the act as they took this act as a first step towards self-government. The Congress did not accept the Act as they considered inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory.

The Government of India Act in 1919, also known as the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, were named after Edwin Samuel Montague, the Secretary of State for India during the latter part of the First World War, and Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India during 1916-21. The reforms redefined the jurisdiction of the Central and provincial governments. At the Centre, a system of bicameral legislature was introduced, which was subordinate to the governor-general. The central legislature was divided into two houses—the council of states (upper house) and the legislative assembly (lower house)—with elected majorities. The council of states consisted of sixty members, of whom thirty-three were to be elected and twenty-seven were to be nominated by the viceroy. Each province in India was allotted a fixed number of representatives to represent in the council of states for five years. On the other hand, the legislature assembly consisted of 144 members, of which 103 were to be elected and the others were to be nominated. The life of the legislative assembly was for three years. However, the power of these legislative bodies was restricted as the governor-general retained the right to veto bills.

In the provinces, the provincial legislature consisted of only one house, that is, the legislative council. The powers of the councils were increased to some extent though the viceroy had control over these bodies. A system of diarchy, or dual power, was thus

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Check Your Progress

13. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words:
    (i) Under the Indian Council Act of 1909, the membership of Central Legislative Assembly was increased from 16 members to ____ members.
    (ii) The Indian Council Act of 1909 allowed the Indians to take part in the election of the various _____ in India.
14. State whether the following statements are true or false:
    (i) The main objective of the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 was to check the growth of unity among Indians.
    (ii) The Indian Council Act, 1892 is popularly known as Minto-Morley Reforms.
15. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words:
    (i) The First World War began in _____.

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introduced, under which power was divided among different departments. Some of the ministers (department heads) were responsible to the legislative bodies, but others were responsible to the provincial governors. The members of the councils were elected with the franchise being based on property qualifications and communal electorates. The system of diarchy was confusing and actually proved to be a hindrance in effective administration. Practically, the provincial legislatures were powerless as the governors interfered in most matters.

The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms retained the system of separate religious communal constituencies and franchise being granted to the land-owning class. The result was that only about 1 per cent of the Indian population had the right to vote for representatives to the central legislative bodies, and about 3 per cent could vote in elections to the provincial councils. Thus, the reforms did little by way of granting any kind of autonomy or self-rule and did not in any way improve the administration. They were seen as eyewash both by the Congress and the Muslim League. They provoked further anger and discontent among the masses. The Congress protested by boycotting the 1921 elections. However, despite the widespread opposition, the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms remained in force until 1935.

ACTIVITY

Write an article on the short-sighted policies of Lord Lytton.

Did You Know

A.O. Hume, during his career in Etawah, built a personal collection of bird specimens. This collection was destroyed during the 1857 rebellion. Subsequently, he started afresh with an organized plan to survey and document the birds of the Indian Subcontinent. In this process, he collected the largest collection of Asiatic birds in the world. He housed his collection in a museum and library at his home in Rothney Castle on Jakko Hill, Simla. The Hume collection of birds as it went to the British museum in 1884 consisted of 82,000 specimens of which 75,577 were finally kept in the Museum.

(ii) The sudden rise to political prominence of the Theosophical leader, Annie Besant helped in the reunification process of the _____.

16. State whether the following statements are true or false:
    (i) B. G. Tilak set up Home Rule League in April 1918.
    (ii) Mahatma Gandhi became the President of All India Home Rule League in 1920.

7.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learned that:

- Some of the causes for the emergence of Indian nationalism were: British imperialism, advancement in the field of transportation and communication, administrative unification of India, rich heritage of the country, western modern thought and education, mobilization of people with the help of newspapers and literature, various socio-religious movements, ill treatment of Indian by the British, economic exploitation, Ilbert Bill controversy and Lord Lytton's short- sighted policies.
- A number of political associations were formed by the Indians in order to promote Indian welfare before 1885. These included the British Indian Association, India League and Indian Association, Bombay Association, Madras Native Association and so on.

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- The activities of these political associations and spread of the ideas of democracy, nationalism and patriotism prepared the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
- The Indian National Congress was founded at Sir Tej Pal Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Bombay, on 28 December 1885.
- Some of the members of the Indian National Congress were Pherozeshah Mehta, W C Banerji, Anandamohan Bose, Badruddin Tyabji, Surendranath Banerji, and Romesh Chandra Dutt.
- In the beginning, the Congress made demands that could be divided into three categories: political, administrative and economic.
- Some of the early nationalists were Allan Octavian Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjee, Badruddin Tyabji, and so on.
- Due to the low-level of political awareness, the achievements of moderate nationalists were quite less. By 1907, the moderates were pushed to the background with the emergence of an extremist class in the Congress.
- The root cause for the rise of the extremist faction lay in two important factors- the policies of colonial rule, and failure of moderate leaders to attract a younger generation and common people.
- By their painstaking studies and writings, early nationalist leaders had exposed the true nature of British rule in India. They conclusively proved by elaborate statistical data that British rule and its policies were responsible for the economic ruin of India and her deepening poverty.
- Bal Gangadhar Tilak was quick to set the political goal of India-'Swaraj' or self-government instead of reform in administration. He showed greater confidence and ability when he declared' Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it.'
- The evolution of extremism in Indian politics divided the Congress between the moderates and extremists.
- The British introduced the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919, in response to the demand for Swaraj after the end of the First World War.

7.6 KEY TERMS

- **Nationalism:** A political ideology that involves a strong identification of a group of individuals with a political entity defined in national terms.
- **Imperialism:** A policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force.
- **Sovereign:** It refers to someone possessing supreme or ultimate power.
- **Swaraj:** It is a Sanksrit word meaning self-governance or home rule.
- **Hartal:** It is a term for strike action in many Indian languages.
- **Atma-sakti:** It means the power of self or self-reliance.
- **Montague-Chelmsford Reforms:** Reforms drafted by Edwin Montague and Lord Chelmsford which redefined the jurisdiction of the Central and provincial governments.

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7.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (i) Clerical posts; (ii) The American Revolution
2. (i) True; (ii) False
3. (i) Indian; (ii) 1843
4. (i) True; (ii) False
5. (i) Sir Tej Pal Sanskrit Vidyalaya; (ii) Chambers of Commerce
6. (i) False; (ii) True
7. (i) Surendranath Banerjee; (ii) Act of 1892
8. (i) True; (ii) False
9. (i) Krishna Kumar Mitra; (ii) Partition of Bengal
10. (i) False; (ii) True
11. (i) Punjab Alienation Act of 1900; (ii) Quinquennial settlement
12. (i) True; (ii) False
13. (i) 68; (ii) legislative councils
14. (i) True; (ii) False
15. (i) 1914; (ii) Congress
16. (i) False; (ii) True

7.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What led to the emergence of Indian nationalism?
2. What were the objectives of the Congress during its inception?
3. What administrative reforms were carried out by Lord Curzon?
4. How did extremists ultimately change the character of the Congress?
5. What were the differences between the extremists and moderates?
6. Describe the provisions of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the objectives of the various political associations that were formed before the formation of the Congress.
2. Explain the political, administrative and economic demands of the Indian National Congress from the British government.
3. Write a short note on any five nationalists who were the members of the Indian National Congress.
4. Describe the swadeshi movement.
5. Analyse the causes and results of the partition of Bengal in 1905.

6. Describe the methods of the extremists.
7. Make a critical analysis of the work of the moderates.

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7.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 8 INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT: FINAL PHASE–I

Structure

8.0 Introduction
8.1 Unit Objectives
8.2 Resistance Movements in India
  8.2.1 Pre-independence Resistance Movements
  8.2.2 Indian National Movement
  8.2.3 Building up of Resistance Movements
  8.2.4 Non-cooperation Movement: Champaran, Ahmedabad and Khera
8.3 Khilafat and Non-cooperation Movements
  8.3.1 Non-cooperation Movement: Overview, Structure and Ideology
  8.3.2 Mahatma Gandhi, Non-cooperation and Khilafat Movements
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  8.4.3 Peasant and Worker Movements
8.5 Summary
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8.9 Further Reading

8.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the resistance movements in India. The term resistance is generally used whenever we oppose or defend a particular issue. The modern usage of the term has originated from the self-designation of several movements during the Second World War, especially the French resistance.

A resistance movement is a group or collection of individual groups, dedicated to opposing an invader in an occupied country or the government of a sovereign state. It seeks to achieve its objects through either the use of non-violent resistance (sometimes referred to as civil resistance) or the use of armed force. Resistance movements may include any irregular armed force that rises up against an enforced or established authority.

At times, resistance movements are undertaken by underground organizations engaged in the struggle for national independence in a country under military occupation or totalitarian domination. Tactics of resistance movements against a constituted authority range from non-violent resistance and civil disobedience, to industrial sabotage and guerrilla warfare. For example, In India, Gandhi adopted the techniques of civil disobedience in the early 1930s and passive resistance during the Quit India movement in 1942. We will also study the emergence of Gandhi as a leader of non-violence as demonstrated in Champaran and Ahmedabad Mill strike.

Both Non-cooperation and Khilafat movements aimed at large-scale mobilization and participation of Hindu and Muslim masses of British India in the country's freedom

struggle. The Khilafat Movement also worked towards the political, social and economic emancipation of Indian Muslims. Both the movements aimed to end colonial oppression and achieve *Swaraj*, but the term represented different things to different people. Protestors belonging to both these movements would boycott British products, cloth, schools and colleges, and courts. They tried to influence people to spin their own cloth, picket liquor shops, and uphold their honour and integrity in the face of British imperialism.

The Non-cooperation Movement, led by Gandhi, was based on his ideals of *ahimsa* or non-violence and his ability to mobilize the Indian masses towards the cause of Indian independence. Here, we will learn about the Non-cooperation and Khilafat movements, and the role played by Gandhi in integrating the Indian Muslims and Hindus in the backdrop of these movements. You will also learn about the Simon Commission and its subsequent boycott and failure.

The Non-cooperation Movement was initiated by Mahatma Gandhi to advance the Indian nationalist cause. People were asked to resist the British rule in a passive manner. During this movement, people withdrew their children from school and stopped using foreign goods. Those who were in government jobs stopped going to their offices.

In this unit, you will study about India's struggle for *purna swaraj*. The Civil Disobedience Movement, started by Gandhi, was the first step in this direction. People refused to obey certain laws and commands of the British government. Gandhi started this movement by breaking the salt law at Dandi in Gujarat. Peasant and worker movements also played an important role in India's struggle for *purna swaraj*. During this period of resistance movements, the British revenue dropped due to the number of strikes that was taking place.

8.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the meaning of resistance in the context of social movements
- Assess the resistance movements in India
- Describe the Champaran incident and the Ahmedabad Mill strike
- Discuss the structure and ideology of the Khilafat movement
- Summarize the impact of Non-cooperation and Khilafat movements
- Explain the role of the Simon Commission and its subsequent boycott by the Indian masses
- Describe the nature and impact of the Civil Disobedience Movement
- Explain the growth socialist ideas in India

8.2 RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

India is a land of cultural, social and religious diversity. There are times when this diversity leads to cultural, social and religious differences. It is obvious that certain classes, religions and communities enjoy a dominant position in the society. Due to this, the less privileged sections of the society are frustrated. This may sometimes manifest in the form of resistance, which may eventually gain momentum and become a resistance movement.

8.2.1 Pre-independence Resistance Movements

India's independence struggle was primarily fought to liberate India from British rule and form the nation-state of India. It involved a wide spectrum of philosophies, and rebellions and resistances against the oppressive British rule. British governance had adversely impacted all Indians in all spheres: politically, socially, economically and culturally. This led to a widespread dissatisfaction among the people, which gave rise to a number of resistance movements even before the birth of Indian National Movement and the revolt of 1857.

Displaced peasants and demobilized soldiers of Bengal led by religious monks and dispossessed zamindars were the first to rise against the British in the form of a movement known as the Sanyasi and Fakir Movement in Bengal. This was started by a group of *sanyasis* (monks) after the great famine of Bengal in 1770. The *sanyasis*, hugely supported by the common people, rose against the East India Company. They raided the British factories, settlements and blocked their funding. At the same time, there was a group of Muslim mendicants known as *fakirs* who were led by Majnu Shah and Cheragh Ali and who stood against the British forces and started their own resistance movement. They went on to attack English factories and plundered their goods, arms and money. Several battles took place between these *fakirs* and the British troops where the British were on the losing side most of the time. These movements were made more famous by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's in his renowned literary work, *Anand Math*.

The Faraizi movement (1804-1860) was a socio-religious resistance movement,which was started by Haji Shariatullah of Faridpur, former east Bengal and located currently in Bangladesh. The main objective of this resistance was to remove un-Islamic practices from the Muslim society as well as to revive and restore Muslim rule once again by expelling the Christian invaders, who were, after all British, from India. Haji and his successors were successful in mobilizing the Muslim farmers of central and eastern Bengal to act against the cruel practices of the exploitative Hindu landowners and moneylenders and the British indigo planters. This resistance movement was quelled by the Bengal government in 1860s by conducting several arrests, trials and persecutions.

The other movements of this period were Wahabi Movement (1820-1870) led by Saiyad Ahmad of Rae-Bareily, Kuka Movement in the Punjab (1860-1872) and numerous tribal uprisings till 1856. The late eighteenth and nineteenth century witnessed a number of other serious uprisings against the British rule. The most important of these rebellions were the Chuar rebellion in western Bengal, the Paik rebellion in Orissa, Vishakapatnam revolts in Andhra, Khasi uprising in Assam, Bundela rebellion in central India, Polygar rebellion in south India, Indigo uprising in Bengal, Deccan riots, Kol-Munda-Ho uprisings in Chotanagpur region, tribal uprising under Birsa Munda and so on. What was common in all these movements was a shared desire to end British oppression and exploitation. The movement was characterized by an active participation of people belonging to different castes, creeds and communities.

8.2.2 Indian National Movement

The nationalist movement in India progressed as a result of British colonial exploitation. It achieved momentum through stages. The British entered India disguised as a trading entity. The economic interest collided with the political pattern of the contemporary

Indian history. Non-violent resistance is a peaceful way of resistance against a perceived social injustice or an unjust treatment. It is carried on by symbolic protests, civil disobedience, economic or political non-cooperation, and other methods, which do not involve violence. It is largely synonymous with civil resistance. The nationalist movement of India is the best example in the modern of non-violent resistance movement.

Throughout Asia and Africa, nationalist ideas fuelled the campaigns to replace the old European empires with homegrown rulers. The concept of nationalism, which is the latent force of nationalist movements, is not a belief, but rather a force supposed to move people to action and belief. Nationalism is better treated as a complex of ideas and sentiments which responded flexibly decade by decade to new situations, usually situations of grievances in which people may find themselves. In the nineteenth century, the idea became dominant that the natural goal of every national movement is the creation, maintenance and increase in power of a nation state through non- violent resistance.

Nationalism and national movement appear as a continuation of the democratic movement, which after achieving the elimination of all privileges associated with aristocracy, sets up its own nation. Nationalism of this sort assumes an emotional character which easily becomes aggressive and thrives on the negation of other alien people and ethnic groups and rises to extreme forms of passionate hostility to all foreign manifestations. Nationalism exhorts to the spiritual and intellectual needs of men. Even his emotional and instinctive powers are manifested through it. Since the emotional and instinctive powers of men are more decisive for nationalism and find expression in collective action, the individual should be reached when his critical powers are either undeveloped or are held in abeyance. For this reason, the nationalist propaganda concentrates upon the youth and the masses.

The nationalist movements have their genesis in the intellectual class. To quote Bipan Chandra, 'The pre-nationalist resistance to colonial rule failed to understand the twin phenomena of colonialism and the nation-in-the-making. In fact, these phenomena were not visible, or available to be grasped, on the surface. They had to be grasped through hard analysis. This analysis and political consciousness were then taken to the people by intellectuals who played a significant role in arousing the inherent, instinctive, nascent, anti-colonial consciousness of the masses.'

8.2.3 Building up of Resistance Movements

The historical sketch of the nationalist movement divides it into two broad phases: one before 1857, when political and economic interest of the British collided with that of the local and regional heads and the other pointing at the aftermath of the struggle; and another after 1857. Very often the masses supported the struggle against the British. But these rebellions were localized, sporadic and isolated events — their mass base being the rack-rented peasants, ruined artisans and demobilized soldiers. Such resistance movements nearer home were the uprising of 1803-04, the Paik Rebellion of Khurda of 1817. The century-old exploitation of the British resulted in various types of discontentment in the society, and this suddenly fermented in 1857.

The reaction of the tribes towards the British was no less important. The tribal people, spread over a large part of India, organized hundreds of militant outbreaks and insurrections during the nineteenth century. These uprisings were marked by immense courage and sacrifice on their part and brutal suppression and veritable butchery on the part of the rulers. The colonial administration disturbed the daily lives of the tribals and made them miserable. The socio-economic transformation projected by the colonial

pattern introduced a large number of moneylenders, traders and revenue farmers as middlemen among the tribals. The tribals got ensnared in the web of debt. They lost their independent livelihood and the status; day by day they got reduced to the status of agricultural labourers, share-croppers and rack-rented tenants. The colonial government deprived them of such an age old anchorage as the forest which they perceived to be like their mother and depended on for their survival. The socio- economic condition deteriorated due to the exploitation of the colonial instruments like that of the policemen and petty officials.

Bipan Chandra writes: 'Oppression and extortion by policemen and other petty officials further aggravated distress among the tribals. The revenue farmers and government agents also intensified and expanded the system of beggary- making the tribals perform unpaid labour.'

Such type of oppression led to various regional resistance movements in different parts of India, which were broad-based and often involved the entire population of the region. Some of the famous tribal uprisings occurred in Bhagalpur and Rajmahal around 1855 and were known as Santhal hool or Santhal rebellion. The Kols of Chhotnagpur revolted from 1820-1837. The hill tribesmen of Rampa in coastal Andhra revolted in March 1879 against forest regulations. Birsa led the Munda rebellion against the British in the hilly tracts of Bihar. Thus, the tribal rebellions often originated out of exploitation of the 'son of the soils' and it got nourished on myths encompassing in its fold the commoners from below throughout the nineteenth century.

The uprising of 1857 came as the first major challenge to British colonialism. Though it started from the barracks of sepoys, it attracted people from different walks of life, who were somewhat dissatisfied with their foreign masters for subjective reasons. The sole interest of the East India Company was to realize maximum revenue with minimum effort. The peasantry became indebted and impoverished. Emphasis was given on the collection of revenue even in most adverse circumstances. The decline and destruction of traditional art and craft also brought sufferings to a major part of Indian population. As a result, peasants reacted against the colonial exploitation. The Indigo Revolt of 1859-60 had its origin in the exploitation of indigo planters. But a significant feature of this revolt was the role played by the intelligentsia of Bengal. They had, in fact, organized powerful campaigns in support of the rebellious peasantry. They carried out campaigns through newspaper reports, organized mass meetings, prepared memoranda on peasants' grievances and supported the victims in their legal battles.

Peasant insurrections

The exploited and oppressed peasants of India revolted against the alien rule and created a base for the nationalist struggle. Thus, the consciousness of the main bulk of the society was transformed, creating a scope for reform and revolution. The peasant movements of nineteenth and twentieth century were mostly guided on the ideals of nationalism. Their cadres and leaders mainly carried on the mission of organizing the peasantry on class lines. This enabled them to play a supportive role in the nationalist movement.

