



ALAGAPPA UNIVERSITY

[Accredited with 'A+' Grade by NAAC (CGPA:3.64) in the Third Cycle
and Graded as Category-I University by MHRD-UGC]

(A State University Established by the Government of Tamil Nadu)

KARAIKUDI – 630 003



Directorate of Distance Education

B.A. (History)

VI - Semester

108 62

HISTORY OF INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT FROM 1885 TO 1947 A.D.

Reviewer	
Dr. AR. SARAVANAKUMAR	Head, i/c Department of History, Alagappa University, Karaikudi

Authors:

Dr Vijay Kumar Tiwary, *Assistant Professor, University of Delhi*

Bhaskar Priydarshy, *Assistant Director, District Child Protection, Unit Saharsa*
Units (8.0-8.2, 8.5-8.9, 10.3-10.8, 11.2.1, 14.4.1)

Vikas Publishing House

Units (1-7, 8.3-8.4, 9, 10.0-10.2, 11.0-11.2, 11.2.2-11.7, 12, 13, 14.0-14.4, 14.5-14.12)

"The copyright shall be vested with Alagappa University"

All rights reserved. No part of this publication which is material protected by this copyright notice may be reproduced or transmitted or utilized or stored in any form or by any means now known or hereinafter invented, electronic, digital or mechanical, including photocopying, scanning, recording or by any information storage or retrieval system, without prior written permission from the Alagappa University, Karaikudi, Tamil Nadu.

Information contained in this book has been published by VIKAS® Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. and has been obtained by its Authors from sources believed to be reliable and are correct to the best of their knowledge. However, the Alagappa University, Publisher and its Authors shall in no event be liable for any errors, omissions or damages arising out of use of this information and specifically disclaim any implied warranties or merchantability or fitness for any particular use.



VIKAS® is the registered trademark of Vikas® Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

VIKAS® PUBLISHING HOUSE PVT. LTD.

E-28, Sector-8, Noida - 201301 (UP)

Phone: 0120-4078900 • Fax: 0120-4078999

Regd. Office: A-27, 2nd Floor, Mohan Co-operative Industrial Estate, New Delhi 1100 44

• Website: www.vikaspublishing.com • Email: helpline@vikaspublishing.com

Work Order No.AU/DDE/DE12-27/Preparation and Printing of Course Materials/2020 Dated 12.08.2020 Copies - 500

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

History of Indian National Movement from 1885 to 1947 A.D.

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
BLOCK - I: RISE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF NATIONALISM	
UNIT - I: Rise of National Movement - Impact of the Revolt of 1857.	Unit 1: Rise of Indian Nationalism (Pages 1-19);
UNIT - II: British Indian Association - Bombay Association - Madras Native Association.	Unit 2: Associations before 1885 (Pages 20-24);
UNIT - III: Madras Mahajana Sabha - Bombay Presidency Association- Indian National Association Causes for the Rise of Nationalism.	Unit 3: Associations before 1885 II (Pages 25-32)
BLOCK II: INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND SPLIT OF CONGRESS	
UNIT - IV: Indian National Congress - Aims and Principles- A.O. Hume, Dadabai Naoroji , W.C. Bannerje, Vijayaragavachariar.	Unit 4: Formation of the Indian National Congress (Pages 33-45);
UNIT - V: Important Sessions of Indian National Congress.	Unit 5: Important Sessions of the Indian National Congress (Pages 46-56);
UNIT - VI: The Moderates - Demands and achievements.	Unit 6: The Moderates: Demands and Achievements (Pages 57-64);
UNIT - VII: Rise of Extremism - causes - Bal, Pal,Lal, - Swadeshi Movement.	Unit 7: The Extremists (Pages 65-81)
BLOCK III: FORMATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE ROLE OF GANDHI IN FREEDOM STRUGGLE	
UNIT - VIII: Formation of Muslim League - Surat Split- Home Rule movement.	Unit 8: The Muslim League (Pages 82-99);
UNIT - IX: Gandhiji and mass movement- Rowlat Satyagraha.	Unit 9: Emergence of Mahatma Gandhi (Pages 100-111);
UNIT - X: JallianWalabagh massacre - Non- Cooperation Movement - Chauri - Chaura Incident.	Unit 10: Jallianwala Bagh and Non-Cooperation Movement (Pages 112-122)

BLOCK IV: OVERVIEW OF INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE MOVEMENTS (1923 - 1947) IMPORTANT ISSUES

UNIT - XI: Swaraj Party- Simon commission Report- Nehru Report -Jinnah's 14 points - Poornaswaraj Resolution.

UNIT - XII: Civil Disobedience Movement- Dandi March.

UNIT - XIII: Round Table Conferences- Poona Pact -Act of 1935- Individual Satyagraha- Cripp's Mission.

UNIT - XIV: Quit India Movement- Indian National Army - Cabinet Mission Plan- Direct Action Day - Mountbatten plan - Partition of India.

Unit 11: Simon Commission
(Pages 123-130);

Unit 12: Civil Disobedience
Movement
(Pages 131-136);

Unit 13: Round Table Conferences
and Cripps' Mission
(Pages 137-148);

Unit 14: Independence and
Partition
(Pages 149-170)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

BLOCK I: RISE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF NATIONALISM

UNIT 1 RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM 1-19

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Objectives
- 1.2 Concepts of Nationalism
- 1.3 Impact of 1857 Revolt
- 1.4 Rise of National Movement
- 1.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 Key Words
- 1.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 1.9 Further Readings

UNIT 2 ASSOCIATIONS BEFORE 1885 20-24

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 British Indian Association
 - 2.2.1 Bombay Association
 - 2.2.2 Madras Native Association
- 2.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 Key Words
- 2.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 2.7 Further Readings

UNIT 3 ASSOCIATIONS BEFORE 1885 II 25-32

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Madras Mahajana Sabha
 - 3.2.1 Bombay Presidency Association
 - 3.2.2 Indian National Association
- 3.3 Causes for the Rise of Indian Nationalism
- 3.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Words
- 3.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 3.8 Further Readings

BLOCK II: INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND SPLIT OF CONGRESS

UNIT 4 FORMATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 33-45

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Indian National Congress: Aims and Principles
- 4.3 Early Nationalists and their Programmes
 - 4.3.1 C. Vijayaraghavachariar
 - 4.3.2 Dadabhai Naoroji's Drain Theory and Economic Nationalism
- 4.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Key Words
- 4.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 4.8 Further Readings

UNIT 5 IMPORTANT SESSIONS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 46-56

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Objectives
- 5.2 List of Important Sessions of the Congress
 - 5.2.1 Presidents of INC before Independence
- 5.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 Key Words
- 5.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 5.7 Further Readings

UNIT 6 THE MODERATES: DEMANDS AND ACHIEVEMENTS 57-64

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 The Moderates
- 6.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 6.4 Summary
- 6.5 Key Words
- 6.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 6.7 Further Readings

UNIT 7 THE EXTREMISTS 65-81

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Objectives
- 7.2 Rise of Extremism and its Causes
 - 7.2.1 Revolutionary Activities
- 7.3 Bal, Pal, Lal
- 7.4 Swadeshi Movement