Resistance by working class

The next important group of the Indian society that played a vital role in the nationalist struggle was the workers. The workers, whose area of operation was restricted to the factories and organized sectors, represented the have-nots and unprivileged section and

they often acted and got organized through the agency of the philanthropists during the last part of the nineteenth century. In the beginning years of the twentieth century, the nationalist leaders got associated with the workers and inspired and instigated them to react for exclusively economic causes. During the Swadeshi days, the workers got involved in the mainstream political issues. During the anti-Partition and Swadeshi days, nascent trade-unions functioned to inspire the workers on political lines. Home Rule Leagues of Tilak and Annie-Besant also stimulated the workers to be attracted towards the fold of nationalist struggle. The workers were up in arms against the profit-seeking foreigners — the British.

The working class came closer to the nationalist struggle during the war years. The *hartal* and general strike against the Rowlatt Act and the wave of indignation that swept the country after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre made the working class more reactive. During the Civil Disobedience days, the slogan of the Congress was: 'the workers and peasants are the hands and feet of the Congress'. The workers participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement all over the country. There bred an opinion that the Congress was the only organization which was carrying on the fight against imperialism and, therefore, the workers began to follow the lead of the Congress.

The workers also actively participated in the nationalist struggle during the days of provincial autonomy. When the Second World War started on 3 September 1939, the working class of Bombay reacted immediately. The meaningful role played by the workers during the Quit India days is of great importance. Till independence, the workers actively participated in the nationalist struggle in response to the call of the leaders. Thus, the nationalist movement enriched itself, when the workers supported it in its metamorphosis.

Tagore: Preacher of self-reliance

Earlier, social reformers preached the idea of human equality, thus indirectly fostering the concept of the unity of India and Indians. Though the nationalist struggle was engineered by the elite in the early stages, militant nationalists acted on a more practical programme to take up political struggle to the masses. Rabindranath Tagore preached the importance of self-reliance i.e. *'aatmashakti'*. The extremists tried vociferously to bring the peasants and workers into the movement. The youth of the country associated themselves in the nationalist struggle right from the Swadeshi days. Students, teachers, clerks and others formed volunteer groups and joined the struggle. Its remarkable aspect was the approach from the grassroots, right from the extremist days.

Gandhi: Mentor of non-violent resistance movement

When Gandhi stepped into Indian politics during the War years, he inspired and attracted the masses with his:

- New approach of 'scientific humanism'
- Extensive knowledge of the psychological forces that act and shape patterns of public behaviour
- Keen insight into the manner of the working of these forces ranging from the obvious to the most subtle
- Scientific knowledge of possible causes and effects, actions and reactions
- Marvellous practical sagacity in using them for desirable ends

Gandhi illustrated the immense prospects of a new role in public life through his activities. He represented the scientific humanist, the man who not only possesses an ideology, but knows exactly how it will affect the masses of people, including the elite. Gandhi's spirit of scientific humanism brought him in close contact with the masses, the peasants in the rural areas and the workers in the urban centres. Gandhi engineered the threefold scheme of social uplift through Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and raising the status of women. The Congress could reach the poor millions under his guidance in the task of political socialization.

Gandhi: Preacher of satyagraha and non-violence

The freedom movement under Gandhi assumed a truly nationalist shape when it succeeded in influencing all sections of the society by his theme of *ahimsa* or non-violence. Gandhi was the most important political leader whose ideologies affected the masses. He endorsed the practice of *satyagraha* which implied a collective resistance to tyranny by observing a mass disobedience. This philosophy was based on the principles of *ahimsa* or non-violence. Gandhi's efforts bore fruits and inspired several freedom movements and struggles in different parts of the country.

When Gandhi was in South Africa, he faced racial discrimination. And it was then that he decided to join the Indian community's struggle for civil rights in South Africa. When he returned to India in 1915, he started mobilizing peasants, farmers, and urban labourers and set to launch a protest against excessive land tax and discrimination. He became the leader of the Indian National Congress in 1921, and started leading nationwide protests for reducing poverty, expanding women's rights, building religious and ethnic harmony, eliminating untouchability, getting rid of economic dependence, but his main goal was to attain *swaraj* in the country. He wanted to liberate India from foreign domination. It was Gandhi who led the Dandi march in 1930 to protest against the salt tax imposed by the British government. It was Gandhi who also initiated the Quit India movement.

Gandhi followed the principles of non-violence and truth in all situations, and encouraged others to follow suit. He believed in living within one's means and resources and advocated a simple living. He wore the traditional Indian *dhoti* and shawl, made of hand spun yarn that he wove on a *charkha*. He observed fasts and ate *satvic* food only. He believed that fasts were a means of both self-purification and social protest.

8.2.4 Non-cooperation Movement: Champaran, Ahmedabad and Khera

The Non-cooperation Movement was a great landmark of the freedom movement in India in the twentieth century. Mahatma Gandhi first proposed the idea of non-cooperation against the British government. A special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta in September 1920 where Gandhi moved the resolution of non-cooperation and it was supported by Motilal Nehru and others. Lala Lajpat Rai presided over the special session at Calcutta. The Calcutta session adopted the famous resolution of non-cooperation which reads as follows: 'This Congress is of the opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-cooperation until the said wrongs are righted and *swaraj* is established.'

Non-co-operation was directed against the boycott of the following things:

- Boycott of British goods
- Boycott of elections to the legislatures in the country
- Boycott of the courts and offices by the lawyers

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- Boycott of schools and colleges by the students
- Surrender of titles and honours conferred by the British government

The Congress demanded Swaraj as its ultimate goal. The above five-fold boycott was the main objective of the Non-cooperation Movement. This new plan marked a complete change in the hitherto policy of the Congress. The Congress appealed to the people to use swadeshi goods and follow peaceful and legitimate means to achieve the end. The Non-cooperation Movement initially appeared to have gathered a great momentum. Gandhi travelled the whole country to gather support from the people. He returned the medal which was awarded for his meritorious services rendered to the British government during the war. People belonging to different states stopped cooperating with the British government. Many lawyers left the courts and students voluntarily joined the movement, leaving their schools and colleges. Men like Jawaharlal Nehru, Subash Chandra Bose and C. R. Das organized the movement with great vigour.

The boycott of elections to the legislature was quite successful. None of the Congressmen offered themselves as a candidate in the elections. Very few voters actually voted in the elections. The Congress decided to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales, who visited India in 1921. A strike was observed at places where the Prince was visiting. The government of India arrested all important leaders except Gandhi. Later, even Gandhi was arrested. There was serious mob violence at Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh. The movement was gradually becoming violent and lawlessness prevailed, so Gandhi decided to suspend the movement. He was arrested on 10 March 1922 and was released on 5 February 1924 on the grounds of illness.

Check Your Progress

1. State whether the following is true or false
   (i) The Sanyasi and Fakir Movement in Bengal was an agitation carried out against the zamindars.
   (ii) The Paik rebellion took place in Punjab.
   (iii) The Santhal rebellion occurred in Bhagalpur and Rajmahal around 1855.
2. Fill in the blanks
   (i) The working class represented the _____ and the _____ section of the society.
   (ii) Tagore preached the importance of _____.
   (iii) Non-co-operation was directed against the _____ of _____

Significance of Non-cooperation Movement

The Non-cooperation Movement was not a successful one. It failed due to various reasons. The Muslims were very critical of the movement. One section of the Congress party did not support the movement. They left the Congress and formed a new party called the Swaraj Party. The British government adopted repressive measures to stop the movement. Gandhi's decision to suspend the movement in the middle was not liked by many Congressmen. Thus, the Non-cooperation Movement gradually melted away with partial success. The movement, though failed to achieve its aim, opened the eyes of the British and shook the very foundations of the British empire. It sowed the seeds of future movements in India. During the Non-cooperation movement, a wave of unprecedented enthusiasm swept the land: the high and the low, men and women, the Hindus and Muslims, the conservative, the liberal and the radical all alike were affected. Women gave up *purdah* to join the struggle in large numbers and offered their jewellery for the Tilak Fund or gladly went to prison.

It was the first mass resistance movement in India. The sense of unity brought about by the movement was quite unusual in the history of the country. It paved the way for achieving independence in the future.

Champaran, Ahmedabad and Khera

The satyagraha at Champaran took place in 1917. It was the first major incident in Gandhi's movement against the British. Though it came to be known as Satyagraha, the term was first used during the Rowlatt agitation of 1919. The Champaran satyagraha was in support of the poor farmers of Champaran district in Bihar, who were forced to grow cash crops, such as indigo. The crop was bought at very low price fixed by the European planters. In addition, the British also started levying a tax on the farmers,

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which pushed them to the brink. The farmers had heard about Gandhi and had invited him to their district to help them against the British.

Gandhi came to Champaran accompanied by young leaders like Rajendra Prasad, J. B. Kripalini, Mahadev Desai and Mazhar-ul-Haq. He demanded an inquiry into the condition of the poor indigo farmers. Gandhi was ordered to leave Champaran but he refused. The government had to consider his demands and appointed a committee to find out the conditions of the farmers and their problems. Gandhi was also made a member of the committee. As per the report of the committee, the peasants were free from the clutches of the European planters. Gandhi emerged as a leader with mass appeal.

Ahmedabad Mill Strike

There were many textile mills in Ahmedabad, where Gandhi was looking for a suitable place for his ashram. In 1918, there was a dispute between the workers and mill- owners of Ahmedabad. This was because of increase in prices, and the mill workers wanted higher wages. The mill owners did not agree. Gandhi supported the workers and started a struggle in which he used peaceful resistance.

Gandhi suggested the workers to go on strike and to demand a 35 per cent increase in wages. However, he cautioned them against resorting to violence against the employers. He himself went on a fast unto death to keep up workers' resolve to continue the strike. His fast-undo-death succeeded in putting pressure on the mill- owners who gave in to the workers' demands on the fourth day and agreed to give the workers a 35 per cent increase in wages.

Khera

Champaran in Bihar was the district where Gandhi started his first satyagraha movement for independent India and Khera district in Gujarat in 1916 and 1917, respectively, but anti-Rowlatt agitation eventually became the first to be recognized as satyagraha.

At Champaran in the state of Bihar thousands of landless people, indentured labourers and poor farmers were forced to produce indigo and other cash crops instead of food crops necessary for their survival and against such cultivations they were paid a very low price insufficient to live their lives. In such devastating conditions the British had levied an oppressive tax and were insisting upon increasing the rate. Foodless, money less conditions had made the life of locals miserable and unlivable which created a situation of revolt in areas engaged in indigo cultivation in 1914 and 1916. Gandhi along with his team of distinguished lawyers — Brajkishore Prasad, Rajendra Prasad, Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Acharya Kripalani and others reached Champaran on 10 April 1917 and began Satyagraha.

Khera in Gujarat was struck with famine and the local economy was led to a devastating stage. The poor people were left with scarcity of food even for their survival. The British government of Bombay Presidency was forcing to pay full taxes, including the hike of 23 per cent which they made effective from that very year.

While there were many public petitions and published editorials, Gandhi adopted the path of *satyagraha* — non-violence, mass civil disobedience. Gandhi urged the protestors of Bihar and Gujarat to avoid propagating the concept of *Swaraj* or *independence* because that was not related to the political freedom, rather an uprising against hopeless dictatorship amongst an awful humanitarian disaster. Though he accepted the participants and help from other states of country but insisted other states to keep

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devoid of the revolution including the Indian National Congress apart from issuing resolutions of support. This was done in anticipation of British government to give it a cause to use extensive tyrannical measures.

At Khera, Gandhi was left alone as a spiritual head of the struggle while his lieutenant Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others in the group of devoted Gandhians, such as Narhari Parikh, Mohanlal Pandya and Ravi Shankar Vyas went on the tour to the villages to organize villagers and gave them a political leadership and direction. Many insurgent Gujaratis from Ahmedabad and Vadodara joined the revolution but Gandhi and Patel resisted the participation of people from other provinces in an effort to make it a pure Gujarati struggle.

The efforts of Patel and his contemporaries brought favourable results and organized a majority of all ethnic and caste communities of Khera to revolt against tax. The residents of Khera signed a petition asking the government to withdraw taxes in wake of famine which the government in Bombay rejected, warning them that if tax is not paid, lands and property would be seized and people would be arrested. And once confiscated the properties and lands would not be returned even if the tax is given. None of the villages withdrew. The tax suspended, the government's collectors and inspectors sent in thugs to confiscate the property and cattle while police forfeited the lands and farming property. The peasants did not resist the arrest nor even to the violence employed, rather, they donated their cash and other valuables to the Gujarat Sabha which emerged as their officially protesting party.

The revolt ran in strict discipline and unity even when all their property, land and livelihood were confiscated of a majority of Khera farmers as they showed confidence in Patel. Gujaratis in other parts resisted the confiscation and supported the protestors. Indians who intended to buy the seized properties were banished from the society. Nationalists wanted to take the revolt in other parts of the country also but Gandhi and Patel were in their decision of not agreeing to do so.

The government finally sought to foster an honorable agreement for both the parties, the tax for the year and even the next would be suspended and increase in rate would be taken back and the seized property would be returned to their rightful owners.

Gujaratis also served cohesively to return the confiscated lands even people who bought the lands were influenced to return back despite the fact that British government officially said it would stand by the buyers.

Check Your Progress

3. State whether the following statements were true or false
   (i) The Sanyasi Rebellion was the first mass resistance movement in India.
   (ii) The peasants followed Ghandhi's idea of ahimsa in letter and spirit.
4. Fill in the blanks
   (i) The _____ Movement was not a successful one.
   (ii) The satyagraha at _____ took place in 1917.
   (iii) At Khere, farmers showed much confidence in _____ _____

8.3 KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENTS

The Khilafat movement that lasted from 1919 to 1924 was an Islamic movement that derived its inspiration from Indian nationalists. The basis of this movement lies in a pan-Islamic movement launched by Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909), the Ottoman emperor, to utilize his role as the Sultan-Khalifa of the Muslim community the world over to protect his rapidly falling apart empire from attacks by foreign powers and destroy the nationalistic democratic movement brewing within the country. Jamaluddin Afghani's, his emissary, visit to India in the late nineteenth century to spread his Islamic ideas received a favourable response from the Muslim leaders in India. The twentieth century saw the intensification of these sentiments during the following times:

- The 1905 partition of Bengal being revoked in 1911

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- The Italian (1911) and Balkan (1911–1912) attacks on Turkey
- The participation of Great Britain in the First World War (1914–1918)

Turkey suffered defeat in the First World War and its territories were divided according to the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres between the European countries. This led to widespread apprehension in India over the custodianship of the Khalifa. This was the backdrop against which the Khilafat Movement was initiated in September 1919. It was an orthodox Islamic movement that was started by the following Muslim stalwarts:

- Muhammad Ali
- Shawkat Ali
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
- Dr Ansari
- Hasrat Mohani

Conferences for this movement were organized in cities across northern India. The Central Khilafat Committee, with provincial branches, was set up in Bombay. The president of the central office was Seth Chotani and its secretary was Shawkat Ali. This committee also started a fund to finance the nationalist movement in Turkey and to start the Khilafat Movement here in India. In 1920, MuhammadAli and Shawkat Ali also drafted the Khilafat Manifesto.

ACTIVITY

Write an article to gauge the success of the Khilafat Movement in the advancement of the cause of Islam in India.

8.3.1 Non-cooperation Movement: Overview, Structure and Ideology

When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922. This movement was started by Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism. Under his guidance and leadership, the Indian National Congress adapted the policy of passive resistance against British rule.

The launch of the Non-cooperation Movement was set against the backdrop of the Rowlatt Act, the Jalliwanwala Bagh massacre, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Montage Chelmsford report with its ill-considered scheme of diarchy. At the same time, the harsh terms and conditions meted out by the Treaty of Sevres between the Allies and Turkey caused great resentment by the Indian Muslims, who started the Khilafat movement. The time was ripe for Gandhi to align with this movement and bring the Hindus and Muslims together. His skill at the political game ensured he won over the Muslims.

The Non-cooperation Movement was officially launched on 1 August 1920, after the notice given by Gandhi to the Viceroy expired. In this notice, Gandhi had demanded the right recognized 'from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules'. At its session held in Kolkata in 1920, the aims and charter of the movement were determined. They involved the following:

- Surrender of the titles and offices and resignation from nominated posts in the local bodies

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- Boycott of courts, government offices, durbars; withdrawal of children from government schools and colleges; and use of khadi
- Adherence to truth and non-violence

These resolutions were endorsed at the session of the Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920. In addition, other resolutions for the betterment of the party organization were also drawn up. Membership to the party was opened to all adult men and women based on the payment of 4 annas as subscription fees.

The movement enjoyed massive popular appeal, and in the first month scores of students left government schools and colleges and joined national institutions that had started all over the country. This boycott was particularly successful in Bengal under the leadership of Chittaranjan Das and Subhas Chandra Bose. Punjab also supported this educational boycott and Lala Lajpat Rai played a monumental role there. Other states where educational boycott were seen include Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Legal boycott was not as successful as educational boycott. However, many leading lawyers including C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M. R. Jayakar and S. Kitchlew left their flourishing legal practice. The boycott of foreign cloth was the most successfully executed resolution of the programme.

In 1921, many Muslim leaders were arrested for declaring that it was 'religiously unlawful for Indian Muslims to continue in the British army'. The Congress under Gandhi also supported this viewpoint and issued a declaration. Another dramatic event to unfold was the visit of the Prince of Wales in November 1921. The day of the Prince's visit was observed as a day of a pan-India *hartal*. He was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went. These measures made the volunteers of the Non-cooperation Movement bold and urged by the successful defiance of the government, they became increasingly aggressive.

There were some indirect effects of the Non-cooperation Movement as well.

- In the United Provinces, one could not differentiate between a Non- cooperation Movement meeting and a peasant meeting.
- In Kerala, the movement helped to provoke Muslim tenants against their landlords.
- In Assam, tea plantation labourers went on strike.
- In Punjab, the Akali movement became a part of the Non-cooperation Movement.

The Non-cooperation Movement also ensured that the women nationalists organized their efforts under the Mahila Karma Samaj. They organized meetings, spread the spirit of non-cooperation and enlisted new volunteers. They picketed foreign wine and cloth shops and promoted the sale of khadi.

The movement was so popular that the government put into action Sections 108 and 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Various volunteers' groups were declared illegal and scores of people were arrested from all over the country. Only Gandhi was spared. Various attempts were made to negotiate with these volunteers, but the conditions offered were so rigorous that it would lead to sacrifice of the Khilafat leaders. Gandhi was under tremendous pressure from the rank and file of the Congress to start the mass civil disobedience.

The Chauri Chaura incident, in which a mob burned alive twenty-five policemen and one inspector, made Gandhi suspend the Non-cooperation Movement. But the movement still managed to achieve several positives, including the following:

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- Provide a platform for the unification of all religious communities so that a joint force could fight against the foreign rule
- Provide the required impetus and mass support for future agitations and movements
- Provide a sense of courage, direction and confidence to masses and fill them with self-respect and esteem.
- Provide a sense of representation to the Muslim community in the nationalist movement

The limitations of the Non-cooperation Movement were that the movement failed to secure the objective of Khilafat and rectify the wrongs suffered by the masses in Punjab. Also, *Swaraj* was not achieved within the year as was promised.

8.3.2 Mahatma Gandhi, Non-cooperation and Khilafat Movements

Mahatma Gandhi hoped that by integrating the Non-cooperation Movement with the Khilafat Movement, Hindus and Muslims, India's two major religious communities, could collectively bring an end to colonial rule. These movements certainly unleashed a surge of popular action that was altogether unprecedented in colonial India.