- 7.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 7.6 Summary
- 7.7 Key Words
- 7.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 7.9 Further Readings

BLOCK III: FORMATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE AND ROLE OF GANDHI IN FREEDOM STRUGGLE

UNIT 8 THE MUSLIM LEAGUE 82-99

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Objectives
- 8.2 Formation of Muslim League
- 8.3 Surat Split
- 8.4 Home Rule Movement
- 8.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 8.6 Summary
- 8.7 Key Words
- 8.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 8.9 Further Readings

UNIT 9 EMERGENCE OF MAHATMA GANDHI 100-111

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Objectives
- 9.2 India in the Early 20th Century
- 9.3 Gandhiji and Mass Movement
 - 9.3.1 The Rowlatt Satyagraha
- 9.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 9.5 Summary
- 9.6 Key Words
- 9.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 9.8 Further Readings

UNIT 10 JALLIANWALA BAGH AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT 112-122

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Objectives
- 10.2 Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
- 10.3 Non-Cooperation Movement and Chauri Chaura Incident
- 10.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 10.5 Summary
- 10.6 Key Words
- 10.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 10.8 Further Readings

**BLOCK IV: OVERVIEW OF INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE MOVEMENTS
(1923 - 1947) AND IMPORTANT ISSUES**

UNIT 11 SIMON COMMISSION 123-130

- 11.0 Introduction
- 11.1 Objectives
- 11.2 Swaraj Party
 - 11.2.1 Simon Commission Report
 - 11.2.2 Poorna Swaraj Resolution
 - 11.2.3 Nehru Report and Jinnah's 14 Points
- 11.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 11.4 Summary
- 11.5 Key Words
- 11.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 11.7 Further Readings

UNIT 12 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT 131-136

- 12.0 Introduction
- 12.1 Objectives
- 12.2 Civil Disobedience Movement and the Dandi March
- 12.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 12.4 Summary
- 12.5 Key Words
- 12.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 12.7 Further Readings

UNIT 13 ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES AND CRIPPS' MISSION 137-148

- 13.0 Introduction
- 13.1 Objectives
- 13.2 Round Table Conferences
- 13.3 Poona Pact
- 13.4 Individual Satyagraha
 - 13.4.1 Cripps' Mission
- 13.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 13.4 Summary
- 13.5 Key Words
- 13.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 13.7 Further Readings

UNIT 14 INDEPENDENCE AND PARTITION

149-170

- 14.0 Introduction
- 14.1 Objectives
- 14.2 Quit India Movement
- 14.3 Indian National Army
- 14.4 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)
 - 14.4.1 Direct Action Day
- 14.5 Mountbatten Plan
- 14.6 Independence and Partition of India
- 14.7 Some Personalities
- 14.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 14.9 Summary
- 14.10 Key Words
- 14.11 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 14.12 Further Readings

INTRODUCTION

NOTES

The period between 1857 and 1947 is extremely crucial in the history of India. The advent of the Europeans for the purpose of trading later led to colonization by the British, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French in India. Under the British rule, India was exploited for its economic resources to a great extent. However, their rule also led to various reforms in the social, educational, commercial and judicial spheres. The World War I and World War II played an important role in arousing the spirit of nationalism among the Indians.

The Indian independence movement included various political organizations, philosophies and movements. All of them aimed at ending the British rule in India. Various freedom fighters fought for the independence of the country in their own way. Finally, India became independent on 15th August 1947 and became a republic on 26th January 1950 when the Constitution of India was enforced.

This book, *History of Indian National Movement from 1885 to 1947 A.D.*, is divided into fourteen units that follow the self-instruction mode with each unit beginning with an Introduction to the unit, followed by an outline of the Objectives. The detailed content is then presented in a simple but structured manner interspersed with Check Your Progress Questions to test the student's understanding of the topic. A Summary along with a list of Key Words and a set of Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit for recapitulation.

BLOCK - I
RISE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF NATIONALISM

*Rise of Indian
Nationalism*

**UNIT 1 RISE OF INDIAN
NATIONALISM**

NOTES

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Objectives
- 1.2 Concepts of Nationalism
- 1.3 Impact of 1857 Revolt
- 1.4 Rise of National Movement
- 1.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 Key Words
- 1.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 1.9 Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Nationalism as a concept has varied interpretations and definitions. Broadly, it is defined as 'an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation'. In India, the Revolt of 1857 proved to be a pivotal moment that awakened India's nationalist consciousness. This unit will discuss the concept of nationalism. The causes and impact of the Revolt of 1857 will also be discussed in detail. The factors that led to the growth of nationalism in India will also be analysed.

1.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the concept of nationalism
- Discuss in detail the causes and impact of the Revolt of 1857
- Explain the factors that led to the growth of nationalism in India

1.2 CONCEPTS OF NATIONALISM

Although 'nationalism' is a well-known concept, it still proves to be a complex and complicated subject for social scientists. There are many approaches and

NOTES

definitions of nationalism which social scientists have put forward for their analysis. These are, however, working definitions that suit the many frameworks within which nationalism is analysed, making the concept more complex. Nationalism, in one such working definition, can be defined as ‘an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation’.

The *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* contends the complex nature of the concept of nationalism, and, at the same time, makes some broad agreements on its rise as a phenomenon and an ideological movement. The first agreement it draws attention towards is that nationalism is a process which is historically specific; therefore, it is contextual in the case of each nation-state. Nonetheless, the growing literature on nationalism has altered the terms of debate and discussion on nationalism.

We can trace the emergence of nationalism to eighteenth century Europe, followed by the North and with the South America. Exception of the American Colonists, who are said to have revolted against the nation of their origin, England, and formed the United States of America, all countries were swept by the wave of nationalism. Even in the nineteenth century, nationalism erupted in numerous countries which later took the shape of a vigorous movement in the twentieth century. In fact, the nationalist movement in Africa is also associated with the movements of the twentieth century. However, in most non-European countries, where nationalism emerged, it was associated with their experience of colonialism. Thus, nationalism is often used in the context of the anti-colonial struggle of a state. As a movement of mobilizing political support, the debates on nationalism have emerged in a variety of contexts and settings across the world.

It is also widely believed that nationalism was essentially representative of an ideological movement. This movement, it was argued, was aimed at promoting and securing the autonomy, unity and sovereignty of those ‘gathered in a single territory.’ Citizens of a nation, i.e., those legitimate residents who together constituted a nation while living in a specified territory, are conjoined not only by the bonds of ethnicity but also by a unique and homogenous public culture and shared political goals that fostered increasing allegiance to national identities, which were projected to be in danger of foreign domination. Nationalism was also associated with the evocation and invocation of a strong collective sentiment. The first steps towards evoking the sentiments have been traced to the emergence of the ruling elites. However, it was argued that these sentiments undergo a gradual dissemination and all citizens slowly experience a shared collective identity adopting a common national purpose. All these developments have been important in identifying the affect nationalism has had on people across different states and regions.