Students boycotted government-run schools and colleges. Lawyers did not attend court. Workers went on strike in many towns and cities. According to official sources, there were 396 incidents of strikes in 1921 that involved 600,000 workers and a loss of seven million workdays. The rural areas were seething with discontent too. Hill tribes violated the forest laws. The country saw several peasant movements: farmers in Awadh did not pay taxes; peasants in Kumaun refused to carry loads for colonial officials. Peasants and workers acted upon the call to 'non-cooperate' with colonial rule in ways that best suited their interests, rather than conform to the dictates laid down from above.

According to Louis Fischer, Mahatma Gandhi's American biographer, 'non-cooperation became the name of an epoch in the life of India and of Gandhi. Non-cooperation was negative enough to be peaceful but positive enough to be effective. It entailed denial, renunciation, and self-discipline. It was training for self-rule.' As a consequence of the Non-cooperation Movement, the British were shaken to their foundations for the first time since the uprising of 1857. Then, in February 1922, a group of peasants attacked and torched a police station in the hamlet of Chauri Chaura, in the United Provinces. Several constables perished in the conflagration. This act of violence prompted Gandhi to call off the movement altogether. He insisted 'no provocation can possibly justify (the) brutal murder of men who had been rendered defenceless and who had virtually thrown themselves on the mercy of the mob.'

During the Non-cooperation Movement, thousands of Indians were put in jail. Gandhi himself was arrested in March 1922 and charged with sedition. Justice C. N. Broomfield, the judge who presided over his trial, made a remarkable speech while pronouncing his sentence. He said 'it would be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that, in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot and a leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of even saintly life.' Since Gandhi had violated the law, it was obligatory for the bench to sentence him to six years' imprisonment, but Judge Broomfield said, 'if the course of events in India should make it possible for the government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I.'

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In order to protest government repression as seen by the Rowlatt Act, 1919, and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, 1919, Gandhi started Satyagraha, a non- violent nationalist movement. For this he tried to garner Muslim support, and in order for this he extended his support for the Khilafat cause and became a member of the Central Khilafat Committee. In 1920, at the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress, Gandhi integrated Swaraj (self-government) with Khilafat and launched the Non-cooperation Movement.

By mid-1920, the Khilafat leaders had agreed to collaborate with Gandhi on the Non-cooperation Movement in return for his support on the Khilafat Movement. This way both Hindus and Muslims put up a united front against British rule in India. The Muslim theologians also rallied around through the Jamiyat-al Ulama-i-Hind.

The Khilafat Movement stood for communal harmony and non-violence, and, in 1920, these objectives suffered due to the exodus, of approximately 20,000 Muslim peasants belonging to the Sind and North Western provinces, to Afghanistan. The belief of these Muslims was that India had committed apostasy (Dar-ul-Harb) due to the Moplah rebellion in south India in 1921.

The Khilafat movement received a severe blow from the Turks when Mustafa Kemal, the charismatic nationalist Turkish leader, led a secular renaissance, prevailed over invading Greek forces leading to the abolition of the Sultanate in 1922, and transformed Turkey into a republic. Around 1924, the Khilafat Movement ceased to be relevant and significant and came to its natural end. In Bengal, the Khilafat–Non-cooperation Movement lasted from 1918 to 1924 and became a mass movement which invited participation from both Muslims and Hindus. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad propagated this movement in rural Bengal. He was helped in this by the following Bengali leaders:

- Maulana Akram Khan
- Maniruzzaman Islamabadi
- Mujibur Rahman Khan
- Maulana Abdullahil Kafi
- Maulana Abdullahil Baqi
- Ismail Hossain Shiraji
- Abul Kasem
- A. K. Fazlul Huq

These leaders also travelled through Bengal and organized their meetings, especially in Dhaka and Chittagong in present day Bangladesh.

The first Khilafat Day was observed on 17 October 1919 in Calcutta, during which most Indian-owned shops were shut down, prayers offered and public meetings held all over Bengal. At the first All-India Khilafat Conference held in November 1919, Delhi, the following resolutions were passed:

- There would be no participation in the proposed peace celebrations.
- British goods would be boycotted.
- A policy of non-cooperation with the government would be adopted.

The first provincial conference of this movement was held at the town hall, Bengal, which was attended by several members of the central committee. Some of these included A. K. Fazlul Huq, Abul Kasem and Mujibur Rahman, and they demanded that unless

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their demands were met, the nation would see more of non-cooperation and boycott from these people.

In 1920, the second Khilafat Day was held in Bengal, and meetings organized in Dhaka, Chittagong, Mymensingh and Tangail. The meeting at Tangail was chaired by Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, a Muslim zamindar. This meeting was notable because it passed a resolution asking people to adopt Satyagraha as an integral symbol of the Khilafat movement.

Bengal saw tremendous growth of the committees of the Khilafat movement as well as the Non-cooperation Movement. These two movements were the first of the series of significant anti-British mass movement which saw equal participation by Hindus and Muslims. The media, including *Mohammadi*, *Al-Eslam* and *The Mussalman*, also played an important role in popularizing the movement.

The Khilafat movement was instrumental in making Indian Muslims politically aware under the able guidance of Maulana Azad, Akram Khan, Maniruzzaman Islambadi, Bipin Chandra Pal and Chitta Ranjan Das. The close interaction between the Hindus and Muslims ensured that the Khilafat movement, orthodox by nature, create liberal ideas among Muslims. To do so, organizations were established in rural Bengal to train volunteers for the boycott of British goods, courts and offices. They were also trained to spin cloth, make their own items of necessity and raise contributions for the Khilafat movement.

The popularity of the movement ensured that the foundation of the government of Bengal began to shake, and in a notification it declared the activities of the movement and volunteers illegal. Offices were raided, documents were confiscated and burned, meetings were banned and office bearers were arrested. During this time, a crack developed between the leaders of both the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movements regarding the boycott of government-owned educational institutions and legislative councils. Also, some Muslim leaders wanted to participate in the elections under the India Act, 1919, to ensure that self-governing institutions could be established in India.

8.3.3 Revolutionary Fervour

Gandhi's Non-cooperation Movement gave a big opportunity to the youth from all walks of live to participate in the national struggle. The sudden decision to withdraw the movement was a big jolt to the dream of youth to wrest freedom from the British. At this juncture, the secret organization that operated in the early phase of the nationalist movement in Punjab and Bengal, began to revive. The youth who had responded early to Gandhi's call joined these organizations.

Subhas Chandra Bose's Anushilan Samiti and J. M. Sengupta's Yugantar Samiti witnessed huge participation from the youth. There were, however, deep rivalry between the two groups. Several smaller revolutionary groups also functioned at the same time like the one at Chittagong under Surya Sen. But these groups had a more radical approach. The most striking revolutionary action of the time was the murder of Day, an Englishman, by Gopinath Saha in January 1924. Saha had planned to kill Tegarb, the police commissioner of Kolkata, and killed Day by mistake. This incident resulted in the arrest of many nationalists.

Revolutionary activities were also taking place in northern India. Sachin Sanyal and Jogesh Chatterji opened the Hindustan Republican Association in the United Provinces. They formed the Hindustan Republic Army in 1924 of which Bhagat Singh

Check Your Progress

5. Why was the Non-cooperation Movement launched?
6. What were the drawback of the Non-cooperation Movement?
7. When was the first Khilafat day observed?

and Chandrashekhar Azad became members. Sanyal was the mentor for Azad and Singh. The Hindustan Republican Association funded their activities through dacoities. One of the famous incident was the Kakori train robbery in August 1925; the train was supposed to carry treasury of the Government of British India. Apart from an accidental death, not one Indian was looted or injured.

Under extreme radicals like Bhagat Singh, Azad and Sukhdev, the Hindustan Republican Association changed its name to Hindustan Socialist Republican Association in 1928 at Firoz Shah Kotla when it was joined by several other revolutionary groups from Bengal, Punjab and Bihar. The Association carried out several attacks, such as the one on the Central Legislative Assembly in Delhi on 8 April 1929, and bombing on the special train of Viceroy Irwin. Within a couple of years, the most of the members of the Association either died or were jailed. With them the phase of radical revolution came to an end.

8.3.4 Simon Commission

The Simon Commission, 1928, was a statutory commission comprising seven British Members of Parliament who had been sent to India in 1927 to study and implement reforms regarding the constitution, enquire into the workings of the government and prepare relevant reports. The Commission was named after Sir Simon John, the chairperson of the Commission.

The Government of India Act, 1919, had been passed to introduce dyarchy for the governance of the provinces of British India. This was protested by the Indian masses and they demanded revision of this form of government. The Act also included a provision for reform of government measures and schemes by establishing a commission for ten years for investigation and suggestion of reforms. In 1920, the Conservatives, who were in power in Great Britain, feared defeat in the elections against the Labour Party. They also were apprehensive about transferring the control of their colonies to a relatively inexperienced party. Hence in 1927, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin formed a commission and made Sir Simon its chairman.

The Simon Commission was given the responsibility to investigate into the condition of constitutional affairs in India. Reforms in education and government representative institutions in British India were the chief tasks cut out for the commission. They were asked to report regarding the extent of establishing a responsible government in India and establish a Second Chambers of the local legislature. The commission found in its investigation that the British Government adhered to the constitution and did not take into consideration the relation of the British Government with the Indian states.

The findings of the Commission caused tremendous discontent throughout the country, because no Indian was included in the commission to represent the nation. Lord Birkenhead justified the exclusion of the Indians members from the Simon Commission by saying that 'the Commission was composed by the Parliament, it was necessary that the members of the Commission should be from the Parliament'. As a result, the commission was greeted with black flags, wherever the members travelled. A nationwide *hartal* was observed on the day the members arrived in the country. In addition, when the central assembly was invited to form a joint committee with the commission, it refused to do so. Overall, the Simon Commission was a complete disaster.

Boycott of the Simon Commission

That fact that the Simon Commission had no Indian in it infuriated the masses and was greeted by a chorus of protest as the people did not want the English to decide their fate.

The nationalist saw the British action as a deliberate attempt to insult the Indians and their self-respect and also a violation of the principle of self-determination. The Indian National Congress at its Madras Session in 1927 agreed upon to boycott the Commission. The Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha supported the Congress decision.

Interestingly, opposition to the Simon Commission united the political outfits in India, which, so far, remained scattered. The Muslim League even accepted the principle of joint electorates, albeit it wanted seats reserved for the Muslims.

Opposition to the Commission was immediate. On 3 February 1928 when the members of the Commission landed on the Mumbai port, they were greeted with black flags and voices of 'Go Back Simon'. All major cities and and towns observed hartal on this day. Rallies and processions were taken out as hundreds of people could be seen waving black flags. This mass outrage confronted severe repression by the police. Protestors were mercilessly beaten up and soon violence became widespread.

One incident that came to light took place in Lahore. When the Commission reached the city on 30 October 1928, it was once again greeted by waves of people shouting slogans and carrying black flags and placards which read 'Simon Go Back'. Once again police used force to control the agitated masses using lathi. Lala Lajpat Rai, who had who had moved a resolution against the Commission in the Legislative Assembly of Punjab in February 1928 and was leading the protestors, was hit on the head. He died a few days later.

In August 1928, Motilal Nehru presented his report countering the British charges that constitutional consensus eluded Indians. Famously known as the Nehru Report, it demanded that Indians be given dominion status of complete internal self-government. Young Congress leaders like Jawaharlala Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose, however, thought seeking dominion status was not enough. At the Congress' December session in 1928, a resolution was passed which called for the British to grant dominion status to India within one year, and failure to do so would lead to a Congress call for complete independence. With the British not yielding to the demand, a year later (1929), at its session in Lahore, the Congress passed the historic resolution seeking complete independence or Purna Swaraj. Similar pledges of independence was taken all over the country and Congress declared 26 January 1930 as the 'Independence Day'.

The Simon Commission published its report in May 1930 wherein it proposed to abolish dyarchy and establishment of representative government in the provinces. It also advocated continuation of separate electorate on religious grounds, but only till the Hindu Muslim tension had died down. The Commission also admitted in its report that Indians were aware of their rights and henceforth their opinions would be taken into account. A natural progression of this would be granting dominion status for India.

With unrest brewing in the country, the Congress began preparation for a civil disobedience movement wherein the taxes would not be paid and Congress legislators were asked to resign from their posts. In the meantime, Gandhi presented an 11-points ultimatum to Viceroy Irwin on 30 January. One of the demands was abolition of the salt tax and the government giving up its monopoly over manufacturing of salt. The demands also included 50 per cent reduction in land revenue, protection of textiles and 50 per cent cuts in army expenses and civil service salaries.

Check Your Progress

7. When was the first Khilafat day observed?
8. Name any two revolutionary organization of the time.
9. What was the objective of the Simon Commission?
10. How was the Simon Commission boycotted?

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8.4 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

Before the Simon Commission report, the Congress demanded Home Rule, i.e., dominion status within the British Empire. It did not advocate complete independence. However, the all-European Simon Commission outraged people across the country. As a result, the Congress in its Lahore Session passed a resolution declaring the demand for Purna Swaraj (complete independence). The Session also announced the launch of the Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

8.4.1 Nature and Impact

When the Congress gave responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement to Gandhi, he wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin to abolish salt tax, reduce military expenditure and release political prisoners. Lord Irwin did not respond to this letter. Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement against the British.

On 12 March 1930, he, along with 72 followers, began a march from the Sabarmati ashram to the sea at Dandi. People greeted and followed the marchers all along the way. Villagers' spun yarn on *charkhas*, as Gandhi went past, to show their solidarity to him. On 6th April, Gandhi reached the sea at Dandi and picked up a handful of salt from the seaside to break the Salt Law. He broke this law because he believed that salt was a basic necessity, thus, salt tax would affect the poor. After this March, people began manufacturing salt all over the country.

Through careful planning and large-scale recruitment of volunteers, the Movement spread from one part of the country to another, from Madras to Maharashtra and from Bengal and Assam to Karachi. In the farthest north, there was a massive demonstration at Peshawar. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars had been active in this area for a number of years.

Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on 14 April. People of Madras, Calcutta and Karachi protested his arrest. The colonial government was in trouble as it had not expected the 'Salt Satyagraha' to create such an upheaval. In May, the British government decided to arrest Gandhi which resulted in further intensification of the Movement.

The most important aspect of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the widespread participation of the youth, particularly students and women. Women picketed liquor shops as well as other shops that sold foreign goods. The government started issuing ordinances to curb the civil liberties of the people. They also decided to ban civil disobedience organizations in the provinces.

The Congress Working Committee was banned in June and Motilal Nehru, the Congress President, was arrested. Local Congress Committees were also banned by August. Thus, a number of issues became a part of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Amidst government repressions and intensification of the Movement, the Simon Commission published its report. There was no suggestion in the report that India would be given dominion status. Thus, many political leaders turned against the British. The Viceroy invited the leaders to a Round Table Conference in order to discuss the issue of dominion status.

Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru were taken to Gandhi to discuss the offer. However, no headway could be made between the Congress and the government. The First Round Table Conference was held in London in November 1930 between the

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Indian leaders and the British but the Congress did not attend this Conference. It was evident that negotiations between the British and Indian leaders would be of no use in the absence of the Congress. Thus, the next Conference was scheduled to be held the next year.

The Government released Gandhi on 25 January 1931. All other members of the Congress Working Committee were also released without laying down any condition. The Congress was asked to discuss the Viceroy's offer to participate in the next Round Table Conference. After a number of discussions, Gandhi was assigned the task of carrying out negotiations with the Viceroy. The discussions between Gandhi and Lord Irwin continued for a fortnight. Finally, on 5 March 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed. The terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact were as follows:

(i) All people arrested for non-violent protest were to be released immediately.
(ii) Fines that had not been collected from people were to be remitted.
(iii) Confiscated land that had not been sold off yet was to be returned to peasants.
(iv) Government employees who had resigned were to be treated leniently.
(v) Villages along the coast were to be given the right to make salt.
(vi) The right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing was to be granted.

After this pact, the Congress agreed to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement. It also agreed to participate in the next Round Table Conference. Many nationalist leaders perceived this agreement as a temporary truce and others believed that this settlement was not necessary at all. This gave rise to radical activities by a number of revolutionary secret societies.

In March 1931, the Congress in its Karachi session talked about the goal of Purna Swaraj once again. However, they also endorsed the Delhi Pact between Gandhi and Irwin. Although the pact had no mention of independence, the Congress at Karachi had started preparing the framework of India's Constitution. It approved resolutions on Fundamental Rights and National Economic policy. This resolution was one of the landmarks in the history of India as it talked about civil liberties such as free speech, free press and freedom of association. Neutrality in religious matters, equality before law, universal adult franchise, free and compulsory primary education and many other provisions were also included in this resolution.

In August 1931, Gandhi went to London to attend the Second Round Table Conference. Meanwhile, Lord Irwin was replaced by Willington. The discussion at the Round Table did not prove fruitful from India's point of view. When Gandhi came back in December 1931, the new Viceroy refused to meet him. It was as if the colonial government was regretting that they had put the Congress at an equal footing with themselves by making an agreement with them.

The government had arrested Jawaharlal Nehru and had also repressed the Khudai Khidmatgars' Movement in the North-West Frontier Province by arresting their leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Under these circumstances, the Congress decided to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement after the Viceroy refused to meet Gandhi for any negotiation. In January, the colonial government arrested Gandhi and curtailed people's civil liberties. This was followed by the government getting the right to appropriate property and detain people. Armed with this power, the government put all the prominent leaders of the Congress behind bars.

People protested against government's actions through mass demonstrations, picketing of liquor shops as well as foreign goods' shops. The government repressed

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these protests. Jails were filled, the Congress was banned and Gandhian ashrams were occupied by the police. People who demonstrated were beaten up, and those who refused to pay taxes were jailed and their properties were seized. In spite of this, people continued this Movement for more than two years. In April 1934, Gandhi withdrew the Movement and people obeyed his decision.

8.4.2 Growth of Socialist Ideas

The Great Depression of 1929 led to economic distress and unemployment in most of the capitalist countries. The failure of capitalist ideas made Marxist and socialist ideas popular across the world. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Bose played an important role in the spread of socialist ideas in India. Later, Chandrashekhar Azad and Bhagat Singh's revolutionary groups also adopted these ideas.

Socialism became a part of India's freedom struggle. Many Indian leaders advocated the concept of social equality. They organized mass movements to mobilize the working class. The initiative of working out the ideology of the communist movement in India was taken up by eminent men like M. N. Roy. Roy interpreted Marxism and the ideas of Lenin to fit the Indian context. Seven Indians, including Roy, founded the Communist Party of India at Tashkent in October 1920.

Socialist ideas also reflected in the Objective Resolution of the Constitution presented by Jawaharlal Nehru. In this Resolution, he declared, 'In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions.' The Resolution advocated the ideas of equality before law irrespective of caste, creed or gender, universal adult franchise in elections, and free and compulsory primary education.

The Congress made a number of efforts to improve the condition of workers as per the ideals of socialism. Thus, socialism became an accepted norm in the 1930s and 1940s.

8.4.3 Peasant and Worker Movements

The Great Depression of 1929 affected peasants and workers of India to a great extent. Employers reduced their wages and many workers lost their jobs during this period. This led to a number of peasant and worker movements in the country, especially in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

Peasants demanded land reforms and reduction in land revenues. On the other hand, workers demanded better working condition, and trade union rights. Some Congress workers helped them in these movements. Thus, there was steep growth in trade unions and *kisan sabhas* across the country. The All India Kisan Sabha was also formed during this period. In 1935, there were 213 registered unions in the country and this number rose to 241 in 1936. These strikes continued in the 1940s as well.