Notwithstanding its diversity and despite its wide usage, the first time the word ‘nationalism’ was used in the English language was only in the 1840s, even though it was being used as a concept for a longer time. Moreover, it is believed

that the word had deep theological meanings. In his book, *Nationalism*, Anthony Smith has pointed out that etymologically, the use of the concept in European parlance could be traced to German philosopher, Johann Gottfried Herder, as well as the French counter-revolutionary cleric, Abbe Augustin de Barruel, who used it towards the end of the eighteenth century. The usage of nationalism can also traced back to Rousseau, who wrote on the importance of political nationalism. He argued that there were key differences between people that had to be accounted for while thinking about principles that should underpin the design of different political systems. For any healthy political system, its citizens had to take pride in their polity and sustain a sense of patriotism, said Rousseau.

The definitions of nationalism are several and myriad. For instance, nationalism is also the belief by the citizens of a nation that their land and people are unique as well as superior to all others. It is also understood as a policy that is systematically advantageous to one's own nation. On the other hand, the Oxford English Dictionary defines nationalism as 'devotion to one's nation, national aspiration, a policy of national independence.' As one can see, central to the understanding of nationalism is the concept of 'nation'. The nation is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'an extensive aggregate of persons so closely associated with each other by common descent, language or history, as to form a distinct race or people usually organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory'.

An interesting definition of nationalism is the one offered by K. W. Deutsch, who relates nationalism to a group of people linked communicatively as a community, seeking to control its members. Therefore, as a concept, nationalism is underlined with multiple ideas. Referring to this multiplicity, K. R. Minogue, in *Nationalism* (1967), pointed out that the character of nationalism is such that there are no clearly defined boundaries within which it can be encapsulated. Similar ideas are reflected in the writings of scholars such as Ernest Renan (1882), Carlton Hayes (1931), Hans Kohn (1944), Anthony Smith (1971) and (1998), Earnest Gellner (1983), Benedict Anderson (1983) and Partha Chatterjee (1986) and (1993). Smith and Gellner have been the prime movers of the debate not only on nationalism but also on nations and their emergence. All these scholars tried to explore nationalism within a certain theoretical framework but despite this, could not ignore the multidimensionality of the phenomenon of nationalism. Hence, nationalism by Sudipta Kaviraj has been defined as '...while a number of people advance what they regard as "theories" of nationalism, different authors mean different things by "theory". It is not clear if authors are advancing explanatory theories, which would seek to explain why nationalism arises and where, or historical observation directing patterns in what might appear disconnected phenomenon....' in the *Oxford Companion to Politics in India*. Thus, the diversity of scholarship over nationalism can also be introduced.

A set of scholars have thus examined nationalism in its varied dimensions and reflected on the role that this phenomenon played in the construction of the modern world. In its global and regional dimensions, nationalism has received

NOTES

NOTES

extensive treatment from historians and other social scientists, but in recent years, questions have been raised against attempts to create a grand theory of nationalism. It is often argued that most of these theories were mere explanations of the European experience. In contrast, others have tried to offer an explanation, locating them in the Asian and African experience. Scholars such as Sudipta Kaviraj have pointed out that most of the European scholarship is inadequate to understand anti-colonial nationalism.

Early Nationalism and Nation in Nationalism

Historically, the usage of the concept of nationalism—which was also understood as a movement against colonialism—can be traced to even half a century before it was formally coined in the English language. For the anti-colonialists in America, nationalism meant resisting all efforts by their mother country, England to impose taxes on them. The anti-colonists then raised the slogan ‘No Taxation without Representation,’ before launching the war for freedom in 1776. It was followed by the formalization of the Republican Constitution at Philadelphia. By the close of the eighteenth century, popular nationalism movements were also emerging in other countries. In France, the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 was drafted by the revolutionaries. However, despite popular sentiments in the favour of nationalism, many nationalistic aspirations were quashed in the face of the rising conservative and authoritarian regimes. Slowly, these only served to add to the beliefs of the forces of nationalism who received a new impetus in the face of adversities. As the strength of pro-nationalists grew, the governments of the day, including the one in Europe, recognized nationalism as the most powerful ideological force and started to engage with it. By the beginning of the 1860s, ‘nationalism played a crucial role in the growing authority of the nation state.’ The nineteenth century was also witness to what European scholars called romantic nationalism in Asia. This nationalism was built around feelings that celebrated the ‘glories of nationhood’ broadly and also accepted the efforts to nationalize.

In more recent years, ethnic assertions from the South and South East Asia as well as the Eastern Europe have brought the attention of scholars to the concept of ethnic nationalism. These are movements, often national, which are sustained for a long time and are accompanied by large-scale violence and ethnic cleansing of a particular community. Global attention has been on this kind of ‘nationalism’ which is underlined by the belief in the homogeneity of a country and its people.

As can now be understood, there is a varied nature of nationalist expression that exists across the world, in turn, contributing to its amorphous character. The issue of the modernity or antiquity of nations has become central to the study of nationalism over the last few decades. The recent upsurge of ethnic nationalism in many parts of the world has only made more acute the questions about origins, nature and consequences of nationalism. In turn, there has been a surge in the studies on nationalism in the academia, coinciding with the practice as well. Since the break-up of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, nearly twenty new nation-

states have been created, on the claims of representing the ‘nations’ which had been suppressed within empires or federations. In the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia, one can witness both peaceful and violent examples of national secession, and in several more states there remains the distinct scope of further successful partitions and secessions. Even in India, especially in the North-East, a score or more movements of ethnic protest have generated insurgencies and violent conflicts.

It is not difficult to find many other situations of uneasy coexistence of ethnic communities in both old and new states in many places around the globe. In fact, ethnic nationalism has only grown and taken violent forms since the Second World War. In turn, it has also contributed to an increase in the number of investigations into the phenomena of ethnicity, nations and nationalism.

Partha Chatterjee’s case study

In the westernized discourses, nationalism did not constitute an autonomous discourse for the non-European world. It is here that the contribution of Partha Chatterjee, one of the founders of the Subaltern Studies Collective, becomes significant. He questioned the Western paradigms and reinterpreted the histories of the South-Asian societies from the vantage point of the subordinated.

Chatterjee’s case study was of India. The conceptual framework of his theoretical framework on nationalism started with the critique of the Benedict Anderson claim that nationalisms were imagined communities and that ‘third world nationalisms were modular in form drawing on more than a century and a half of European experience and European models of nationalism.’ Anderson argued that nationalism in the Third World countries were based solely on the European model. This led Chatterjee to ask that ‘if nationalism in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain modular forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine?’ With this, Chatterjee was able to rescue nationalism and its treatment in the academia from the monopoly of western intellectual tradition. He went on to say: ‘History, it would seem, has decreed that we in the post-colonial world shall only be perpetual consumers of modernity. Europe and the Americas, the only true subjects of history, have thought out on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but also that of our anti-colonial resistance and post-colonial misery. Even our imagination must remain forever colonized.’

Therefore, the most critical element of Chatterjee’s discourse on nationalism was his rejection of those forms of national society that had been propagated by the western scholarship. He argued that the treatment of nationalism that emerged from the academic discourse in Third World countries was creative because it was based not only on the issues of identity but also on the difference with the ‘modular’ forms of the national society ‘propagated by the modern west.