ACTIVITY

Write an article on all the peasant and workers movements that took place in India in the 20th century.

Check Your Progress

11. What was the first act of civil disobedience?
12. Fill in the blanks
    (i) The most important aspect of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the widespread participation of _____ and _____.
    (ii) The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed on _____
    (iii) Socialist ideas were reflected in the _____ presented by Jawaharlal Nehru.

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8.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The nationalist movement in India progressed as a result of the British colonial exploitation. It achieved momentum through stages.
- The historical sketch of the nationalist movement divides it into two broad phases: one before 1857, when political and economic interest of the British collided with that of the local and regional heads and the other, pointing at the aftermath of the struggle; and another after 1857.
- The revolt of 1857 came as the first major challenge to British colonialism. Though it started from the barracks of sepoys, it attracted people from different walks of life, who were somewhat dissatisfied with their foreign masters for subjective reasons.
- The peasant movements of 19th and 20th century were mostly guided on the ideals of nationalism.
- When Gandhi stepped into Indian politics during the War years, he inspired and attracted the masses with his new approach of 'scientific humanism', and 'with his extensive knowledge of the psychological forces that act and shape patterns of public behaviour.
- Gandhi's spirit of scientific humanism brought him in close contact with the masses, the peasants in the rural areas and the workers in the urban centres.
- Freedom movement under Gandhi assumed a truly nationalist shape when it succeeded in influencing all sections of society by his theme of ahimsa or non-violence.
- In 1917, Gandhi undertook Satyagraha in Champaran district of Bihar, where poor indigo farmers were being oppressed by the European planters and the British.
- In 1918, Gandhi fasted to support the demand of mill workers in Ahmedabad for a 35 per cent increase in wages. His fast-undo-death succeeded in putting pressure on the mill-owners who gave in to the workers' demands on the fourth day.
- The basis of the Khilafat movement was a pan-Islamic movement launched by Abdul Hamid II, the Ottoman emperor, to utilize his role as the Sultan-Khalifa of the global Muslim community to protect his empire from foreign attacks and destroy the nationalistic democratic movement brewing within the country.
- When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922.
- The Non-cooperation Movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism. Under his guidance and leadership, the Indian National Congress adopted the policy of passive resistance against British rule.
- The Non-cooperation Movement enjoyed massive popular appeal, and scores of students left government schools and colleges and joined national institutions that had started all over the country. This boycott was particularly successful in Bengal, under the leadership of Chittaranjan Das and Subhash Chandra Bose.

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- The Chauri Chaura incident, in which a mob burned alive twenty-five policemen and one inspector, made Gandhi suspend the Non-cooperation Movement. But the movement still managed to achieve several positives.
- Mahatma Gandhi hoped that by integrating non-cooperation with Khilafat, Hindus and Muslims, India's two major religious communities, could collectively bring an end to colonial rule. These movements certainly unleashed a surge of popular action that was altogether unprecedented in colonial India.
- The Khilafat movement received a severe blow from the Turks when Mustafa Kemal, the charismatic nationalist Turkish leader, led a secular renaissance, prevailed over invading Greek forces leading to the abolition of the Sultanate in 1922, and transformed Turkey into a republic.
- The spontaneous upsurge of the Non-cooperation Movement released the great force of India's youth that were determined to wrest freedom. The sudden withdrawal of the movement was a blow to their aspirations.
- The Simon Commission, 1928, was a statutory commission comprising seven British Members of Parliament who had been sent to India in 1927 to study and implement reforms regarding the constitution and enquire into the workings of the government and prepare relevant reports.
- The Government of India Act, 1919, had been passed to introduce diarchy for the governance of the provinces of British India. This was protested against by the Indian masses. However, the Indian public demanded for revision of this form of government.
- The death of Lajpat Rai created tremendous resentment against the British rule all over. During this period, an important development within the Congress was the adoption of Purna Swaraj or complete independence as its objective. Complete independence meant a total severance from the British connection.
- The All-European Simon Commission outraged people throughout the country. After this, the Congress demanded Purna Swaraj.
- The Civil Disobedience Movement led by Gandhi played an important role in India's freedom struggle. Gandhi initiated this movement by breaking the Salt Law.
- Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi's arrest intensified the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- The British organized Round Table Conference to discuss the issue of dominion status with the Congress. However, none of the Congress members attended this Conference. After this, the Conference was rescheduled for the next year and Gandhi was released from jail.
- When Gandhi went to attend the Second Round Table Conference, the British had changed its policy, thus, the Conference did not prove fruitful.
- The Great Depression of 1929 led to economic distress across the world. During this time, failures of capitalist ideas gave rise to socialist ideas. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Bose were instrumental in popularizing these ideas in India.
- Socialist ideas affected the approach of freedom struggle to a great extent. Later, it also affected the formation of policies and laws in the Constitution in India.
- Peasant and worker movements also helped in India's struggle for Purna Swaraj. Strikes by peasants and workers, during these movements, led to the fall in revenues of the British Government.

8.6 KEY TERMS

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- **Resistance movement:** A group or collection of individual groups, dedicated to opposing an invader in an occupied country or the government of a sovereign state is called resistance movement.
- **Passive resistance:** The methods of resistance by non-violent methods to a government, an occupying power, or specific laws, as refusing to comply, demonstrating in protest, or fasting is known as passive resistance.
- **Dyarchy:** It is a form of government in which more than one person/entity (diarchs) are the heads of state; the position, power and responsibilities are hereditary
- **Khilafat Movement:** It was the pan-Islamic political campaign launched by Muslims in British India.
- **Moplah rebellion:** It was an armed uprising against the British in the Malabar by Mappila Muslims in the 19th and early 20th centuries.
- **Non-cooperation Movement:** It was a movement led by Mahatma Gandhi which called for Indian to stop paying taxes and resigning from government posts.
- **Purna Swaraj:** It was call given by Indian nationalists seeking complete independence from British control.
- Khudai Khidmatgars: It was an organization of Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province which fought a non-violent struggle against the British.

8.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (i) False (ii) False (iii) True
2. (i) Have-nots, unprivileged (ii) Self-reliance (iii) Boycott, British goods
3. (i) False (ii) False
4. (i) Non-cooperation (ii) Champaran (iii) Vallabhbhai Patel
5. The Non-cooperation Movement was launched against the backdrop of the Rowlatt Act, the Jalliwanwala Bagh massacre, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Montage Chelmsford report with its ill-considered scheme of diarchy.
6. The limitations of the Non-cooperation Movement were that the movement failed to secure the objective of Khilafat and rectify the wrongs suffered by the masses in Punjab. Also, Swaraj was not achieved within the year as was promised.
7. The first Khilafat Day was observed on 17 October 1919 in Calcutta, during which most Indian-owned shops were shut down, prayers offered and public meetings held all over Bengal.
8. Subhas Chandra Bose's Anushilan Samiti and J. M. Sengupta's Yugantar Samiti are two famous revolutionary organization of the period.
9. The Simon Commission, 1928, was a statutory commission comprising seven British Members of Parliament who had been sent to India in 1927 to study and implement reforms regarding the constitution, enquire into the workings of the government and prepare relevant reports.

10. The Indian National Congress at its Madras Session in 1927 agreed upon to boycott the Commission. The Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha supported the Congress decision.
11. The first act of civil disobedience was Gandhi's Dandi march, which he undertook on 12 March 1930. On 6th April, Gandhi reached the sea at Dandi and picked up a handful of salt from the seaside to break the Salt Law. He broke this law because he believed that salt was a basic necessity, thus, salt tax would affect the poor. After this March, people began manufacturing salt all over the country.
12. (i) Students, women (ii) 5 March 1931 (iii) Objective Resolution of the Constitution

8.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write short notes on:
   (i) Champaran incident
   (ii) Ahmedabad Mill Strike
2. Write a note on the ideology and structure of the Khilafat movement.
3. State the achievements of the Non-cooperation Movement.
4. How was the resistance movements building up prior to Gandhi's appearance as a national leader.
5. Why was there an attempt to bring the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation under one umbrella?
6. Write a note about the revolutionary activities during this period.
7. Why was the Simon Commission opposed?
8. How were socialist ideas incorporated into the Indian national movement?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Summarize the popularity and mass appeal enjoyed by the Non-cooperation Movement.
2. Discuss the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the Non-cooperation and Khilafat Movements.
3. Describe the revolutionary fervor that swept through the nation at the peak of the Non-cooperation Movement.
4. Write a detailed report on the circumstances that led to the boycott and failure of the Simon Commission.
5. Discuss the nature and impact of the Civil Disobedience Movement.
6. Explain the growth of socialist ideas in India.
7. Discuss the contribution of the Congress in the organization of peasant and worker movements.

8.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 9 INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT: FINAL PHASE–II

Structure

9.0 Introduction
9.1 Unit Objectives
9.2 Government of India Act 1935 and Formation of Provinces
  9.2.1 Nationalist Politics (1935-1939)
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  9.3.1 Importance of the Quit India Movement
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9.5 Summary
9.6 Key Terms
9.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
9.8 Questions and Exercises
9.9 Further Reading

9.0 INTRODUCTION

We have so far seen that the Indian national movement went through various phases. The activities, beginning from early twentieth century, has been termed by historian as the final phase of the independence struggle. In the previous unit we read about two opposite waves functioning simultaneously against the British — the revolutionaries as against the non-violent approach of Gandhi. We also read that there were growing demands for constitutional rights and participation of Indians in the government. The Government of India Act, 1935, was the outcome of the cry for constitutional change. As *The History of India* (edited by Kenneth Pletcher, 2011, Encyclopaedia Britannica) says, 'The Act of 1935 was the product of three elaborate sessions of the Round Table Conference held in London, and at least five years of bureaucratic labour, most of which bore little fruit.' Several Acts were introduced before the Government of the India Act 1935 was enacted. By this time, the restlessness among the masses had reached a fever pitch and the outcry for the British to leave the continent was even louder. In 1942, Gandhi launched the Quit India Movement. It was also called the August Movement of India or the Bharat Chhodo Andolan. As the clamour for independence grew, the government in England realized that time had come to hand over powers to the Indians. In 1946, the British Cabinet Mission to India was dispatched to discuss and finalize plans for ending the British Raj in India and hand over the country's leadership to the Indians. The 1946 Cabinet Mission to India was also to talk about granting dominion status to India in the Commonwealth of Nations. This unit will talk about some of these and more developments.

9.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the features of the Government of India Act, 1935
- Discuss the formation of Congress ministries in provinces

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- State the importance of the Quit India Movement
- Discuss the background and aims of the British Cabinet Mission

9.2 GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935 AND FORMATION OF PROVINCES

The British Parliament passed the Government of India Act in August 1935. The Act was an outcome of the recommendations and discussions of the following:

- Simon Commission Report
- The Three Round Table Conferences
- Nehru Committee Report
- The White Paper (March 1933)
- The Joint Select Committee Report
- Lothian Report (determined the electoral provisions of the act)

The British Government was wary of the mass movements in India, especially, the post-World War ones. Though the British government was successful in suppressing the nationalist movement, they now wanted to weaken the nationalist movement through the policy of divide and rule. The British were aware that many leaders of the Congress and various other political parties would support constitutional reform and limited political power but they were also aware of the many radicals who would oppose it. Therefore, the Government of India Act, 1935, should also been seen in this light as well.

Salient features of the Government of India Act, 1935

The Government of India Act, 1935, is considered a milestone leading to the birth of a full-responsible government. The act was a detailed and complicated document containing 321 Sections with 10 Schedules. The significant feature of the Act was the introduction of autonomy at the centre and provinces. Apart from this, the establishment of an All India Federation was considered a unique feature. The salient features of the Act have been discussed in detail below:

(i) **All India Federation:** This Act made provisions for the establishment of an All India Federation. The federation would include British provinces and those Indian states that wished to be a part of this alliance. It was mandatory for British India to be a part of this federation but optional for the Indian states. However, the Indian states could only be a part of the federation when 50 per cent of the princes had formally agreed to it. It was observed that under all previous acts the Government of India was unitary, however, under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Provinces and Indian states were taken as one unit.

(ii) **Dyarchy at the centre:** Dyarchy was abolished at the provincial level and introduced at the centre through the Act of 1935. The Governor-General had all executive powers at the centre, which made him the most powerful person. Federal subjects were divided into reserved and transferred categories. The reserved category included subjects like defence, external affairs, ecclesiast and tribal areas and were made at the discretion of the Governor-General who was assisted by a group of councillors who were not responsible to the Legislature. On the other hand, the transferred category was to be administered by the Governor-General who was to act on the advice of a council of ministers that were responsible to the legislature.

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(iii) **Provincial autonomy:** The key feature of the Act of 1935 was that it heralded the beginning of provincial autonomy. The Act divided legislative powers between the provinces and central legislatures. The provinces now were autonomous units of administration and no longer delegates of central government. Through this aspect the Government of India assumed the role of a federal government vis-à-vis the provincial governments, even though the Indian states did not join the complete scheme of federation. A governor exercised executive authority of a province on behalf of the Crown and not as a subordinate to the Governor-General. The governor was required to act with the advice of ministers who were responsible to the legislature.

Although provinces gained autonomy by the Act of 1935, the central government retained control over the provinces in matters which required the governor to act in his discretion or exercise individual judgment in certain issues. In such matters the governor was to act without the advice of his ministers, however, under the control and directions of the Governor-General and secretary of state.

(iv) **Federal legislature:** The federal legislature was divided into two houses, the Council of States and the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly or the Lower House had 375 members, of which 250 were from British Indian Provinces and 125 represented the Indian states. The tenure of the Legislative Assembly was five years, unless dissolved earlier. The Council of States or the Upper House consisted of 260 members out of which 156 members were to represent the British provinces. In the Council of States, six member were nominated by the Governor-General and the rest were elected directly. The remaining 104 members were to be nominated by the Indian states. Although, the Federal Legislature had limited powers, both its houses shared equal powers amongst them. If there was a point of difference between the two houses, the act had made provisions for a joint session to solve the problem.

(v) **Provincial government:** The executive at the provincial level consisted of a governor and his council of ministers who advised him on various matters. The Governor was the head of the provincial executive and was vested with three types of power. They are as follows:

- Discretionary powers
- Powers exercised through individual judgment
- Powers exercised on the advice of the ministers

However, in matters of special responsibility, he had to override the advice given by the ministers.

(vi) **Provincial legislatures:** The people directly elected the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. After the Act of 1935 was passed, the legislatures of Bombay, Bengal, Madras, Bihar, Assam and the United Provinces were made bicameral, i.e., they had two houses —upper and lower, while in the remaining five provinces the legislatures were unicameral or had one house. The provincial assembly structure was different from province to province. For instance the voting qualifications for the membership of the council were not similar in all provinces. The assembly was elected for a period of five years. In the election of

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the members to the assembly, the principle of communal electorate was followed. Power was granted to the provincial legislature to make laws given in the provincial list. However, they were also authorized to make laws on the subjects given in the concurrent list. The power to make laws was also extended to residuary subjects assigned by the Governor-General. While introducing a bill, a previous sanction from the governor and the Governor-General was obligatory. However, financial bills could only be introduced on the recommendation of the governor. No bill passed by the legislature could become an Act until it had the governor's approval. If the governor felt that the bill needed further deliberation, he had the right to return the bill. Due to his discretionary powers and responsibilities, the governor could be visualized as somewhat of a dictator in the provinces. The distribution of seats for various Legislative Assemblies was as follows:

- Bengal 250
- United Provinces 228
- Madras 215
- Bombay 175
- Punjab 175
- Bihar 192
- Central Provinces 112
- Orissa 60
- Sind 60
- NWFP 50

The policy of a separate electorate continued and as per an agreement taken during the Poona Act of 1932, certain seats were reserved for the depressed class in the general constituency. Although the British Government granted maximum autonomy to the provinces, it was the governor, the centre's nominee that had special powers. He had the power to veto legislative and administrative measures concerning the issues of:

- Minorities
- Rights of civil servants
- Law and order
- British business interests

Apart from these powers, the governor also had the right to run the administration of a province for an indefinite period.

(vii) **Distribution of legislative power between the centre and the provinces:** Through the Act, a division of power between the centre and provinces was made. This division was done on the basis of three lists, which are as follows:

- Federal list
- Provincial list
- Concurrent list

The federal legislature had exclusive powers of legislation over the subjects mentioned in the federal list, which consisted of 59 subjects. Matters pertaining to national importance and matters which were essential and vital for the existence

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of the federation were mentioned. Some of the important subjects were related to external affairs, currency and coinage, naval, military and census. The provincial list consisted of 54 subjects and these were matters pertaining to local importance such as police, public services and education. The concurrent list consisted of 26 subjects pertaining to criminal law, criminal procedure, civil procedure, marriage and divorce, and arbitration. One important fact about the concurrent list was that it required a uniform policy throughout the country despite being local and provincial in nature.

The federal legislature was bestowed with legislative powers in respect to the subjects of the provincial list, in case a proclamation of emergency was made by the Governor-General. When two or more provinces came together for a common interest, the federal legislature was authorized to legislate on matters of provincial subject. If the concurrent field had to deal with matters of repugnancy, the federal law had more power than provincial law. However, if the Governor or the British Crown authorized the provinces, then the provincial law prevailed. The allocation of residuary powers as mentioned in the Act was neither vested in central or provincial legislatures. It was the Governor-General who had the right to authorize federal or provincial legislature to enact a law pertaining to matters which were not evaluated in any of the three lists.

(viii) **Secretary of state:** The secretary of state in England was assisted by advisers who might or might not be consulted. Due to rampant agitation in India, the Indian council was abolished. The main aim of the Act was to divide and weaken the nationalist movement. To an extent the British government succeeded too as it was evident from the formation of ministries in 1937. Nonetheless, the Act was also an inspiration to the members of constituent assembly to frame the constitution of free India.

(ix) **Federal court:** The Act established a federal court which had one chief justice and the number of judges were limited to six. The judges were appointed by the British Crown and the retiring age of these judges was sixty-five years. Necessary qualifications of the judges were also mentioned in the Act. There were three kinds of jurisdictions which are as follows:

- **Original:** Here the court had exclusive original jurisdiction in any dispute arising between the federation and its units or in the units inter se.
- **Appellate:** This was extended to appeals from the judgment of any high court in India to the federal court, in cases where the high court concluded that the case involved substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Government of India Act, 1935, or in any order in council made, there under.
- **Advisory:** An appeal could go to the Privy Council from decisions of the federal court. The federal court also had advisory jurisdiction. The Governor could refer any question of law to the court to obtain its opinion whenever he liked to seek its advice.

9.2.1 Nationalist Politics (1935–1939)

According the Government of India Act, 1935, provincial elections were held in 1936–1937. During these elections, there were two major parties in India — the Congress and the Muslim League. Both the parties tried their best to convince people to vote for them

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by presenting their manifesto. The manifestos of both the parties were almost similar. However, there were two main differences in their manifestos.

(i) The Congress wanted joint electorate whereas the Muslim League wanted separate electorate.

(ii) The Congress wanted Hindi as the official language whereas the Muslim League wanted Urdu to be the official language of their country.

Even though the Congress was a strong party yet it could not secure even 40 per cent of seats. It had 1771 seats in 11 provinces out of which it could win only 750. Also, the Congress could win seats mostly in the Hindu constituencies. The Muslim League could win only 106 seats out of 491 Muslim seats. The Congress captured 26 Muslim seats. The Muslim League had a lot of hopes from the Muslim majority province of Punjab but it could only win two seats from this province.

The Congress had a clear majority in UP, the Central Province, Bihar, Orissa and Madras. In addition to this, it formed a coalition government in NWFP and Bombay. In Assam and Sindh, it joined the ruling coalition, thus, it was indirectly in power in these two areas as well.

The Unionist Party of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain formed the government in Punjab and Praja Krishak Party of Maulvi Fazl-i-Haq formed it in Bengal, without help from the two major parties. The Muslim League was not able to form government in any province. Although the Jinnah asked the Congress to form a coalition government with the Muslim League, the latter did not accept this offer.

After winning seats, the Congress did not form government for four months as it did not want the governor to have powers in legislative affairs. It presented this demand to the British but they did not agree to this demand. After a long discussion, the British gave verbal consent to this demand but refused to make changes in the Act of 1935. Finally, the Congress set up its government in July 1937.

The Congress ruled for 27 months. During this period, it worked only for the betterment of Hindus. On the other hand, it formed a Muslim Mass Contact Movement. The aim of this Movement was to persuade Muslim population that India had only parties: the Congress and the British. This way, it wanted to reduce the importance of the Muslim League.

The Congress declared Hindi as the national language and Devanagri as the official script. The flag of the Congress was treated like the national flag during this period. Cow slaughter was banned. These development made the Muslims unhappy with the Congress. This led to a number of Hindu-Muslim riots in the country.

After World War II, the Congress demanded independence from the British but they refused it. After this, the Congress resigned from power. Jinnah told the Muslims to celebrate this event on 22 December 1939 as a token of relief from the oppression of the Congress rule.

Check Your Progress

1. There were_____ sections and 10 schedules in the Government of India Act 1935.
2. After the Government of India Act 1935, the system of was introduced at the Centre.
3. The Government of India Act 1935 divided the Federal Legislature into two houses: the Council of States and the Legislative Assembly. (True/ False)
4. After the provincial elections held in 1936-37, the Congress was in power for 2 years and 3 months. (True/False)

9.3 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

The Quit India Movement began in August 1942 under the leadership of Gandhi. It is also known as the August Revolution. It was the third and final non-violent resistance movement started by Gandhi for India's independence. Its background was the failure of the Cripps' proposals and a lack of sympathetic attitude of the British towards the Indian cause.

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It was not the real intention of the British government to part with power. It was evident from Britain's attitude towards India. Hence, the Congress Working Committee on 14 July 1942 met at Wardha and passed the Quit India Resolution. This resolution was adopted with some modifications at the Bombay Session of the Congress held on 7th and 8th August. In this session, Gandhi gave a call to the people to 'do or die'. Its purpose was to force the British government to quit India, lock, stock and barrel. Gandhi and other leaders were arrested the very next day, i.e., on August 9. The Congress was declared as an unlawful organization. All meetings and demonstrations were banned. The British government unleashed a policy of suppression and repression.

The Quit India Movement had great impact on the people of India. Students left their studies, lawyers gave up their practice, government officials resigned in order to join the movement, so inspired were they by the call of Gandhi. They dreamt of a new independent India.

Gandhi and other leaders were arrested no doubt, but the movement continued as before. During the incarceration of the top leaders, it was Aruna Asaf Ali who led the movement from underground. At first the movement was peaceful but later it took a violent turn. Cases of violence were reported from many places. Railway stations and post offices were set ablaze. Railway bridges and buildings were destroyed. Treasuries were looted and government records were destroyed. The British government carried on a policy of repression to suppress the movement. But it was not that easy as the people were spontaneously fired by the enthusiasm of driving out the British government. But before the superior strength of the British government, the revolutionaries could not carry on their struggle for long. Ultimately, they were suppressed and the movement was quelled.

9.3.1 Importance of the Quit India Movement

The Quit India Movement had great significance. It the first place, it galvanized the masses into action. People were fired with zeal to free their motherland from the yoke of the British rule. Secondly, it spread all over India and became an all-India movement. Thirdly, women in large numbers joined the movement. Thus, it started an era of resistances and protests.

During the Quit India days, the whole country was awakened. Subash Chandra Bose was charismatic enough to attract the flock of people of Indian origin from the South-East Asian nations to fight for Indian freedom. The elite moderates, the terrorists, the satyagrahis and the socialists were enigmatic and legendary in their effort to wrest the mantle from the British. The national movement provided room for all kinds of people to participate in it in a variety of ways. Undoubtedly, it is one of the greatest mass movements of history fought by the dumb millions.

Thus, the epic struggle in its expanse of almost one hundred years approached the total mass, i.e., the entire cross-section of the society. The state power was not seized in a single revolution, but through a prolonged, popular struggle based on a moral, political and ideological commitment. From socio-religious reformers of the nineteenth century, who attacked the idea of inequality and approached the society from below, the great leaders were also effective in the desired task. The English educated elites no doubt took the initiative in the last decade of nineteenth century, but the movement soon trickled down in the days of Swadeshi Movement to the students and middle classes of Bengal and a few other parts of the country. And finally, the Anti-Rowlatt satyagraha and the Non-cooperation Movement witnessed the participation of the peasants, lower

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by presenting their manifesto. The manifestos of both the parties were almost similar. However, there were two main differences in their manifestos.

(i) The Congress wanted joint electorate whereas the Muslim League wanted separate electorate.

(ii) The Congress wanted Hindi as the official language whereas the Muslim League wanted Urdu to be the official language of their country.

Even though the Congress was a strong party yet it could not secure even 40 per cent of seats. It had 1771 seats in 11 provinces out of which it could win only 750. Also, the Congress could win seats mostly in the Hindu constituencies. The Muslim League could win only 106 seats out of 491 Muslim seats. The Congress captured 26 Muslim seats. The Muslim League had a lot of hopes from the Muslim majority province of Punjab but it could only win two seats from this province.

The Congress had a clear majority in UP, the Central Province, Bihar, Orissa and Madras. In addition to this, it formed a coalition government in NWFP and Bombay. In Assam and Sindh, it joined the ruling coalition, thus, it was indirectly in power in these two areas as well.

The Unionist Party of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain formed the government in Punjab and Praja Krishak Party of Maulvi Fazl-i-Haq formed it in Bengal, without help from the two major parties. The Muslim League was not able to form government in any province. Although the Jinnah asked the Congress to form a coalition government with the Muslim League, the latter did not accept this offer.

After winning seats, the Congress did not form government for four months as it did not want the governor to have powers in legislative affairs. It presented this demand to the British but they did not agree to this demand. After a long discussion, the British gave verbal consent to this demand but refused to make changes in the Act of 1935. Finally, the Congress set up its government in July 1937.

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middle class, women, the petty bourgeoisie, the poor, urban and rural artisans, peasants, workers, merchants, capitalists and even a large number of small landlords. It is truly a resistance movement of, by and for the people. We will discuss more about the Quit India Movement in the next unit.

9.4 CABINET MISSION PLAN (1946)

The aim of the British Cabinet Mission of 1946 to India was to discuss and plan for the transfer of power from the British Raj to the Indian leadership. The objective was to provide India with independence under dominion status under the Commonwealth of Nations. The Mission was formulated at the initiative of Clement Richard Attlee, the Prime Minister of the UK. It comprised Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India; Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade; and A.V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty. However, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, did not participate.

Background

During the general elections of England, held in 1945, the Labour Party, under the authority of Attlee, routed the Conservatives, under British Conservative politician and statesman Winston Churchill. Later on, Lord Wavell was summoned to London who informed that Britain had decided to quit India.

Soon after, general elections were held in India in 1945-46 for provincial assemblies and the legislative assembly at the Centre. In these elections, the Congress won fifty-seven seats in the central legislative assembly, while the Muslim League took over all the thirty seats reserved for the Muslims. In 1937, the Congress had 714 seats in the provinces, while it won 923 seats in 1946. On the other hand, in 1937, the Muslim League was able to occupy only 109 seats out of the Muslim quota of 492; however, in 1946, it won 425 seats.

The British Cabinet Mission, a special mission of cabinet ministers, came to India on 24 March 1946 to enable the nation to gain independence as fast as possible. The Mission was in India for almost five weeks to discuss important issues with significant representatives of Indian states and those of British India. A conference was held on 5 May 1946 at Simla, wherein leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League participated to discuss the following:

- The grouping of provinces
- Character of the federal union
- The setting up of a constitution-making machinery

However, the conference was closed due to differences between the Congress and the League. On 16 May 1946, the Mission published a statement, popularly known as the Cabinet Mission Plan, with their recommendations. The important provisions of the cabinet Mission Plan are as follows:

- A federation comprising both the princely states and British India was to be formed, which should deal with defence, foreign affairs and communications.
- The federation should comprise an executive and a legislature.
- The provinces of British India should be vested with all residuary powers and all subjects, except the Union subjects.

Check Your Progress

5. When did the Quit India Movement begin and who led it?
6. What effect did the Quit India Movement have on the people of India?

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- All subjects would be under the princely states except for those surrendered to the Union.
- Provinces should have the liberty to form groups (sub-federal).
- Provision should be made in the constitution of the Union that would allow any province, by a majority vote of its legislative assembly, to necessitate a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of ten years.
- A constituent assembly should be formed on the basis of the recently elected provincial legislatures. The assembly should be formed by allotting to each province a total number of seats proportional to its population. Elections should be held by a method of proportional representation with single transferable vote.
- The administration of the country should be carried out while the Constitution of India was being formulated. An interim government should also be set up which should have the support of major political parties.

The proposed constituent assembly was to include 292 members from British India and only 93 members from the Indian states. The members of British India were to be further divided into:

- 210 seats for general (those who were not Sikhs or Muslims)
- 78 seats for Muslims
- 4 seats for Sikhs

The assembly was to elect a chairman, an advisory committee and other office bearers in its preliminary meeting. Further, the assembly would be divided into three sections consisting of groups of provinces A, B and C, respectively. The provinces under these groups would be as follows:

- **Group A:** Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa
- **Group B:** Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind
- **Group C:** Bengal and Assam

Further, it was decided that the legislature of a particular province would take the decision about the secession of that province from a group after the first general election under the new Constitution. However, both the Congress and the Muslim League were indecisive about the proposals of the Cabinet Mission. Besides, there was more disagreement about the issue of filling posts in the interim government. As a result, the Mission was unable to satisfy both the political parties. Finally, they left for England on 29 June 1946.

The Congress decided to contest the election and take part in the constituent assembly. However, it did not consent to join the interim government. This plan was approved by the Muslim League, which now expected the viceroy to request the League to form the interim government. However, Wavell did not agree to this proposal as a result of which the League withdrew its approval of the Cabinet Mission Plan. On 12 August 1946, the viceroy pleaded the Congress to form the interim government, which gave its consent as against its original decision.

Initially, the League did not participate in the interim government but later joined it. Nonetheless, it did not participate in the constituent assembly which met to formulate

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the Constitution. It continued its insistence on the formation of Pakistan and requested the British government to dissolve the constituent assembly.

Direct Action Day

It was the decision of the Muslim League to observe 6 August as Direct Action Day, all over the country. This was aggravated by the viceroy's decision to invite the Congress to form an interim government at the centre. In Calcutta, on 16 August, the League protested in the form of public demonstrations and hartals. This took a turn for the worse and resulted in clashes and riots in the entire city. Mob's vented their annoyance for four consecutive days, finally life limped back to normalcy. This day was declared a public holiday by the then government of Bengal, which was led by the League leader, H. S. Suhrawardy. The situation deteriorated and the army had to be called when conditions went completely out of control.

Attlee's Announcement

British Prime Minister Clement Richard Attlee initiated a move to break the deadlock between the Congress and the Muslim League. He made an announcement in Parliament on 20 February 1947 wherein he expressed the government's 'clear objective to transfer all power and responsibility to India, latest by June 1948'. All were astounded by this declaration that was a landmark in history. Irrespective of how they felt, the British would be leaving the country after one year. The Indians had this much time to reach an agreement.

The announcement also indicated the replacement of Wavell by Lord Mountbatten. The authority and commitments of the British, with reference to all the princely states, would come to an end as soon as power is transferred. However, these powers would not go to any succeeding government of British India. The declaration also clearly stated that India would be partitioned in case of the absence of complete representation by the Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances, power would go to more than one central government. Everyone believed that with a deadline in place, both the parties would be forced to settle their differences. The League announced a civil disobedience in Punjab. The consequence of this civil disobedience was the fall of Khizr Hayat Khan's ministry.

Jinnah felt that victory was within reach and boldly tried to take control of those provinces which had a larger Muslim population. The states of Punjab, Calcutta, Assam and North-West Frontier Province were severely hit by riots. The new Viceroy came to India on 22 March 1947. He had been instructed to work for a united India; but as he met leaders of the various parties and communities, he was sure that it was not possible to avoid partition. Not many people were in favour of partitioning of the country. Gandhi proclaimed that his body would have to be cut to pieces before India would be divided. Abul Kalam Azad tried every way to fervently oppose the making of Pakistan. But Jinnah did not yield; he wanted Muslims to have their own state.

ACTIVITY

From suitable sources read as much as you can manage about the Home Rule Movement in India. Read with the objective of gathering facts only. Prepare a note of the important happenings related to the movement. Now working like a historian, build up your own version of the reasons that were responsible for it not succeeding as much as it should have given the great personalities like Tilak and Annie Besant related to it.

Check Your Progress

7. What was the aim of the British Cabinet Mission of 1946?
8. Who initiated the British Cabinet Mission?
9. How many members did the proposed constituent assembly include from British India?

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DID YOU KNOW

August Kranti is more commonly known as Quit India Movement as it started in August 1942 and was a call for immediate independence. It caught every Indian's imagination with the slogan 'Do or Die'.

9.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The British Parliament passed the Government of India Act in August 1935.
- The significant feature of the Act of 1935 was the introduction of autonomy at the centre and provinces. Apart from this, the establishment of an All India Federation was considered another unique feature.
- The Act of 1935 abolished dyarchy at the provincial level and introduced it at the centre.
- The key feature of the Act of 1935 was that it heralded the beginning of provincial autonomy. The Act divided legislative powers between the provinces and central legislatures.
  - Powers were divided between the centre and the provinces based on three types of lists:
  - Federal list
  - Provincial list
  - Concurrent list
- According the Government of India Act, 1935, provincial elections were held in 1936–1937.
- Even though the Congress was a strong party yet it could not secure even 40 per cent of seats.
- On the other hand, the Muslim League could win only 106 seats out of 491 Muslim seats.
- After winning seats, the Congress did not form government for four months as it did not want the governor to have powers in legislative affairs.
- The Congress ruled for 27 months. During this period, it worked only for the betterment of Hindus and formed a Muslim Mass Contact Movement.
- After World War II, the Congress demanded independence from the British but they refused it. After this, the Congress resigned from power.
- The Quit India Movement, also known as the August Revolution, began in August 1942 under the leadership of Gandhi.
- The Quit India Movement had greatly impacted people; students left their studies, lawyers gave up their practice and government officials resigned in order to join the movement.
- Initially the movement was a peaceful one but soon became violent.
- The Quit India Movement was significant as it fired the masses with zeal to free their motherland from the yoke of the British rule.

- The Movement spread all over India and became an all-India movement.
- The British Cabinet Mission, a special mission of cabinet ministers, came to India on 24 March 1946, to discuss and plan for the transfer of power from the British Raj to the Indian leadership.
- The Cabinet Mission's objective was to provide India with independence under dominion status under the Commonwealth of Nations.
- The Mission was in India for almost five weeks to discuss important issues with significant representatives of Indian states and those of British India.
- Among the many suggestions of the Cabinet Mission, a constituent assembly had to be formed on the basis of the recently elected provincial legislatures. The assembly should be formed by allotting to each province a total number of seats proportional to its population.
- Both the Congress and the Muslim League were indecisive about the proposals of the Cabinet Mission.
- The Congress decided to contest the election and take part in the constituent assembly. However, it did not consent to join the interim government.
- Initially, the League did not participate in the interim government but later joined it. Nonetheless, it did not participate in the constituent assembly which met to formulate the Constitution.
- British Prime Minister Clement Richard Attlee initiated a move to break the deadlock between the Congress and the Muslim League.
- Attlee made an announcement in Parliament on 20 February 1947 wherein he expressed the government's 'clear objective to transfer all power and responsibility to India, latest by June 1948'.
- Attlee's announcement also indicated the replacement of Wavell by Lord Mountbatten.
- The new Viceroy came to India on 22 March 1947. He had been instructed to work for a united India; but as he met leaders of the various parties and communities, he was sure that it was not possible to avoid partition.

9.6 KEY TERMS

- **Concurrent list:** It is a list of residual powers that come under the jurisdiction of the centre.
- **Provincial autonomy**: Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the provinces would remain autonomous and independent from any external influence and not rely on any of the external forces.
- **Cripps mission:** It was a mission led by Sir Stafford Cripps, a senior left-wing politician and government minister in the War Cabinet of Prime Minister Winston Churchill that had come to India in late March 1942 to secure full Indian cooperation and support for their efforts in World War II.
- **Civil disobedience:** It was a movement launched by Gandhi that called for active, professed refusal to obey certain laws, demands, and commands of a government.

9.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. 321
2. Diarchy
3. True
4. True
5. The Quit India Movement began in August 1942 under the leadership of Gandhi.
6. The Quit India Movement had great impact on the people of India. Students left their studies, lawyers gave up their practice, government officials resigned in order to join the movement, so inspired were they by the call of Gandhi. They dreamt of a new independent India.
7. The aim of the British Cabinet Mission of 1946 to India was to discuss and plan for the transfer of power from the British Raj to Indian leadership.
8. The Mission was formulated at the initiative of Clement Richard Attlee, the Prime Minister of the UK.
9. The proposed constituent assembly was to include 292 members from British India and only 93 members from the Indian states.

9.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. State the salient features of the Government of India Act, 1935.
2. Briefly state the steps taken to establish provincial autonomy.
3. Write a note on the Quit India Movement.
4. What was the aim of the Cabinet Mission Plan?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on provincial autonomy.
2. Discuss the Act of 1935.
3. The Cabinet Mission planned to transfer power from the British to the Indian leadership. Critically analyse this statement.
4. Assess the success of the Quit India Movement.
5. Discuss the provisions of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

9.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 10 INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

Structure

10.0 Introduction
10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 Outbreak of the Second World War and the Quit India Movement
10.2.1 Resolution for Immediate Independence—Quit India Movement
10.3 Emergence of Communal Politics in India
10.4 Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA
10.5 Interim Government and Constituent Assembly
10.6 Mountbatten Plan
10.7 Partition of India and Indian Independence Act
10.7.1 Impact of the Second World War on India
10.7.2 Factors Leading to Independence and Partition of India
10.8 Summary
10.9 Key Terms
10.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
10.11 Questions and Exercises
10.12 Further Reading

10.0 INTRODUCTION

The final unit of the book traces the events that led to India's independence. The unit will begin with a discussion on India's involvement in the Second World War as well as the shaping of the national movement during war. Both the Cripps' Mission and the Quit India Movement are also discussed in detail. The unit focuses on the emergence of communalism in Indian politics; the causes for the growth of communalism, formation of the All India Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. The unit also elaborates on the contribution of Subhash Chandra Bose, the establishment of the Indian National Army and the role of the same in India's freedom struggle.