NOTES

NOTES

Chatterjee put his interpretation of nationalism in the non-European world around three stages or 'moments'. The first was the moment of departure, the second the moment of manoeuvre, and the third, the moment of arrival. The moment of departure started with the encounter of nationalism with the framework of knowledge as created by the post-enlightenment rationalist thought. This framework gave the awareness and acceptance of the cultural difference between the East and the West. It argues that the modern European culture comprises attributes critical to development and progress while the traditional Eastern cultures lacks in them, which is why they suffer poverty and subjugation. The nationalists, however, claimed that this backwardness was not historically immutable and could be overcome by adopting the said modern attributes of the European culture. To prepare the traditional society to adopt modern attributes, the nationalists divided social institutions and practices into two parts – material and spiritual. The material, stated Chatterjee, was the domain of the 'outside,' of economy and of statecraft and science and technology. This was the area where the West had proved its superiority while the East had failed. Therefore, the accomplishment of the West in these areas needed to be not only accepted but studied and replicated. On the other hand, the spiritual aspect was part of the inner domain which bore 'the essential marks of cultural identity'. Chatterjee argued that if the East was successful in replicating the success of the West in the material domain, the need to preserve its own distinctness of spiritual culture only increased. Thus, according to him, nationalism was the part of the spiritual; it was here that nationalism declared itself to be sovereign and did not allow the colonial power to interfere with it. However, the spiritual domain does not remain fixed. With the onslaught of the colonial experience, Chatterjee argued that nationalism brought in changes in the spiritual sphere wherein it sought to produce a more modern national culture which was distinct from that of the western world. Thus, the nationalists had to address people who constituted a nation but also the colonial masters. This was because nationalism sought to expose the false claim of the colonialists that people in the Third World did not have the culture to rule themselves as per the conditions set by the modern (i.e., Western) world. This aspect of nationalism thus denied the inferiority of the colonized people, as alleged by the colonizers and went on to assert that any underdeveloped nation could 'modernize' itself by retaining its cultural identity.

Chatterjee further argued that the nationalists' claim that people of the Third World were capable of ruling themselves could be put in danger if elitists were to take control of this argument. For nationalist transformation, therefore, the nationalists' believed initiating a passive revolution with the aim to create a politically independent nation state. 'This required a series of alliances with the organizational structure of a national movement and the mobilization of mass support of the subordinated classes,' said Chatterjee. Therefore, the nationalists did not attempt to denounce or transform those structures of 'rational' authority that had been set up during the colonial rule (bureaucracy can be one example

of such an institution). The nationalists also did not attack the dominant classes. Instead, they tried to limit the influence of such institutions and make them 'subsidiary allies.' This was achieved in the 'moment of manoeuvre,' which Chatterjee felt was a crucial phase beset with contradictory possibilities. It was a phase of 'consolidation of the 'national' by decrying the 'modern', the preparation for capitalist production through an ideology of anti-capitalism.' Chatterjee pointed that the 'moment of arrival' was achieved when the nationalist thought came to the full circle by becoming a discourse of order and rational organization of power. At this stage, Chatterjee said that 'the discourse was not only conducted in single, consistent, unambiguous voice, it also succeeds in glossing over all earlier contradictions, divergences and differences. It actualizes ideological unity of nationalist thought in the unified life of the state.' In the colonial challenge, the nationalist objective was to retain the inner spirituality of indigenous social life.

Thus, the success of Partha Chatterjee lay in the fact that he succeeded in proving that the Universalist claims of western interpretations of nationalism were limited by the contingencies of empire and global power.

Check Your Progress

1. What is K.R. Minogue's view on the character of nationalism?
2. What did nationalism represent?
3. What did nationalism mean for the anti-colonists of America?
4. What do you understand by romantic nationalism?

1.3 IMPACT OF 1857 REVOLT

In 1857, the British completed hundred years of stay in India since the Battle of Plassey. During this time, the Indian rulers were unhappy due to the loss of former glory and the peasants were discontent at having been reduced to serfs. The traditional craftsmen and artisans were robbed of their livelihoods. This meant that the colonial powers had total control over trade, commerce, and industries. It led to a steady outflow of India's wealth. This period saw a lot of aggressiveness from the British government as it tried to consolidate the princely states and strengthen the power of the Colonial rulers.

Lord Dalhousie, who served as the Governor-General of India from 1848 to 1856, was responsible for the rising discontent among native states. Lord Canning, who succeeded him shortly before the revolt, could read the writing on the wall and said grimly, 'we must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin'.

NOTES

Causes of the Revolt of 1857

The following are the causes of the Revolt of 1857.

NOTES

1. Political Causes

One of the main causes of the Revolt was the Doctrine of Lapse. The arbitrary way in which adopted sons were not allowed to succeed led to much resentment. The states which were affected were Satara (1848), Jaitpur, Sambhalpur (1849), Baghat (1850), Udepur (1852) Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854). The annexation that caused the most controversy was that of Awadh in 1856. Even though the Nawab of Awadh, Wajid Ali Shah was loyal to the British, he was accused of mis-governance. The company's soldiers were upset as they were loyal to the Nawab and the annexation of Awadh meant that the soldiers and their relatives would have to pay higher taxes. The introduction of new land revenue act created discontent as it meant higher taxes for the landowners. The Zamindars also were against their lands being confiscated. The East India Company also stopped the annual pension of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of last Peshwa Baji Rao II. He proved to be a deadly enemy of the British.

Increasing unemployment was also one of the causes of the Revolt. The people who did not know English lost their jobs as Persian and Urdu were no longer acceptable in government jobs. These people were called Ashrafs and held posts in the judicial and revenue department. They joined the revolt as they wanted to get back their jobs and prestige.

2. Military Causes

The soldiers or sepoy of the British Army revolted mainly because the cartridges used in the guns were coated with grease made from cow and pig fat. Upper caste Hindu soldiers protested against the use of cow fat and the Muslim soldiers protested against for the pig fat. Earlier, many sepoy had shown resentment over having to cross the sea to go to Burma as that was considered against some Hindu ritual. They were also unhappy with the pay structure as some high ranking Hindu soldier would get less than a low ranking English soldier. Chances of promotion were bleak as well. Many spent all their service life in the same post. Then there were rumours of sepoy being forcibly converted to Christianity.

3. Religious Causes

The large number of conversions being done by Christian missionaries were also a cause of concern for the majority of Hindus and Muslims. There were news of humiliation by British on Hinduism and Islam. The efforts of reformists were seen as conspiracy against Hindu religion and interference in the internal matters of Hindus. Then a law was enacted in 1850, which also enabled those who converted into Christianity to inherit ancestral property. This was really opposed by the majority.

4. Administrative and Economic Causes

The complete monopoly of the British over trade and commerce of the country also led to a lot of resentment. The native trade, handicraft, and other livelihoods were destroyed by the monopoly of the British traders. The revenue system was also breaking the backbone of the local economy. With the annexation of Indian states, consumers of local Indian goods and industry were not patronized. Only British goods were promoted and this led to large scale unemployment. This was also one of the causes of the Revolt.

Nature of the Revolt

The real nature and cause of the revolt is debatable. Each historian has his own interpretation. The most well-known and acceptable one being the story of Mangal Pandey, a sepoy of 34th native infantry of Bengal Army. When he fired at a Sergeant Major at Barrackpore on 29 March 1857 (Bengal), he did not realize that he was creating history. He was later executed but this led to a revolt in Meerut where soldiers killed English officers and started marching towards Delhi.