10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe India's involvement in the Second World War
- Discuss the importance of the Quit India Movement
- Explain the emergence of communal politics in India
- Assess the role of Indian National Army in India's freedom struggle
- Discuss the events that led to India's partition into two nations

10.2 OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

In 1939, Lord Linlithgow, the British Governor-General of India, brought India into the Second World War without consulting Indians. This act of the British agitated members

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of the Indian National Congress greatly. The move, however, was supported by the Muslim League, but the Congress found itself divided.

Opinions on the War

When the war broke out in September 1939, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution in the same month at a meeting in Wardha (Maharashtra) to support the fight against fascism on the condition of complete freedom in return. This was, however, refused. Mahatma Gandhi, who was the arch supporter of non-violence, did not support this initiative of the Congress. However, at the height of the Battle of Britain, Gandhi supported the fight against racism saying a free India cannot rise from the ashes of Britain. Despite such opinions, the Congress remained divided.

Cripps' Mission

Faced with a deteriorating war situation in Europe and South East Asia, and reluctance among Indian troops to participate in the war, the British government, in March 1942, sent a delegation to India under Stafford Cripps, which came to be known as Cripps' Mission. The purpose of the mission was to persuade the Indian Army to participate in the war in support of Britain, in return of a progressive shift of power from British rule to an elected Indian legislature. The discussion, however, was crippled as the key demand of complete independence by Indians was not granted by the British. They were still in favour of a limited dominion status that was unacceptable to the Indian leaders.

10.2.1 Resolution for Immediate Independence—Quit India Movement

After the failure of Cripps' Mission, the Indian National Congress became stringent. In the Congress session on August 8, 1942, Gandhi put forward the proposal for the British to quit India and demanded immediate independence, failing which, the resolution proposed a massive civil disobedience against the government. Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad backed the proposal. This Quit India Movement was born and was supported by several outstanding leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr Anugrah Narayan Sinha along with socialists like Asoka Mehta and Jayaprakash Narayan. Immediately after the Congress session, the entire Congress leadership, at the national as well at the level of the provinces, was arrested by the British.

Opposition to Quit India

While the Quit India movement had the support of the masses, the movement was opposed by several political parties. Parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communist Party of India opposed the movement and did not rally with the Congress. The Communist Party of India though against the movement, was in alliance with the Soviet Union and in support of the war, despite industrial workers and unions supporting the movement. This led to a ban on the party by the British government.

The movement also found opposition from various princely states who feared the loss of their estates in an independent India; and therefore, they funded the opposition.

Several Muslim leaders were also opposed to Quit India Movement and Muhammad Ali Jinnah's plea found an audience among large number of Muslims who responded by enlisting in the British army. The League gained support in provincial legislatures and as the Congress resigned from provincial legislatures, it took control of Sindh, Bengal and the Northwest Frontier.

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The nationalists, however, had little international support. Though, the United States was supporting the Indian freedom movement theoretically, it was also an ally of Britain.

Local activism

Where on the one hand the Quit India Movement was facing opposition at the national level, at the same time, the movement was successful at the regional level where at several places locals had already started revolting against the British.

In Satara (Maharashtra), Talcher (Orissa), Tamluk and Contai subdivisions of Midnapore (Bengal), local people were establishing their own parallel governments which, however, were discontinued on the request of Gandhi in 1944.

At Ballia, the easternmost district of Uttar Pradesh, the local populace broke a jail and released the arrested Congress leaders and established their independent rule. It was weeks before British could re-establish themselves in the district.

In western Gujarat, Saurashtra, the tradition of 'baharvatiya' (i.e., going outside the purview of law), supported the activities of the Quit India Movement in the region. In Bengal, peasant resentment against the new war taxes and the forced rice exports saw similar resentment. The resistance, which, was at its height in 1942, was stifled by oppression.

Suppression of the movement

The movement was primarily designed to keep the Congress party united. This further alarmed the British, who were already vary of the Japanese army advancing on the Indo-Burma border. In order to control the agitations, the British imprisoned Gandhi along with prominent members of the Indian National Congress Working Committee (national leadership). Due to the arrest of major leaders of the Congress, Aruna Asaf Ali, young and relatively unknown till then, presided over the AICC session on August 9 and hoisted the congress flag. Later, the Congress party was banned, which only strengthened mass support for the cause and, despite the lack of leadership, demonstrations and large scale protests were carried out all over the country. However, not all of these demonstrations were peaceful. At various places, bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity and communication lines were severed.

To these demonstrations, the British responded by making mass arrests. Over 100,000 people were arrested and were fined. Soldiers were also ordered to flog the demonstrators and shoot if required. Several hundred people were killed in the shootings. This forced many leaders to go underground, but they continued their struggle by broadcasting over radio and distributing pamphlets.

The Congress was cut-off from the rest of the world for over three years. Gandhi lost his wife Kasturba Gandhi and his personal secretary Mahadev Desai within a very short span. Despite such personal losses and an indisposed health, Gandhi went on a 21-day fast and maintained his resolve to continue resistance. Although the British released Gandhi on account of his health in 1944, Gandhi kept up the resistance, demanding the release of the Congress leadership.

By early 1944, India was mostly peaceful again, while the Congress leadership was still incarcerated. A sense that the movement had failed depressed many nationalists, while Jinnah and the Muslim League, as well as Congress opponents like the Communists sought to gain political mileage, criticizing Gandhi and the Congress Party.

10.3 EMERGENCE OF COMMUNAL POLITICS IN INDIA

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The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was an attempt to narrow the Hindu-Muslim divide and place the genuine grievances of all the communities in the country before the British. However, the projection of the Congress as a representative body of the Hindus by leaders like Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, Ameer Ali and others, thwarted the first genuine attempt in the country for Hindu-Muslim unity. The poor participation of Muslims in the Congress proves it. 'Of the seventy-two delegates attending the first session of the Congress only two were Muslims'. Muslim leaders opposed the Congress tooth and nail on the plea that Muslims' participation in it would create an unfavourable reaction among the rulers against their community.

Gradually, Muslim orthodoxy came to the forefront and their religious identity became more important than anything else. Slogans such as 'Islam is in danger' continuously challenged the political awakening in Indian society which in turn affected their status. They started viewing the Congress as a challenge to their supremacy. In 1900, when Lieutenant Governor A. MacDonnell adopted Hindi, written in Devanagari script, as the official language of the United Province, the Muslims opposed it. No such aggressive resistance was made when the British replaced Persian with English in late thirties of the nineteenth century. Sir Sayed Ahmed died in 1898, but his followers in defence of Urdu language launched agitation against the decision of the representative of British power in the United Province.

Formation of All India Muslim League

On 1st October 1906, under the leadership of Aga Khan, a 35-member delegation assembled at Simla to present a proposal to Lord Minto. The proposal appealed for a proportionate representation of the Muslims in government jobs, appointment of Muslim candidates in the administrative services, judiciary and others. This assembly of the Muslims came to be known as the Simla Deputation. Though the Simla Deputation did not yield positive results, it worked as a catalyst for the formation of the All-India Muslim League.

Under the strong leadership of the Aligharians, the movement for a separate Muslim organization created a political awakening among the Muslims. The ideology of exclusivism sowed the seeds of communalism, which gradually led to the formation of the All India Muslim League (AIML). AIML, was established in 1906 in Dhaka under the leadership of Nawab Sallimullah. A 56 member provisional committee was constituted. Prominent Muslim leaders from different parts of the country joined the Muslim League. Few Congress leaders like Ali Imam, Hasan Imam, Mazharul Haque (barristers from Bihar) and Hami Ali Khan (barrister from Lucknow) were included in the committee. Mohsin- ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk were jointly made the secretaries. After Mohsin-ul-Mulk's death in 1907, Viqar-ul-Mulk took charge of the league. The Muslim League held its first session in Lahore in December 1907 with Adamjee Peerbhoy as its president.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a prominent Congress leader, though in favour of the Muslim League, did not join it until 1913. He even successfully contested against the League candidate for electing the Viceroy's Legislative Council. However, within Congress itself, he tried to bargain for one-third reservation for his community. The formation of

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AIML was a major landmark in the history of modern India. The first ever political party exclusively for Muslims, had the following objectives:

(i) To promote feelings of loyalty among the Muslims for the British government and remove any misconceptions

(ii) To increase the political rights and interests of the Muslims in India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the government

(iii) To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the afore-mentioned objects of the League

Initially, the AIML was an organization of urbanized elite Muslims that went on to become the sole representative body of Indian Muslims with the support of the British government. In order to face the challenges of the modern political system, the League successfully achieved a separate electorate within three years of its establishment. The electorate was a considerable achievement for the party and the Lucknow Pact of 1916 gave a separate identity to the Muslims; another landmark in the separatist movement launched by the AIML.

Hindu Mahasabha

Founded in 1915 by Madan Mohan Malviya, the Hindu Mahasabha's sole motive was to bring together local Hindu movements rooted in north Indian public life. It was partly modelled on the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha emphasized on social and religious network among Hindus, untouchables and the spread of Hindi. The organization was instrumental in protecting Hindu interests. However, due to differences of opinions, in 1925, a group under the leadership of K Hedgewar broke away from the Hindu Mahasabha and established the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha (RSS). The RSS adopted a more militant stand.

The organization was actively involved in Bengal. It sought to remove untouchability and the purification of 'polluted' people with the help of the Congress. The involvement of the organization in these matters gained prominence in the 1930s, the aftermath of Macdonald's Communal Award.

During the late 1930s, the Hindu Mahasabha supported other Hindu organizations to organize campaigns in favour of a Hindu society. However, the initiation of bringing lower castes into the mainstream Hindu society resulted in communal clashes, which took the form of communal riots. Instances of riots were reported from locations like Dhaka, Khulna, Jessore, Noakhali (now in Bangladesh) and Burdwan.

Interestingly, the 1940s also witnessed a political discord between the Congress and the Mahasabha. The Bengal Congress selected major Hindu candidates and won over the Sabha with a majority. The Congress leaders tried to prove that they represented Hindu interests better than anyone else. The great Calcutta riots, followed by the Muslim League's Direct Action Day helped in reviving the hopes of the Mahasabha.

Shyamaprasad Mukherjee went on to become the Sabha's spokesperson. Under his influence, Bengali Hindus started considering the idea of creating a new Hindu state of West Bengal. The Hindu Mahasabha, became more interested in setting up Hindu volunteer corps in order to safeguard Hindu interests. They also supported the idea of supplying ammunitions to Hindu militant organizations. The Sabha was successful in mobilizing some Bengali Hindus in supporting Hindu nationalism. Scholars like Raj Sekhar Basu believe that the Hindu Mahasabha was responsible for the partition of Bengal in 1947.

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10.4 SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE AND THE INA

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was the founder of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army). The aim of this army was to end the British rule in India.

He was born on 23 January 1897 in Cuttack, Orissa. His father was a lawyer and his mother was a religious woman. He was patriotic right from his childhood. When he was in the Presidency College, Calcutta, Professor Oaten made some anti-India comments. This angered Bose and he assaulted his Professor. He was expelled from the College for this act.

He was a brilliant student in school as well as college. In 1911, he topped the matriculation examination of Calcutta province. He completed his graduation in Philosophy with a first class. In 1919, he was sent to England by his father to appear in the Indian Civil Services Examination. He stood fourth in the examination. After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, he left his Civil Services apprenticeship and came back to India in 1921.

On returning to India, he joined the Indian National Congress. Mahatma Gandhi instructed him to work under Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. Later, Das became his 'political guru'. In 1928, Mahatma Gandhi proposed a resolution in which he demanded the British to grant dominion status to India within two years. He also mentioned in the resolution that if the British failed to fulfil this demand within two years, the Congress would call upon all Indians to fight for Purna Swaraj. The time period given by Gandhi to the British was opposed by Bose and Nehru. Later, he reduced the time period to one year. Nehru voted for the new resolution, but Bose refused to vote for this resolution.

Bose was arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930. After the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, he was released from jail. He opposed the Pact and the withdrawal of the Movement. He was again arrested under the infamous Bengal Regulation. Due to an illness, he was released from jail after a year. He was expelled from India and was sent to Europe. He made efforts to open some centres in Europe to promote political-cultural contacts between the two countries. After some time, he entered India and was again arrested for a year for defying the ban. In 1937, when the Congress came to power in seven states, he was released from jail.

In 1938, he became president of the Haripura Congress Session. In the same year, he established a planning committee. After the end of his term, he became president of the Tripuri Congress session. During the Second World War, he proposed a resolution in which he demanded the British to end their rule in India within six months. He also mentioned in the resolution that if the British failed to do so, there would be a revolt in the country. This resolution was opposed by a number of members of the Congress. After this, he resigned from the post of President and formed the Forward Bloc.

After this, he started a mass movement in India. He was put under house arrest in Calcutta for the same. In 1941, he escaped from India and reached Germany via Afghanistan. He took help from Germany and Japan to fight against the British. He used the medium of Radio Berlin and his broadcasts aroused enthusiasm among Indians.

In 1943, he went to Singapore and formed the Azad Hind Fauj. Most of the soldiers of this army were prisoners of war from the British Indian Army. This army went to India with an aim to fight the British. On its way to India, it liberated Andaman and Nicobar Islands. On 1944, the headquarters of this army was shifted to Rangoon. On 18 March 1944, the army crossed Burma border and reached India. However, Japan

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and Germany were defeated in the Second World War and thus the army could not fulfil its objective.

According to some sources, Bose died during an air crash over Taipei, Taiwan (Formosa) on August 18, 1945. However, there was no evidence to prove this claim. Thus, his death still remains a mystery.

Indian National Army

The Indian National Army (INA) was founded by Subhash Chandra Bose in 1942. They sided with the Axis Powers during the Second World War (1939– 1945) with a motive to overthrow the colonial powers from the Indian soil. The INA was also termed as the 'Azad Hind Fauj'.

Japanese forces defeated the British in 1941 at Malaya. This incident inspired the Indian populace residing in Southeast Asia. The Indians came together and organized a number of associations based out of South East Asia. Pritam Singh was a leader of such an organization. He, along with Japanese officer, Major Fujihara, requested Mohan Singh to constitute an Indian Army comprising the captured Indian soldiers. Though initially reluctant, Mohan Singh yielded and Fujihara handed over around 40,000 Indian soldiers who had surrendered to him. This paved the way towards the formation of the INA.

The revolutionary activist Rash Behari Bose, then residing in Japan, arranged an association named Free Indians living in Japan. A conference was held in Bangkok on 15 June 1942, where it was decided that a National Indian Army would be constituted. A five-member working committee was formed and Rash Behari Bose was made its president. The formation of the INA was formally declared.

In the meantime, Subhash Bose left Calcutta on 17 January 1941 and arrived in Germany after traveling through Afghanistan. In Berlin, he organized an India government in exile and extended support to Germany. He began to broadcast his aims and objectives over Radio Berlin and made contact with Japan. Bose, also came in touch with Adolf Hitler, who extended his help to the former. This aroused tremendous enthusiasm in India. Indians in Germany gave him the title of 'Netaji' and the slogan of 'Jai-Hind' was initiated here during this time.

Bose arrived in Tokyo in June 1943, and was cordially received by Hideki Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister (1941–44). Japan extended their help to India. A huge crowd gathered at Singapore to receive Bose when he arrived there on 2 July 1943. On 4 July, Rash Behari Bose resigned and Bose was appointed the president of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia. On August 25, Bose took the leadership of the INA. On 21 October 1943, Bose declared the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and on the 23rd declared war on Britain and America.

With the INA headquarters now shifted to Rangoon, Bose and his brigade arrived in Rangoon in 1944. In the meantime, it was decided that the Indian detachment would not be smaller than a battalion, its commander would be an Indian, the war would continue under the Joint plan of Action and Indians would fight as a separate unit on selected spots. It was also decided that battles would occur at the Kaladan valley of Arakan and Kalam and Haka centre of Chin hills to the east of Lusai hills.

The Subhash Brigade was divided into three battalions. The first contingent advanced across both the banks of Kaladan and captured Paletoa and Doletmai. The battalion captured Maudak, a British border out-post at a distance of 64 kilometres from Doletmai a few days after. The supply of arms and ammunition fell short. Many soldiers left and only a few were left under the command of Surajmal.

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In the meantime, the other two battalions took the responsibility of Haka-Kalan borderline. At the fall of Imphal at Manipur, it was decided that INA would take position at Kohima, Nagaland so that it could enter Bengal after crossing Brahmaputra. Gandhi and Azad Brigades also advanced towards Imphal. On the 21 March, the Japanese Prime Minister (PM) announced that the Indian territories freed from the British would be brought under the administration of a provisional independent government formed under Netaji. In spite of various hazards and shortage of food and ammunitions, the INA advanced up to 241 kilometres inside India.

A few days after the declaration of the Japanese PM, the Americans and the British joined and took steps to invade Japan. So, Japan had to withdraw its support from India. Consequently, the INA also had to retreat and was forced to surrender when the allied powers recaptured Burma.

A number of INA officers were captured and severely punished by the British officials, including Capt. Shah Nawaz, Capt. Rashid and others. However, the British were forced to set them free when the general Indian public were outraged by the treatment meted out to them. The cause of India's independence was much advanced by the INA.

Significance of the Indian National Army

The INA and its impact on India's freedom struggle has been a subject of great discussion and analysis for historians. Though in terms of military strength, the INA has been considered insignificant. This may be due to the following reasons:

(i) Small numerical strength

(ii) Lack of heavy weapons

(iii) Dependence on Japanese logistics and planning

(iv) Lack of independent planning

Though the INA had several disadvantages, Shah Nawaz, in his personal memoirs, refers to the INA as a very potent and motivated force. The historian Peter Ward Fay, on the other hand, argues that the INA was less influential in terms of its military capability, but its special services group did play a significant role in halting the British First Arakan Offensive in Burma. This was during the INA leader Mohan Singh's command.

The propaganda threat of the INA along with the paucity of concrete intelligence on the unit during the British surrender of Singapore made it a potential threat to the war plans of the Allied Powers in Southeast Asia. This also threatened to wipe out loyalty of Indian troops in the British Indian Army. This fact was not only significant, but was successful as is evident from the failure of Britain's First Arakan Offensive, as well as the campaign of the British intelligence to label INA soldiers as JIFFS (derived from Japanese-Indian Fifth Column) as well as the attempt to boost morale and preserve the loyalty of Indian soldiers in the British Army in order to defend Manipur. This also included the news ban on Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA, which was not lifted until four days after the fall of Rangoon two years later.

In 1944, at the time of the Japanese U-GO offensive on Manipur, the INA played not only a crucial but successful role in diversifying their attacks in Arakan as well as the in the Manipur basin during their conflict with Mutaguchi's 15th Army. The INA had enough military calibre, which was evident in the battles of Arakan, Manipur, Imphal, and also during the withdrawal through Manipur and Burma. Their efforts during the

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Burma Campaign are notable, especially during the Battle of Irrawaddy and Meiktilla. In Meiktilla, they wholeheartedly supported the Japanese by tying down the British troops.

On the other hand, Fay also refers to several published accounts of war veterans which mention the INA and its role. One such published account is that of William Slim who deems the INA troops to be incapable and untrustworthy. Fay further goes on to describe the inconsistencies and conflicts amongst the different accounts which show that British intelligence propaganda and institutional bias may have played a significant role in the opinions of war veterans. It is also imperative to point out at this time that the INA suffered desertion on numerous occasions. Though there were many incidents of desertion during substantial battles such as Manipur or the subsequent retreat through Burma, however, these incidents of desertion were minimal and quite small in number. According to Fay, significant desertions occurred during the Battle at Irrawaddy and later on at Popa. It was noticed that during the fall of Rangoon, approximately six thousand troops manned the city to maintain order until the allied troops entered the city. Nevertheless, the INA was not considered strong enough to beat the British Indian Army militarily. Moreover, the INA was aware of this weakness and formulated a new strategy in order to avoid set-piece battles, garnering local and popular support with the Indians in the British Indian Army. There are also some references that the INA tried to instigate a revolt within the British Indian Army to overthrow the British Raj. The Forward Bloc during this time went underground in India and is said to have been crushed even before the offensives opened in the Burma-Manipur region, as a result depriving the army of any organized internal support.

The role of INA is more evident during the times of the INA trials, as it attracted more attention than instead of their role as an army. The decision to hold public trials alone became a rallying point for the Independence Movement in 1945. The fervour attached to the INA trials was so immense that the efforts to release INA prisoners and suspend the trials become more important than India's freedom struggle. Reports in newspapers which spoke of executions of INA troops added fuel to the already volatile situation. During this time, the opposition to the trials of INA troops for treason became a major public and political campaign and the first trial itself witnessed violence and riots on such a large scale that some historians describe it to be sensational. This period also saw a campaign that defied communal barriers. This period is marked by violent confrontations which broke out between the masses and the police. Many rallies took place all over India in support of the INA. Not only did the public support the INA, the soldiers of the British Indian Army also supported the INA. The spread of pro-INA emotions made the British Government very uneasy who observed with increasing disquiet the spread of pro-INA sympathies in India. Simultaneously, the general strike ratings of the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) deteriorated into a mutiny, incorporating ships and shore establishments of RIN throughout India. In February 1946, it was noticed that this phenomena of the RIN spread from Karachi to Bombay and from Vizag to Calcutta. To show their support, many soldiers began to ignore orders from British superiors. Massive support was also seen at Madras and Pune, where the British garrisons faced revolts among the ranks of the British Indian Army. This was followed by similar revolts at Jabalpur and Bombay. The British made numerous efforts to suppress these revolts, even making use of bayonets. This went on for two weeks after which a large number of people were arrested and tried in courts. Many soldiers were dismissed and some were even subjected to court martial. Fay also refers to Auchinleck's letter to senior

Check Your Progress

1. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (i) Lord Linglithow brought India into the war without any consultation.
   (ii) Cripps' Mission was sent to withdraw Indians from participating in the Second World War.
2. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
   (i) Subhash Chandra Bose led the Indian National Army with the help of the _____.
   (ii) _____ created the Indian National Army.

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British officers in which he explained the repercussions of the INA trials. He went on to say that '...practically all are sure that any attempt to enforce the sentence would have led to chaos in the country at large, and probably to mutiny and dissension in the Army, culminating in its dissolution.'

Many historians have observed that the consequences of the INA trials brought a decisive shift in the British policy towards India. Many describe the INA trials as 'the edge of a volcano' and the period being marked with 'patriotic fury,' which was beyond any communal barriers. The major concern for the British was the immense public support for the INA by the soldiers of the British Indian Army. Not only the support of Indian soldiers but the restoration of Dutch and French rule in Vietnam and Indonesia also added fuel to the growing resentment amongst the forces. The situation had become so volatile that the British feared another Quit India movement, especially given the Congress rhetoric preceding the elections. The British also realized that the soldiers of the British Indian Army could not be used to suppress the revolt as it had during 1942. The British saw the growth of political and nationalistic consciousness among Indians which resulted from the INA. Many historians refer to Auchinleck's assessment of the situation to suggest that all this shortened the British tenure by a good 15-20 years. The political influence and effect of the INA trials was huge and spread all over India during 1948, much to the chagrin of the British government. The then prime minister of Britain, Clement Attlee reflecting on the factors that guided the British decision to relinquish the British Raj in India is said to have mentioned the INA and its effects on the British Indian Army. He also mentioned Subhash Chandra Bose and his activities to be a major cause in the growing nationalistic attitude amongst Indians. The INA had a far-reaching effect on the Indians who came under a fresh wave of revolutionary upsurge on hearing stories of their remarkable courage and sacrifices. The INA episode was a lesson to the British Government who finally realized that they no longer enjoyed the loyalty of the Indian army as patriotism towards their country was far greater than service of a foreign power.

Check Your Progress

3. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (i) The resolution of the Quit India Movement was passed in 1945.
   (ii) During the Quit India movement, parallel governments were established across the country.
4. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (i) The Muslim League held its first session in Lahore in 1907.
   (ii) The Simla Deputation was held in 1910.
   (iii) Rash Behari Bose was the founder of the Hindu Mahasabha.

10.5 INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

After the end of the Second World War, and the large scale protest that followed the INA trials, it became clear to the British that it was not possible for them to hold on to India. Thus, the interim government of India was formed on 2nd September 1946 from the newly elected constituent assembly of India that had the task of assisting the transition of India and Pakistan from British rule to independence.

After the Second World War ended, all the prisoners who participated in Quit India Movement were released. A Cabinet Mission in 1946 formulated proposals for the formation of a government that would lead to an independent India. The elections related to constituent assembly were not directly done, instead members were elected from each provincial assemblies. The Indian National Congress won some 69% seats where majority elected were Hindus. Muslims retained those seats which were allocated to them.

Viceroy's executive council

The Viceroy's executive council became the executive branch of the interim government. With the powers of prime minister bestowed on the vice-president of the council, it was transformed. It was a position headed by the Congress leader Jawaharlal Nehru. The senior Congress leader Vallabhbhai Patel held the second most powerful position in the council, heading the department of home affairs, information and broadcasting. Asaf Ali, a Muslim leader of the Congress, was the head for the department of railways and transport. Jagjivan Ram, a scheduled caste leader, headed the department of Labour and Rajendra Prasad headed Food and Agriculture. Liaquat Ali Khan, member of the League, headed the department of Finance.

Nature of the assembly

The constituent assembly consisting of indirectly elected representatives was set up for drafting a constitution for India. The constituent assembly took three years to draft the constitution and acted as the first parliament of India. The members of the assembly were not elected on the basis of adult franchise and Muslim and Sikhs were given special representation as 'minorities'. The assembly met for the first time in New Delhi on 9th December 1946 and the last session of assembly was held on 26 November 1947. The total number of sittings of the constituent assembly was 166.

Background and election

The constituent assembly was held when India was under British Rule and negotiations were made between the leaders and members in the cabinet mission of 1946. The constituent assembly consisted of 217 representatives, inclusive of 15 women.

In June 1947, when the Partition of India seemed inevitable, delegations from the various provinces of Sindh, East Bengal, Baluchistan, west Punjab withdrew in order to form the constituent assembly of Pakistan for which the meeting was held in Karachi.

Constitution and elections

The assembly began its first session with 207 members attending on 9th December 1946. The assembly approved the draft constitution on 26th November 1949. On 26th January 1950, the constitution took effect in India and India was proclaimed as a Republic. The constituent assembly became the provisional parliament of India which continued till the first elections took place in 1952.

Organization

On 9 December, 1946 Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha was made the pro-term chairman of the constituent assembly. After that Dr. Rajendra Prasad became the president of constituent assembly. Sir Benegal Narasingh Rau was the one to prepare the original draft of the constitution. B.R. Ambedkar later became the chairman of the drafting committee of the constitution.

The Assembly's work was organized into five stages:

- A report was asked to be presented by the committee on basic issues
- B.N. Rau, prepared an initial draft, on the basis of these committees as well as the research made by him into the constitutions of other countries
- B.R. Ambedkar presented a detailed draft of the constitution that was published for public discussion and comments and later became the chairman of the drafting committee
- The constitution that was drafted was then discussed and amendments were made as per requirement before enactment

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10.6 MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

Louis Mountbatten arrived as the last Viceroy of India in February 1947 and immediately announced that the British would leave India no later than 1948. By that time, Britain had already given in to the League demand and decided on partitioning India. Mountbatten then set about convincing Congress leaders of the necessity of partition. He made use of two opposite lines of reasoning. On the one hand, he declared that 'the truncated Pakistan, if conceded now, was bound to come back later'; on the other hand, he promised that if India's two unwilling wings were lopped off, a strong and united Centre would be the result. This second argument appealed to Home Minister Sardar Patel, who was already taking into consideration the internal security of the country.

Mountbatten overcame Jawaharlal Nehru's objection by an appeal to his democratic instinct. No community, Mountbatten argued, should be forced to join a nation against its will. Now, it was time to speak with Gandhi. In a last desperate effort, Gandhi suggested making Jinnah the head of the government of an undivided India. The Muslim leader could select the entire ministry himself. But after their sad experiences in the interim government, Patel and Nehru were unwilling to expose themselves to Jinnah's caprices. Finally, even Gandhi relented. The British Prime Minister Attlee announced the plan in the British House of Commons on 3 June 1947.

The government's plan, also known as the Mountbatten Plan or the June 3rd Plan, dealt with the method by which power would be transferred from British to Indian hands, in particular, the methods by which Muslim-majority provinces would choose whether they would remain in India or opt for the 'new entity' that is Pakistan. In Sind and Baluchistan, a straightforward decision would be made by the provincial legislatures. The legislatures of Bengal and Punjab would have to make two choices; first, whether the majority was for joining Pakistan, and, if so, whether the provinces should be partitioned into Muslim and non- Muslim areas. Special arrangements were made to determine the popular will in the North-West Frontier Provinces and in the Muslim majority district of Sylhet in Assam. Boundary commissions would be set up if partition was desired.

The Indian constituent assembly would continue to function, but a separate assembly would be convened for areas that chose to become parts of Pakistan. The provincial choices went as expected. Baluchistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier opted for Pakistan. Punjab and Bengal decided for double partition—the provinces would leave India, but their Hindu-majority areas would remain part of India. Sylhet would join the eastern wing of Pakistan. Boundary commissions were set up to delineate frontier between Muslim and non-Muslim areas of Punjab and Bengal under Sir Cyril Radcliffe.

Not only land, but the financial and material assets of India also needed to be divided. Each of the new nations had to have its own civil services and armed forces. Lord Mountbatten showed considerable 'expedition and dispatch' in bringing about a solution to these and other problems before the deadline expired.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 gave a legal effect to the Mountbatten plan. The Bill was introduced in the British Parliament on 4 July 1947. It was passed quickly and without amendment, and on 18 July 1947, it received assent of the British monarch. India had won her freedom but the price had been its partition.

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At midnight of 15 August 1947, as the clock struck 12, India became free. Nehru proclaimed it to be the nation with his famous 'Tryst with Destiny' speech. On the morning of 15 August 1947, Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as Governor-General of independent India and he in turn swore in Jawaharlal Nehru as the first Prime Minister of a free India. The dawn of 15 August 1947 revealed the dual reality of independence and partition. Millions of refugees, forced to leave the lands of their forefathers, were pouring into the two new states. The symbol of this tragedy at the moment of national triumph was the forlorn figure of Gandhi—the man who had given the message of non-violence, truth, love and courage to the Indian people. In the midst of national rejoicing, he was touring the violence torn land of Bengal, trying to bring comfort to people who were even then paying the price of freedom through senseless communal slaughter. You will learn more about the events leading to the partition of India in the subsequent section.

10.7 PARTITION OF INDIA AND INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT

With the commencement of Second World War, many changes were taking place in the colonies of the imperialist powers. The unique feature during this time was decolonization and India was the prime example of the same. Decolonization can be defined as a political process sometimes involving violence, in the form of revolution or a war of independence, leading to freedom from colonial rule. Although in India, the process of decolonization was mostly based on non-violence, which was preached by the unanimously chosen leader of the nationalist movement, Mahatma Gandhi. Despite numerous efforts by the British government, they slowly lost control of India. Owing to the post-war chaos, many European colonies, including India, took advantage to assert their freedom. Similarly, in India, Gandhi started a peaceful resistance against the British government to get freedom for India, which was successful. This mission was not accomplished overnight and there were major developments during this time which eventually led to the Independence of India on 15 August 1947.

10.7.1 Impact of the Second World War on India

As stated earlier, in 1939, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, made an announcement that India was at war. This was done without consulting the Indian assembly. The Government Act of India called for the Viceroy to consult the Executive Committee prior to any decision-making, related to defence or external affairs. This was not done. The move of the Viceroy caused a deterioration in the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League.

The League and the War

The war on Germany had complete support from the Muslim League. In 1940, Jinnah's speech referred to an independent Muslim state for the first time, this was an important historical event which was later named the Lahore Declaration. The name 'Pakistan' was used during his speech. At the time of the war, the power of the League increased with its number of members crossing 2 million.

Congress and the War

Gandhi exerted pressure on the British government to negotiate with Hitler. This policy was, however, not supported by a large number of Congress members. More importantly,

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Nehru, who had at that time come back from Europe, was of the belief that India should support Britain in its stand against the fascists. However, the idea that India should independently decide on this issue was also supported by him. Nehru was fully supported by the Congress and the announcement that India was at war with Germany was rejected. As a mark of protest, resignations were given by all Congress state governments. In 1940, a condition was put forward by the Congress, according to which India would only support the war if a national government was established. This demand was rejected by the Viceroy. This led to the start of a campaign of civil disobedience, led by the Congress, known as the Quit India movement. During this campaign, 1700 members of the Congress were arrested. Since many members of the Congress were arrested between 1940 and 1945, its position became very weak. At the same time, the British government began to support the Muslim League, which had become more powerful and influential.

Second World War—Impact on British policy in India

More than 30,000 British soldiers were sent to India, for restoring law and order after the Quit India movement began. Thousands of people died as a result of this. A large number of prominent members of the Congress were also placed under arrest and in prisons by the British. Among them, Gandhi was also imprisoned till 1944. The British released Nehru then arrested him again and kept him in prison till 1945. The Congress was declared as illegal by the British Government and all its finances were seized. There was no effective existence of the Congress between 1942 and 1944.

Indian opposition to British rule during the War

At the time of the Second World War, Subhash Chandra Bose opposed the British. He was a former member of the Congress who was also against Gandhi's strategy of non-violence. He established the 'Forward Bloc', which believed in the practice of militancy to achieve independence. As war began in 1939, Bose affirmed support to the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan).

The British arrested him, but he escaped from prison and went to Nazi Germany. From there he was sent to Singapore by the Germans. In Singapore, he began recruiting Indian prisoners of war as members of the Indian National Army. Later, the membership increased to 20,000 volunteers. This went at war with Japan, to prevent it from invading India from Burma. Bose later established the Provisional Government of free India in 1943. In 1945, Bose died in a plane crash. After his death, support for the Indian National Army in India declined. When the war ended, its leaders were arrested and put on trial for subversive activities. They were then sent to a penal colony. When protests came from the Congress, the British government changed their sentence and dismissed them from the army. Nevertheless, a large number of the Indians who had fought the war against the Japanese returned with new ideas for an independent nation. These ideas served the nationalist movements that began in parts of South-East Asia.

Political effects of the Second World War in India

The existence of the Congress almost ended at the time of the war because it rejected British proposals in the form of the Cripps' mission. On the other hand, the number of members of the Muslim League increased and reached the 2 million mark. This was due to Jinnah's cynical policy of supporting the British government during the war. The League's popularity grew in the provincial elections of 1945, when it won 90 per cent of Muslim seats against its 5 per cent win in the 1937 elections. The Congress could not

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afford to ignore the League any more. After consolidating its position, the League was on the same level as that of the Congress in any negotiation with the British. The League and other Indian groups expected that the British would leave India after the war. However, as this did not happen, the middle classes and the army declined to support the British.

10.7.2 Factors Leading to Independence and Partition of India

The result of so many political events was that many great political leaders jointly tried to pave a final way for the attainment of India's independence.

August Offer, 1940

During the Second World War, a change of government took place in Britain in May 1940 and Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister (1940–1945). The fall of France temporarily softened the attitude of the Congress. Britain was in immediate danger of Nazi occupation. On 1 June 1940, Gandhi wrote, 'We do not seek our independence out of British ruin'. As the war was taking a menacing turn from the allies' point of view, the Congress offered to cooperate in the war effort, if at least a provisional national government was constituted at the Centre and the right of India to complete independence was acknowledged by Great Britain.

The government's response came as a statement from the Viceroy, on 8 August 1940. This was known as the August Offer. It referred to the need to consult representatives of 'several communities' and it was made clear that the British would not transfer responsibilities 'to any system of government' whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. This in effect was an approval of one of Jinnah's central demands since the outbreak of the war. From the British point of view, Jinnah was the sole spokesman for India's Muslims, despite the fact that the Congress contained many prominent Muslim leaders.

Meanwhile, the British government stated that it would welcome the efforts of representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement. They hoped that immediate effect would be given to the enlargement of the Central Executive Council by nominating additional Indian members and to the establishment of a War Advisory Council. The War Advisory Council was believed to comprise representatives of British India and the Indian states.

The August Offer shocked nationalists, and Gandhi at last, sanctioned civil disobedience, but of a peculiarly limited and deliberately ineffective kind. The Congress started its individual satayagraha. The first man to court arrest was Vinobha Bhave, the Bhoodan leader. He was followed by Jawaharlal Nehru, who in November, was sentenced to four years of rigorous imprisonment. Others, such as Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Azad also participated in this satyagraha. Nearly 20,000 Congressmen courted arrest during the 1940–1941. However, the movement petered out by the autumn of 1941.

It was decided that if the government did not arrest a satyagrahi, he or she would not only repeat the performance, but would also move into the villages and start a trek towards Delhi. This marked the beginning of a movement that came to be known as the Delhi Chalo movement.

The aims clearly were not to cause any serious embarrassment to the British, but merely to register the presence of the Congress and hostility to a war being waged without consulting Indians. This was also meant to give Linlithgow no opportunity for a

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major crackdown. At the same time, this movement was also intended to give the British Government further opportunity to peacefully accept the Indian demands.

Cripps Proposal

After Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in December 1941, it was evident that India would be the next target of the Japanese forces. In April 1942, Britain sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India. He came with an offer for all provinces for complete Dominion status with the right to leave the Empire and Commonwealth after the war. It was also recommended by Cripps that any province that did not wish to join India could turn into an independent state.

As the war approached India (Singapore fell on 15 February 1942, Rangoon on 8 March and the Andaman islands on 23 March), the British at last felt obliged to make some gestures to win over India's public opinion. The American President Roosevelt raised the topic of Indian political reforms in his talks with Churchill in Washington, in December 1941. On 2 January, Indian liberal leaders like Sapru and Jayakar appealed for immediate dominion status and expansion of the Viceroy's Executive into a national government.

In February, the Chinese leader Chiang Kai-Shek, during his visit to India, publicly expressed sympathy for India's aspirations for freedom. All this provided an opening for relatively pro-India groups, particularly the British Labour party members of the War Cabinet like Cripps and Attlee. These groups persuaded the War Cabinet in the first week of March 1942 to agree to a draft declaration that promised post-war dominion status with the right of secession. A constitution-making body was elected by provincial legislatures, with individual provinces being given the right not to join it and with the states being invited to appoint representatives.

The Cripps' proposal also had a clause that invited immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of Indians in the national council on urgent issues. However, this clause also insisted that the British, during the war, would have to retain the control and direction of the defence to India. The declaration was not published immediately, but Cripps went to India on March 23 to negotiate on its basis with Indian leaders.

Negotiations between Cripps and the Congress leaders broke down. The Congress objected to the provision for dominion status instead of complete independence, the representation of the princely states in the constituent assembly not by the people of the states, but by the nominees of the rulers, and above all, by the provision for the partition of India.