Many historians like Ear Stanley, T.R Homes. Forest, Innes and Sir John Lawrence stated the greased cartridges as the cause of the mutiny and called it a barbaric act. Some like Sir James Outram and W. Taylor described it as a conspiracy by Hindus and Muslims. Others called it a national revolt.

Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan, in his book *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* (causes of the revolt of India) described it as a resentment for not having political organization. V.D. Savarkar, in his book *War of Indian Independence* called it the first war of independence. Even though the revolt began in the army, it soon spread to other areas as well. Some historians were of the view that this sowed the seeds of the cry for independence. Yet, there are the following contrarian views:

Events of the Revolt

From Meerut, the Sepoys marched to Delhi and declared Bahadur Shah Zafar as the Emperor of India. The sepoys then attacked Daryaganj near Chandni Chowk area where a large number of Britishers resided. Soon Delhi was a battleground. However, the leaders failed to lead well and soon the battle in Delhi started losing ground.

The revolt spread to different parts of the country after the outbreak in Delhi. Kanpur, Bareilly, Lucknow, Allahabad, Banaras, Faizabad, Jhansi, Jagdishpur (Arrah), Danapur and Patna were raging. In Lucknow, the revolt was led by Begum Hazrat Mahal who declared Birjis Qadar, her son, as the Nawab of Awadh. The British Resident Henry Lawrence was killed. Sir Colin Campbell tried to save the Europeans with the help of the Gorkha regiment.

From Kanpur, Nana Saheb with the support of Taty Tope, led the movement. Sir Hugh Wheeler, the commander of garrison surrendered on

NOTES

NOTES

27 June 1857. When Sir Campbell captured Kanpur, Tantia Tope escaped and joined Rani Laxmibai.

Rani Laxmibai, the ruler of Jhansi was a victim of the Doctrine of Lapse. She revolted since her adopted son was not allowed to ascend to the throne and her state was being annexed by the British. She was declared as the ruler of Jhansi by the soldiers. Taty Tope and Rani Jhansi together attacked Gwalior.

The Indian soldiers were with them but the ruler of Gwalior, Scindia, was loyal to the British. He escaped to Agra. Gwalior fell in June 1858. Rani died fighting against the British on 17 June 1858. Tope was arrested and executed. At Jagdishpur (Bihar) Kunwar Singh led the revolt and defeated the British forces near Arrah.

In Bareilly, Khan Bahadur Khan led the revolt. In Faizabad, it was led by Maulvi Ahmadullah and in Patna by Maulvi Pir Ali. They were also part of the Wahabi movement and were against British, so they joined the revolt.

Suppression of the Revolt

1. Delhi

It was recaptured by General John Nicholson in September, 1857. However, he later died of his wounds. Lt. Hodson killed the Mughal Emperor's sons and a grandson. Bahadurshah was later sent to Burma on exile.

2. Kanpur

Sir Hugh Wheeler fought against Nana's forces. Many Englishmen, women and children were killed. Major General Havelock on 17 July defeated Nana and recaptured Kanpur after a tough battle. Many Indians were killed by Brigadier General Neill. After this, Sir Colin Campbell became the new commander in chief of the Indian Army in August 1857.

3. Lucknow

Sir Henry Lawrence died on 2 July 1857, following which Havelock, Outram and Neill arrived with reinforcements (25 September). The final reoccupation of Lucknow happened on 21 March, 1858.

4. Jhansi and Gwalior

Jhansi was recaptured by Sir Hugh Rose on 4 April 1858 Rani Laxmibai captured Gwalior by driving out its ruler. However, she died on 17 June 1858 Gwalior was then recaptured by Role on 20th June.

5. Bareilly

Bareilly was recaptured by Campbell on 5 May 1858.

6. Arrah

The Bihar movement under Kunwar Singh was suppressed temporarily escaped by William Taylor and Vincent Eyre in August 1857 Kunwar to Awadh but returned to Bihar in April 1858, to fight his last battle (he died on 9 May).

7. Banaras and Allahabad

Banaras and Allahabad were recaptured by Neill in June 1857.

8. Central India

The whole of central India and Bundelkhand was brought under British control by Sir Hugh Rose in the first half of 1858. But Tope, after losing Gwalior, escaped to Central India and carried on guerrilla war for 10 months. Finally, he was betrayed by Man Singh (a feudatory of Scindia) and was executed by the British on 18 April 1859. Nana Saheb, the Begum of Awadh and Khan Bahadur escaped to Nepal in December 1858 and died there. Bakht Khan went to Awadh after the fall of Delhi, and died fighting the British on 13 May, 1859. Maulavi Ahmadullah was treacherously murdered by Raja of Puwain in June 1858.

Causes of the Failure of the Revolt

The main reasons why the revolt failed were as follows:

1. The revolt was not a national event and hence failed to leave an impact. The revolt had no effect on the southern states of India. The sepoys of Madras were loyal to the British. The sepoys of Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana and east Bengal did not join the mutiny. The Gorkhas were loyal allies of the British.
2. The British had very talented officers to lead the counter attack, some of them being Nicholson, Outram, Edwards, etc.
3. Only the rulers who had lost their throne and state joined the revolt. Many remained loyal. Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Salar Jung of Nizam did not support the rebellion, in fact, they suppressed it. The British remained grateful to the Nizams for a long time for this.
4. The battle was lopsided towards the British as they had more resources.
5. Lack of leadership and proper strategies led to the failure of the revolt. There was no proper coordination. Bahadur Shah Zafar was a coward and was concerned about his own safety. He proved to be the weakest link. There was no faith in him.
6. There was no larger vision or goal for the revolt. It was led by feudal lords who did not have any game plan but only wanted to secure their own selfish interests. They hardly had anything new to challenge the mighty British rule.
7. Since the survival of the Zamindars and moneylenders depended on the British economy, they did not support the revolt.

NOTES

8. The educated middle class was not part of the revolt. The number of such people was small and they had not much say. And many of them were for British rule as they saw it as a means for the country's modernization.

NOTES

Impact of the Revolt

The base of the company's hold on India was shaken by the Revolt of 1857. Thereafter, a stronger mechanism and administrative policy was placed in order to strengthen the British rule in India. The reactionary and vested interests were well protected and encouraged and became pillars of British rule in India. Following the Revolt the British adopted the divide and rule policy to weaken the backbone of India. Key positions in civil and military administration were now in the control of the British.

The various effects of the Revolt of 1857 may be summarized as follows:

- The revolt of 1857 marked the end of British imperialism. A new policy was passed by the Queen of England which announced that the Indian States would no longer be annexed. The Nizam, Rajput, Maratha and Sikh Chiefs were applauded for their loyalty and rewarded by certificates and *Sanad*.
- The number of Europeans in the Army was increased from 40,000 to 65,000 and that of Indian soldiers was reduced to 1.4 lakhs from 2.38 lakhs. The ratio of Indian to English soldiers in the Bengal army was made 1:2 and in Madras to 1:3.
- After the Revolt of 1857, the British pursued the policy of divide and rule.
- The Doctrine of Lapse was withdrawn.
- In August 1858, the British Parliament passed an Act, which put an end to the rule of the Company. The control of the British government in India was transferred to the British Crown. A 15-member council of India headed by Secretary of State for India was formed. The Secretary of State was made responsible for the Government of India.
- The British Governor-General of India was now also given the title of Viceroy, who was also the representative of the Monarch.
- The total expense of the suppression of the Revolt was borne by Indians.
- The Revolt of 1857 led to the rapid growth of nationalism among the literate Indians. The formation of various political associations, such as the East India Association (1866), Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1867), Indian League (1875), Indian Association (1876), Madras Mahajan Sabha (1884) and Bombay Presidency Association (1885), and finally the Indian National Congress (1885) was the result of growing national consciousness.