The British Government also refused to accept the demand for immediate transfer of effective power to Indians and a real share in the responsibility for India's defence of India. Gandhi urged the Congress Working Committee to reject the post-dated proposal. The reason for the failure was that Cripps was asked not to go beyond the draft declaration. Moreover, Churchill, the Secretary of State (Amery), the Viceroy (Linlithgow) and the Commander- in-Chief (Wavell), did not want Cripps to succeed and constantly sabotaged his efforts to accommodate Indian opinion.

Cripps' Mission and the Quit India Movement

The Cripps proposal was rejected by Nehru and the Congress, who instead demanded a complete cabinet government in which Indians had complete power of decision-making in India. The concept of independence of provinces as states was against the aim of the

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Congress to create a strong and united India with central governance. These demands were rejected by the British Government. This followed the Congress's decision to support Gandhi's non-violent 'Quit India' campaign. This campaign was declared in August 1942.

Independence with immediate effect was Gandhi's demand and this demand was supported by a threat of a movement of mass non-violence (satyagraha). His demand was that the British move out of India, with the exception of the troops that were fighting against Japan. Indian cities began to witness peaceful demonstrations. Later, these demonstrations mostly turned violent. This movement also blocked supplies for the British forces.

The following were the reasons for the start of the Quit India movement:

- There was anger and hostility towards meaningless war, especially when thousands of wounded soldiers returned from the Burmese war.
- Prices of food grains were rising, with almost a 60-point rise in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also a shortage of rice and salt.
- The majority of British, American and Australian soldiers stationed in India ill-treated Indians; many of them even raped Indian women.
- The boats of common men, in Bengal and Assam were seized and destroyed, due to the fear of Japanese attack in Bengal and Assam. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*, 'To deprive people in East Bengal of boats is like cutting off vital limbs' (3 May 1942).
- During the crisis of food grains, Indian markets were controlled by black marketers and profiteers. This affected the poor most, especially in eastern India.
- The war made some traders and capitalist wealthy, but a large section of Banias and Marwaris started suffering losses in Malaya and Burma, from mid-1942 onwards. The capitalist element in the Congress Working Committee took notice of it.
- The success story of Japanese in South-East Asian countries demystified the superiority of Europeans, especially the British.

In mid-1942, the condition in India was that of chaos. Even Gandhi, who was generally patient, was becoming impatient and in a different and militant mood. He urged the British, 'This orderly disciplined anarchy should go and if as a result there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it.' Congress leaders met at Wardha in mid-July to discuss the course of action and on 8 August 1942, the Quit India resolution was passed by the Bombay session of the AICC (All India Congress Committee). The leaders made an enthusiastic call for mass struggle on non-violent lines, on the widest possible scale. In his famous 'do or die' speech, Gandhi declared, 'let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. Mere jail going would not do.' Interestingly, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajgopalachari opposed the Quit India resolution. Though Nehru, as always, fell in line and moved the Quit India resolution, which had the following conditions:

- Immediate end to British rule in India. The British were clearly told, 'Quit India'.
- India is committed to defend itself against all types of Fascism and Imperialism.
- A provisional government of India after British withdrawal.

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Apart from formal resolutions, Gandhi, in an informal way at Gowalia Tank Ground (Bombay), addressed various sections of society:

- To the students: Be ready for sacrifice and be confident and leave studies
- To the peasants: If zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent
- To the soldiers: Do not open fire on fellow countrymen
- To government servants: Do not resign but oppose the government from within
- To princes: Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people
- To the people of princely states: Support the ruler only if he is anti- government and declare your state to be a part of the Indian nation

The government took no time in taking a decision and arrested most of the Congress leaders on 9 August 1942, including Gandhi. The sudden crackdown of the British gave rise to spontaneous reaction among the people.

The arrest of Gandhi and Congress leaders further angered the people who intensified their protest by attacking symbols of British administration. In absence of any leadership, the protests turned violent. There was widespread destruction of government properties and agitators took to looting. The government retaliated mercilessly and hundreds of people were killed in police firing. The protest was finally suppressed through mass arrest and killings. According to official figures, the number of people arrested by the end of 1943 was well over 91,000. Despite the success in suppressing the movement, the British government became aware they could not hold on to their colonial possession for long. So far, they could sustain because of the support system they had built in the 19th century. The national movement had eroded this support base, which came from the peasants, workers, middle class, the rich, the police and the army among others.

With the realization of their defeat, the British gradually began to withdraw. From 1945 onwards, the Congress leaders were released one by one. The government also initiated a process of peaceful negotiation and transfer of power to the Indians. India achieved freedom on 15 August 1947 followed by a bitter partition. The partition was accompanied by large scale communal violence.

Demand for Pakistan

Communal politics took a new turn in India in the late 1930s, which was marked by the propagation of the 'two-nation theory'. This theory stated that India consisted of two separate nations, on the basis of religion: Hindus and Muslims. The 'two-nation theory' had no basis in Indian history. After the arrival of Islam in India in around 1000 AD, Hindus and Muslims lived together largely in harmony. This is evident from the huge popularity of Muslim Sufi saints in medieval India, whose shrines are visited even to this day by Hindus and Muslims alike. During medieval times, a common culture was shared by both Hindus and Muslims. This Hindu-Muslim syncretic culture (known as the ganga-jamuni tehzeeb) had resulted in a new flowering of art, architecture, music, and so on, in Indian society. Both Hindus and Muslims had also fought jointly against the British during the Revolt of 1857. Hindus and Muslims together were equally repressed by the British during the national struggle for independence. However, the British colonialists had sowed the seed of communal discord in the early 1900s in an effort to defang Indian nationalism. The designs of the British began to have grave consequences for the Indian people by the 1940s.

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In 1940, Pakistan was demanded as an independent state at the Lahore session of the Muslim League. The basis of this demand was the two-nation theory. Many Muslims in India did not support this demand at that time.

The League was supported by the British government to demand an independent state for Muslims. The withdrawal of the Congress from provincial governments as a result of the Quit India movement was termed by the Muslim League as 'Deliverance Day'. The Congress had withdrawn to protest against the British reaction to the demand for independence. The Muslim League celebrated the 'Deliverance Day'. Due to the vacuum created by the arrest of all Congress leaders by the British, the League was able to take advantage and disseminate their ideas unchallenged. The League, supported by the British, began to aggressively propagate the idea of Pakistan among the Muslim masses, a demand that slowly started gaining popularity.

Gandhi-Jinnah talks

After the Congress leaders were released in 1944, Gandhi decided to start talks with Jinnah to reach some sort of resolution between the Congress and the League. The Gandhi-Jinnah talks were very important with regard to the political issues of India and the Pakistan Movement. The talks between the two leaders started in response to the appeal of the general public for a settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences. The talks began on 9 September 1944 in Bombay, and continued up to 27 September 1944 when Jinnah announced their termination and their failure to reach an agreement.

C.R. Formula (1944)

C. Rajagopalachari realized the necessity of a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League for the attainment of independence. In 1944, he came up with a formula, called the C. R. Formula. Its main contents were as follows:

- After the war, a commission shall be appointed to demarcate the boundaries of Muslim-dominated districts in the north-west and east of India.
- The people of these districts shall decide, by plebiscite, the issue of separation from India.
- The Muslim League should agree to the provisional interim government, formed by the Congress for the transitional period.
- In the event of separation, a mutual agreement shall be entered into by the two governments for combined defence, commerce, communication and other essential sectors.

Desai-Liaqat Pact (1945)

Talks between Bhulabhai Desai and Liaqat Ali Khan, leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League respectively, were meant to find a way out of the 1942–45 political impasses. After Desai's declaration at Peshawar on 22 April 1945, Liaqat Ali published the gist of the agreement. According to the agreement, the Congress and the League would form the interim government at the Centre on the following lines:

- Nomination of equal number of persons by both in the central executive
- Representation of the minorities, in particular of the scheduled castes and the Sikh

The pact was never formally endorsed either by the Congress or by the League.

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Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)

After the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Wavell, who succeeded Lord Linlithgow as the Viceroy of India, was convinced that the initiative should come from the government. On 14 June 1945, new proposals were announced to introduce further constitutional changes in India 'within the framework of the 1935 Government of India Act'. A conference was to be held at Simla starting on 25 June 1945, wherein representatives of both the political parties would participate. The proposals were conciliatory to some extent, but unsatisfactory and provocative in one respect. The Viceroy's executive council was to be wholly Indian, except for the Viceroy himself and the British Commander-in-Chief.

The Viceroy's special powers would not officially lapse, but an assurance was available that they would not be used 'unreasonably'. The divisive characteristics were also discussed at the conference. It was proposed that there would be equal proportions of both the communities—Hindus and Muslims—in the Council. This meant that the Muslim League's demand for parity on a communal basis had been endorsed for the first time in an official declaration of British policy. A concrete outcome to the Wavell Plan was the summoning of the Simla Conference. The Simla Conference began on a note of optimism. Gandhi felt that Wavell's plan was sincere and would lead to independence. Jinnah, however, 'flatly refused to cooperate', as Wavell later reported. The Muslim League leader was determined to undermine the conference unless it agreed to his terms.

These included the demand that Muslims not belonging to the League could not be appointed to the executive council. Congress President Abul Kalam Azad was firmly opposed to any such arrangement. He thought that the Congress would be betraying its Muslim members if it accepted Jinnah's demand. Wavell would not proceed without obtaining Jinnah's cooperation. When it was withheld, the Viceroy announced the failure of the conference.

Jinnah had, in effect, been given the power to veto over all negotiations, and he would use or threaten to use this weapon again and again in the months to come. From this point onward, the communal question dominated the struggle for freedom. Indeed, the attainment of freedom was already certain; the conflict now was between those who struggled to achieve a united and secular Indian state, and those whose rigid sectarianism stood in the way of this accomplishment.

The League decided that 16 August 1946 would be observed as 'Direct Action Day' throughout the country for the purpose of winning a separate Muslim state. In this tense situation, the Viceroy's decision to invite the Congress to form the interim government at the Centre added fuel to the fire. In Calcutta, on 16 August 1946, the League organized public demonstrations and strikes, resulting in clashes and rioting all over the city. The mob fury continued for four consecutive days, after which normalcy was gradually restored. The Bengal government led by the League leader, H.S. Suhrawardy, had declared 16 August a public holiday, which made things worse. Nor did it call the army until the situation became completely out of control.

Attlee's announcement

It was obvious that something drastic had to be done to break the deadlock. The initiative was taken by British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, who on 20 February 1947, announced in the British Parliament that the government's 'definite intention was to transfer power' into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948. This historic declaration

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caught everyone by surprise. It was declared that the British would be pulling out of the country little more than a year hence. The Indian people would have to settle their differences before then.

Attlee, on 20 February 1947, announced that the British would withdraw from India by 30 June 1948, and that Lord Mountbatten would replace Wavell. British powers and obligations vis-à-vis the princely states would lapse with the transfer of power, but these would not be transferred to any successor government in British India. Partition of the country was implicit in the provision that if the constituent assembly were not fully representative then power would be transferred to more than one Central government. It was hoped that fixing a deadline would shock both parties to come to an agreement. The Muslim League launched civil disobedience in Punjab, which led to the fall of Punjab Chief Minister, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan's ministry.

Jinnah saw victory in sight and made a desperate attempt to secure control over the provinces with Muslim majority. Riots broke out in wild frenzy in Calcutta, Assam, Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. The new Viceroy reached India on 22 March 1947. He had come with instructions to work for a united India; but meetings with leaders of different parties and communities soon convinced him that partition was inevitable. Few people desired the country's dismemberment. Gandhi declared that India would be divided 'over my dead body'. Abul Kalam Azad was vehemently opposed to the creation of Pakistan. But Jinnah was adamant: Muslims must have their own state.

Indian Independence Act

This Act declared that the British power over the Indian states would lapse on 15 August 1947. The states were allowed to join either India or Pakistan. Before that date, most of the states had signed the Instrument of Accession by which they agreed to accede to India. But there were some states which thought that in the changed situation, they were entitled to declare their independence.

Independence and partition

The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between the British, the Congress and Muslim League politicians. These were increasingly accompanied by communal violence, culminating in freedom accompanied by partition and sporadic, localized but often extremely militant and united mass action—the INA release movement and the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) mutiny in 1945–1946, the Tebhaga upsurge in Bengal, Punnapra vayalar in Travancore and the Telengana peasant armed revolt in Hyderabad.

In addition, there were numerous agitations, strikes and demonstrations all over the country. The mass pressure, thus generated, helped in bringing about the decisive shift in the British policy. Another important development was the change in the total objective situation worldwide as well as in India. Germany had been destroyed and Japan had surrendered after Hiroshima bombing in August 1945. Socially radical regimes with communist leadership or participation were emerging throughout Eastern Europe and seemed on the point of doing so even in France and Italy. The Chinese revolution was forging ahead, and a tremendous anti-imperialist wave was sweeping through South-East Asia with Vietnam and Indonesia resisting efforts to restore French and Dutch colonial rule. With a war weary army and people and a ravaged economy, Britain would have had to retreat; the victory of the Labour Party in the elections in Britain further quickened the process somewhat.

Partition

The partition was to be effected in the following manner. If the members of legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab were to decide in favour of partition by a simple majority, a boundary commission, set up by the viceroy, would demarcate the appropriate boundaries. Sind and Baluchistan would decide which constituent assembly to join. In the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), there was to be a referendum to ascertain whether it would join Pakistan or not. The Muslim-majority district of Sylhet was also to decide by referendum whether it would join East Bengal or would remain in Assam. The British Parliament would undertake legislation to transfer power before the end of 1947 to one or two successor authorities on a Dominion status basis. This was to be done without any prejudice to the final decision of the constituent assembly on whether to stay in the Commonwealth or not.

The Muslim League accepted the plan within a week and so did the Congress. The Congress had no alternative, according to Abul Kalam Azad, but to accept the plan. It was important to arrest the drift towards anarchy and chaos. The lesser evil had to be chosen. Partition was better than murder of hapless citizens. Gandhi, who had till now steadfastly opposed the division of India, also supported the resolution.

The task was enormous, but time was running out. Punjab and Bengal were divided by two boundary commissions with Sir Cyril Radcliffe as the chairman of both. East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan opted for Pakistan while West Bengal and East Punjab opted for India. Sylhet threw its lot with Pakistan. In the NWFP, Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Red Shirts demanded an independent Pakhtoonistan. This was found to be unacceptable. The Red Shirts did not participate in the plebiscite, which went in favour of joining Pakistan.

ACTIVITY

Compare the circumstances that led to the establishment of the Berlin Wall, with the partition of India.

DID YOU KNOW

India shares its independence day with South Korea (won its independence from Japan on 15th August 1945), Bahrain (from UK in 1971) and Republic of the Congo (from France in 1960).

Check Your Progress

11. When did Jinnah's speech refer to an independent Muslim state for the first time?
12. What were two major points of the Desai-Liaqat Pact?
13. What was the Muslim League's response to the Second World War?

10.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learned that:

- In 1939, Lord Linlithgow, the British Governor-General of India, brought India into the Second World War without consulting Indians. This act of the British agitated members of the Indian National Congress greatly. The move, however, was supported by the Muslim League, but the Congress found itself divided.
- In the Congress session on August 8, 1942 Gandhi put forward the proposal for the British to quit India and demanded immediate independence, failing which, the resolution proposed a massive civil disobedience against the government.
- Immediately after the Congress session, the entire Congress leadership, at the national as well at the level of the provinces, was arrested by the British.
- Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was the founder of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army). The aim of this army was to end the British rule in India.
- In 1938, Bose became president of the Haripura Congress Session. In the same year, he established a planning committee. After the end of his term, he became president of the Tripuri Congress session. During the Second World War, he proposed a resolution in which he demanded the British to end their rule in India within six months. He also mentioned in the resolution that if the British failed to do so, there would be a revolt in the country.
- In 1941, Bose escaped from India and reached Germany via Afghanistan. He took help from Germany and Japan to fight against the British.
- The Indian National Army (INA) was founded by Subhash Chandra Bose in 1942. They sided with the Axis Powers during the Second World War (1939–1945) with a motive to overthrow the colonial powers from the Indian soil. The INA was also termed as the 'Azad Hind Fauj'.
- After the Second World War ended, all the prisoners who participated in Quit India Movement were released. A Cabinet Mission in 1946 formulated proposals for the formation of a government that would lead to an independent India.
- Louis Mountbatten arrived as the last Viceroy of India in February 1947 and immediately announced that the British would leave India no later than 1948. By that time, Britain had already given in to the League demand and decided on partitioning India. Mountbatten then set about convincing Congress leaders of the necessity of partition.
- In 1940, Pakistan was demanded as an independent state at the Lahore session of the Muslim League. The basis of this demand was the two-nation theory.
- British Prime Minister Clement Attlee on 20 February 1947 announced in the British Parliament that the government's 'definite intention was to transfer power' into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948.
- The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between the British, the Congress and Muslim League politicians.

10.9 KEY TERMS

- **Resolution:** It refers to a formal expression of opinion or intention agreed on by a legislative body, committee, or other formal meeting, typically after taking a vote.
- **Fascism:** It is a political ideology characterised by an authoritarian and nationalistic right-wing system of government and social organization
- **Two-nation theory:** The ideology that the primary identity of Muslims on the Indian subcontinent is their religion, rather than their language or ethnicity, and therefore Indian Hindus and Muslims are two distinct nationalities, regardless of ethnic or other commonalities
- **Indian National Army:** The Indian National Army was an armed force formed by Indian nationalists in 1942 in South-East Asia during Second World. Its aim

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was to secure Indian independence from British rule, for which it allied with—and was supported by—Imperial Japan in the latter's campaign in South-East Asia.

10.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (i) True; (ii) False
2. (i) Axis Powers; (ii) Subhash Chandra Bose
3. (i) False; (ii) True
4. (i) True; (ii) False; (iii) False
5. The interim government of India was formed on 2nd September 1946
6. The Cabinet Mission 1946 formulated proposals for the formation of a government that would lead to an independent India.
7. The constituent assembly consisted of 217 representatives, inclusive of 15 women.
8. The home minister at the time of the Mountbatten Plan was Sardar Patel.
9. The British PM Attlee announced the plan in the House of Commons on 3 June 1947.
10. The other name for the Mountbatten Plan was the June 3rd Plan.
11. In 1940, Jinnah's speech referred to an independent Muslim state for the first time, this was an important historical event which was later named the Lahore Declaration. The name 'Pakistan' was used during his speech.
12. According to the Desai-Liaqat Ali agreement, the Congress and the League would form the interim government at the Centre on the following lines:
    - Nomination of equal number of persons by both in the central executive
    - Representation of the minorities, in particular of the scheduled castes and the Sikh
13. The war on Germany had complete support from the Muslim League.

10.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress when the Second World War broke out?
2. Why did the Cripps Mission fail?
3. What was the motive of the Hindu Mahasabha?
4. What were the political effects of the Second World War in India?
5. What were the reasons for the outbreak of the Quit India Movement?
6. What were the main contents or the C. R. Formula?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on India's involvement in the Second World War and the Cripps' Mission.

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2. Analyse the importance of the Quit India Movement. Why was it suppressed?
3. What were the causes behind the emergence of communal politics in India?
4. Write short notes on:
    (i) All India Muslim League
    (ii) Hindu Mahasabha
5. Discuss the significance of the Indian National Army, especially the role it played in India's freedom movement.
6. Examine the events that led to India's partition into India and Pakistan in 1947.

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