- The Revolt of 1857 saw for the first time unity among Hindus and Muslims. So in that sense it was a historic movement.

Government of India Act, 1858

The presence of the British in India can be divided into two phases. One phase was between 1772 and 1858, during which the East India Company traded with help from British army and the second phase was from 1858 to 1947, when the British Crown ruled.

Till the revolt, the Charter Act of 1853 allowed the East India Company to rule India. After the Revolt of 1857, the British Empire ended the company's rule and proclaimed India to be part of the British crown. The East India Company was held responsible for the revolt. Even though the company tried to show how it had been of great service to the Empire, the Empire did not pay heed.

The British Empire was convinced that rule of the company had to go and hence, Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, introduced the Bill for Better Government of India, in February 1858. In an address to the House of Commons, he said, 'the principle of our political system is that all administrative functions should be accompanied by ministerial responsibility to parliament but in this case the chief function in the government of India are committed to a body not responsible to parliament, not appointed by the crown, but elected by persons who have no more connection with India than consists in the simple possession of so much India Stock'.

After pointing out the drawbacks of the company and showing how this was leading to more confusion, the crown was convinced of the defects of the system. The Parliament passed the Bill for a Better Government of India in August 1858.

Provisions

1. The rule of the East India Company was stopped by the Government of India Act of 1858 and the British parliament became responsible for all matters regarding India. A Viceroy was appointed as the representative of British Empire in India. The army and land erstwhile held by the company became part of the British Crown.
2. A council of 15 members was formed and the powers of the Court Director and the Board of Control were handed over to the Secretary of State for India. The task of administration and control was invested in the Secretary of State. He was also allowed to sit in the parliament.

Out of the 15 members of the council, the British crown appointed 8 members and the Court Directors appointed 7 members. It was mandatory that at least 9 members of the council must have served in India for not less than three years and they must not have been away from India for more than ten years at the time of their appointment. The members got £1200 per annum from India's exchequer.

NOTES

NOTES

3. The secretary of the state had powers to take decisions in the following areas and also the following duties like:
 - (i) He had the power of veto against the decision of council.
 - (ii) He had also the power of casting vote.
 - (iii) He had to honour the decision of council in the matters of revenue, appointments, purchase, mortgage and sale of properties of the Government of India.
 - (iv) He was permitted to write secretly to the Viceroy without informing the council.
 - (v) He had the power to make new rules for Indian Civil Services in which now Indians were allowed.
4. The British Crown had the power to appoint the Viceroy and Governor-General and governors of Bombay and Madras Presidencies. And the Viceroy had the power to appoint the Lieutenant Governor with the permission of the British Government.
5. It was the task of the secretary of state to make reports on Revenue, Law, Railways and Construction before the House of Commons, the lower house of British Parliament. The permission of the Parliament was needed to use the revenue for military expeditions outside India. The Secretary of State was answerable to the British Parliament and the parliament had the right to remove him.

Lord Canning announced Queen Victoria's proclamation on 1 November 1858, at Allahabad. This proclamation used the term Viceroy for the first time. The proclamation also assured that no more annexation would be done of states, no one would be converted to Christianity and proper qualifications were laid out for employment to the government jobs. It was assured that laws enacted would take into account Indian traditions and culture. The ownership of properties and succession would be protected. The peasants were also promised rights on proper payment of taxes.

1.4 RISE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Although unique to the modern world, the growth of nationalism as a phenomenon can be traced to the Middle Ages. By the Middle Ages, nation states had begun to be formed with definite boundaries. These nation states had a definite political system and a uniform law for the people inhabiting the state. People lived under the same political, social and economic system and shared common aspirations. The middle class had a significant role to play in the formation of the nation-states. In European countries like Italy and Germany, nationalism as a political ideologue emerged only in the nineteenth century. The French Revolution of 1789 ingrained the idea of nationalism and nation state. Since the nineteenth century, whenever

there has been a call for a new sovereign state, violence has made its appearance. Two forces were always at work—nationalism and democracy. India as a nation was no exception to this rule. The mid-nineteenth century saw the growth of nationalism in India. Colonial rule, destruction of the old social and political order, rise of a new social class—all contributed to the development of nationalism in India. The religious and social movements also contributed to the growth of nationalism.

During this period, reform movements were largely being swayed by two important intellectual principles—rationalism and religious universalism. A rational secular outlook was replacing blind faith that had crept into tradition and custom. Universalism was not purely philosophy. It affected political and social outlook till religious particularism took root in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The main objectives of this movement were liberal ideas, national unity, and progress. These could be achieved by removing the backward elements in traditional culture as well as the repressive elements in colonial culture and ideology. Jettisoning casteism and idolatry had to be done alongside an emphasis on reviving the vernacular languages. The plan included restoring the indigenous education system by restoring the ancient arts and medicine and reconstructing traditional Indian knowledge. The socio-religious movements were an essential part of the growing nationalist consciousness. At this point it was important to make Indians feel proud of being Indian i.e. proud of their culture and heritage. This movement succeeded in doing that. The colonial cultural hegemonization process was stopped in its tracks.

Renaissance in India has been a great causal factor in the rise of modern Indian nationalism. It may also be regarded as an attempt on the part of scores of cultural factors to revive and reassert them: a sort of defensive mechanism against the impact of an alien political power in the country. A new humanist and cosmopolitan interpretation began to prevail upon the old belief. A radical trend emerged with representatives like Anantaranga Pillai, Abu Talib, Henry Vivian Derozio, and Raja Rammohan Roy.

Check Your Progress

5. List one main political cause of the Revolt of 1857.
6. Why did the soldiers or sepoys of the British Army revolt?
7. When was the Bill for a Better Government of India passed?

1.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. K. R. Minogue in *Nationalism* (1967) pointed out that the character of nationalism is such that there are no clearly defined boundaries within which it can be encapsulated.

NOTES

NOTES

2. Nationalism, as is widely believed, was essentially representative of an ideological movement. This movement, it was argued, was aimed at promoting and securing the autonomy, unity and sovereignty of those 'gathered in a single territory.'
3. For the anti-colonialists in America, nationalism meant resisting all efforts by their mother country, England, to impose taxes on them. The anti-colonialists then raised the slogan 'No Taxation without Representation,' before launching the war for freedom in 1776.
4. The nineteenth century was also witness to what European scholars called romantic nationalism in Asia. This nationalism was built around feelings that celebrated the 'glories of nationhood' broadly and also accepted the efforts to nationalize.
5. One of the main causes of the Revolt was the Doctrine of Lapse.
6. The soldiers or sepoy of the British Army revolted mainly because the cartridges used in the guns were coated with grease made from cow and pig fat. Soldiers who belonged to the upper caste among Hindus protested for the cow fat and the Muslims for the pig fat.
7. Bill for a Better Government of India was passed in August 1858.

1.6 SUMMARY

- Nationalism can be defined as 'an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation'.
- It is also widely believed that nationalism was essentially representative of an ideological movement. This movement, it was argued, was aimed at promoting and securing the autonomy, unity and sovereignty of those 'gathered in a single territory.'
- Nationalism was also associated with the evocation and invocation of a strong collective sentiment.
- Central to the understanding of nationalism is the concept of 'nation'. The nation is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'an extensive aggregate of persons so closely associated with each other by common descent, language or history, as to form a distinct race or people usually organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory'.
- While there has been a surge in the studies on nationalism and its varied forms since the 1950s and 1960s, decolonization across many countries of Africa and Asia has only added to the interest of the academicians to study it in present times as well. As mentioned above, there have been sustained efforts to develop a cohesive approach to nationalism.

- By the beginning of the 1860s, 'nationalism played a crucial role in the growing authority of the nation state.' The nineteenth century was also witness to what European scholars called romantic nationalism in Asia. This nationalism was built around feelings that celebrated the 'glories of nationhood' broadly and also accepted the efforts to nationalize.
- In more recent years, ethnic assertions from the South and South East Asia as well as the Eastern Europe have brought the attention of scholars to the concept of ethnic nationalism. These are movements, often national, which are sustained for a long time and are accompanied by large-scale violence and ethnic cleansing of a particular community.
- In the westernized discourses, nationalism did not constitute an autonomous discourse for the non-European world. It is here that the contribution of Partha Chatterjee, one of the founders of the Subaltern Studies Collective, becomes significant. He questioned the Western paradigms and reinterpreted the histories of the South-Asian societies from the vantage point of the subordinated.
- The most critical element of Chatterjee's discourse on nationalism was his rejection of those forms of national society that had been propagated by the western scholarship.
- The success of Partha Chatterjee lay in the fact that he succeeded in proving that the Universalist claims of western interpretations of nationalism were limited by the contingencies of empire and global power.
- In 1857, the British completed hundred years of stay in India since the Battle of Plassey. During this time, the Indian rulers were unhappy due to the loss of former glory and the peasants were discontent at having been reduced to serfs.
- There are several causes for the Revolt of 1857. The main cause was the Doctrine of Lapse. The arbitrary way in which adopted sons were not allowed to succeed led to a lot of resentment.
- Increasing unemployment was also one of the causes for revolt. Religious conversions, the use of cow and pig fat in cartridges, and the dismal state of trade and commerce are some of the other causes.
- The Revolt began in Meerut and quickly spread to other areas. Rani Laxmibai and Tatya Tope also joined the revolt. However the British had more resources and were able to suppress the revolt.
- There are several reasons for the failure of the revolt. The revolt was not a national event and it failed to garner support from several rulers, zamindars, and educated middle class.
- After the revolt, the Doctrine of Lapse was withdrawn. However, the number of Europeans in the Army was increased. It was also decided that the British

NOTES

NOTES

Crown would take over the British Company. This put an end to the rule of the East India Company.

- The mid-nineteenth century saw the growth of nationalism in India. Colonial rule, destruction of the old social and political order, rise of a new social class- all contributed to the growth of nationalism.
- The socio-religious movements were an essential part of the growing nationalist consciousness.
- Renaissance in India has been a great causal factor in the rise of modern nationalism. A radical trend emerged with representatives like Anantaranga Pillai, Abu Talib, Henry Vivian Derozio and Raja Rammohan Roy.

1.7 KEY WORDS

- **Nationalism:** It can be defined as ‘an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation’.
- **Ethnic nationalism:** It is a form of nationalism wherein the nation and nationality are defined in terms of ethnicity, with emphasis on ethnocentric approach to various political issues related to national affirmation of a particular ethnic group.
- **Annexation:** It refers to the action whereby a state proclaims its sovereignty over territory outside its domain.

1.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the religious causes of the revolt of 1857?
2. What were the causes for the failure of the revolt of 1857?
3. What were the powers of the Secretary of State after the British Crown took control of India?
4. Write a short note on the factors that led to the growth of nationalism in India.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss in detail the concept of nationalism.
2. Explain Partha Chatterjee’s critique of Benedict Anderson’s framework of nationalism.

3. Examine the causes for the revolt of 1857.
4. Analyse the impact of the revolt on the administrative policy of the British.

1.9 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

NOTES

UNIT 2 ASSOCIATIONS BEFORE 1885

NOTES

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
 - 2.1 Objectives
 - 2.2 British Indian Association
 - 2.2.1 Bombay Association
 - 2.2.2 Madras Native Association
 - 2.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
 - 2.4 Summary
 - 2.5 Key Words
 - 2.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
 - 2.7 Further Readings
-

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The early 19th century saw the formation of several political associations that challenged British imperialism. The British ensured that the education system used English as a medium of instruction. This, however, led to an increased awareness of the ideas of nationalism, democracy and political rights. Some of the associations established before 1885 were Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha, Zamindary Association, Bengal British India Society, British Indian Association and India League. This unit will discuss the role played by the Bombay Association and the Madras Native Association.

2.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the contribution of Dadabhai Naoroji and Raja Rammohan Roy
 - Discuss the prominent political associations formed before 1885
 - Analyse the role played by Bombay Association and Madras Native Association
-

2.2 BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

The British domination gave rise to some forces, which ultimately challenged the British imperialism. For instance, the British forced English as medium of instruction in the education system of India. This went against the British as Indians came

across the ideas of nationalism, political rights and democracy. These ideas resulted in a number of political associations.

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 socio-political reform movements 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.

Rammohan Roy demanded liberty of the Press, appointment of Indians in civil courts and other higher posts, codification of law etc. 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) **Zamindari 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 Odisha. Although limited in its objectives, the Landholders' Society marks 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 Zamindari 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

NOTES

NOTES

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 20th century even though it was over-shadowed by 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.

2.2.1 Bombay Association

The 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.

2.2.2 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.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the objective of the East India Association established by Dadabhai Naoroji.
2. In which year was the Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha formed?
3. What was the objective of the Zamindari Association?
4. State the objective of the India League.
5. When was the Bombay Association formed?

2.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The objective of the East India Association was to influence British 'to promote Indian welfare'.
2. The Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha was formed in 1836.
3. The objective of the Zamindari Association was to safeguard the interests of the landlords in Bihar, Bengal and Odisha.
4. The objective of the India League was to stimulate 'the sense of nationalism amongst the people'.
5. The Bombay Association was formed on 26 August 1852.

NOTES

2.4 SUMMARY

- The British domination gave rise to some forces, which ultimately challenged the British imperialism. For instance, the British forced English as medium of instruction in the education system of India. This went against the British as Indians came across the ideas of nationalism, political rights and democracy.
- 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'.
- Raja Rammohan Roy was the first Indian leader to start socio-political reform movements in India. He was greatly influenced by Western ideas. He supported a number of popular movements all over the world.
- Some of the prominent political associations were Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha, Zamindary Association, Bengal British India Society, British Indian Association and India League.
- The Bombay Association was founded on 26 August 1852. The Association condemned the policy of exclusion of Indians from higher services, and lavish expenditure on sinecure posts given to Europeans.
- The Madras Native Association was founded on 26 February 1852.

2.5 KEY WORDS

- **British imperialism:** It refers to the geographic and political units formerly under British control, including dominions, colonies, dependencies, trust territories, and protectorates.
- **Democracy:** It is a system in which the government of a country is elected by the people.

- **Appeal:** It is the process by which a decision made by an authority is reviewed again.

NOTES

2.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What led to the growth of political associations in India.
2. Write a short note on the Zamindari Association.
3. What was the objective of Bengal British India Society?
4. Write a short note on the Bombay Association.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the contributions of Raja Rammohan Roy.
2. Examine the role played by various political associations established before 1885.

2.7 FURTHER READINGS

Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.

Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press

Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.

Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

UNIT 3 ASSOCIATIONS BEFORE 1885 II

*Associations before
1885 II*

NOTES

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Madras Mahajana Sabha
 - 3.2.1 Bombay Presidency Association
 - 3.2.2 Indian National Association
- 3.3 Causes for the Rise of Indian Nationalism
- 3.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Words
- 3.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 3.8 Further Readings

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The controversial policies of Lord Lytton, use of English as the medium of instruction in educational institutions, and the socio-religious reform movement played a key role in the growth of nationalism in India. These factors led to the formation of Madras Mahajana Sabha, Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian Association. This unit will discuss in detail the causes for the rise of Indian nationalism and the role played by the different political associations.

3.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the formation of Madras Mahajana Sabha, Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian Association
- Explain the causes for the rise of Indian nationalism
- Examine the controversial policies of Lord Lytton

3.2 MADRAS MAHAJANA SABHA

Madras Mahajana Sabha 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 29 December to 31 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, etc.

3.2.1 Bombay Presidency Association

NOTES

The policies of Lytton and 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.

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.

3.2.2 Indian National Association

Within a year of its establishment 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.' The Indian Association merged with the National Congress in December 1886.

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.

Check Your Progress

1. Who formed the Madras Mahajana Sabha?
2. What led to the formation of the Bombay Presidency Association?
3. In which year did the Indian Association merge with the National Congress?

3.3 CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

There were a number of causes for the emergence of Indian nationalism. Some of these causes are as follows:

- (i) **British imperialism:** It facilitated in uniting Indians as during the British rule, the whole country came under one sovereign power. Before the

arrival of the British, South India was separated from the rest of the country except for short intervals.

*Associations before
1885 II*

- (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 to parts of the country.
- (iii) **Administrative unification of india:** During the British rule, the administrative system was highly centralized. The British used modern administrative system 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 are from the same ethnic group to which Europeans belong. These studies and researches boosted the morale of Indians and instilled the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in them.
- (v) **Modern 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 the Indians to 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) **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, 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

NOTES

NOTES

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.

- (vii) **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. We find Surendranath Banerji delivering lectures on Joseph Mazzini and the 'Young Italy' Movement organized by him. Lajpat Rai often referred to the campaigns of Garibaldi and the activities of Carbonaris in his speeches and writings.
- (viii) **Racialism:** Indians were discriminated and were considered inferior. They were not allowed to share train compartment with the British. They were humiliated by the British. The law and police system of the British was partial towards Englishmen. Whenever, an English person was involved in a dispute with an Indian, the court used to favour the White. 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.
- (ix) **Economic exploitation:** The British destroyed the local self-sufficient economy of India and introduced modern trade and industry. Indians realized that they have 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. The value of Indian rupee in terms of English pound was kept less to promote import from England and discourage export 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 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 Indian economy. Periodical famines became a common feature of Indian economic life. During the second half of the 19 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.

- (x) **Ilbert Bill controversy:** Lord Ripon made an attempt to address the problems of Indians but Ilbert Bill controversy enraged the Europeans. The objective of this Bill was to bring Indian judges on the same level as that of the European judges in Bengal Presidency. According to this Bill, Europeans could be tried by Indian judges. This Bill enraged all the Europeans and all of them stood against this Bill. Later, the Bill was modified which defeated its original objective. Though this Bill could not favour Indians, yet it made them realize that organized agitation can help them.
- (xi) **Lord Lytton's policies:** The following short-sighted acts and policies of Lord Lytton acted like catalyst and accelerated the nationalist movement:
- To ensure that Indians are not able to share their opinion on a mass scale, Lytton passed Vernacular Press Act in 1878. This Act put a lot of restrictions on the Press. All Indians condemned this Act.
 - Lord Lytton organized the grand Delhi Darbar in 1877. At this time, South India was facing a severe famine. Many people condemned this indifference of Lord Lytton. To show this contempt, one of the journalists of Calcutta remarked 'Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning.'
 - Indians criticized Lytton a lot for the money he spent on the second Afghan War. This money was taken from the Indian treasury.
 - Before the rule of Lytton, the maximum age limit for 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.
 - 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.
 - In order to help the British manufacturers, Lytton removed the import duty on cotton manufactures.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- Name some of the European scholars who conducted historical research on ancient Indian history.
- Who introduced the 'Drain theory'?
- What was the controversy surrounding the Ilbert Bill?
- In which year was the Vernacular Press Act passed?

NOTES

3.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Madras Mahajana Sabha was formed by M. Vijayraghavachari, G. Subramanya Iyer, Ananda Charlu, Rangayya Naidu and others on 16 May 1884.
2. The policies of Lytton and Ilbert Bill controversy caused political turmoil in Bombay. This led to the formation of Bombay Presidency Association in the year 1885.
3. The Indian Association merged with the National Congress in December 1986.
4. Some of the European scholars who conducted historical research on ancient Indian history are Max Mueller, Monier Williams, Roth and Sassoon.
5. Dadabhai Naoroji introduced the Drain theory.
6. The objective of the Ilbert Bill was to bring Indian judges on the same level as that of the European judges in Bengal Presidency. According to this Bill, Europeans could be tried by Indian judges. This Bill enraged all the Europeans and all of them stood against this Bill.
7. The Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878.

3.5 SUMMARY

- Madras Mahajana Sabha 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.
- The policies of Lytton and 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.
- Poona Sarvajanik Sabha 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 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 Rs 5 as opposed to the subscription of Rs 50 p.a. fixed by the British Indian Association.

- There were a number of causes for the emergence of Indian nationalism. British imperialism, the administrative unification of India, the impact of socio-religious movements, the policies of Lord Lytton are some of the causes.

*Associations before
1885 II*

3.6 KEY WORDS

- **Caste system:** It is a form of social stratification in which a person's occupation and way of life is determined by birth.
- **Untouchability:** It is the practice of ostracizing a minority group by segregating them from the mainstream by social custom or legal mandate.
- **Idol worship:** It is the worship of an image or a statue in place of God.

NOTES

3.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Why did the British introduce English as a medium of instruction in the education system of India?
2. How did the socio-religious reform movements promote the spirit of nationalism?
3. Write a short note on the Ilbery Bill controversy.
4. What were some of the controversial policies introduced by Lord Lytton?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the importance of political institutions like Madras Mahajana Sabha, Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian Association.
2. Examine the anti-India economic policies of the British?
3. Discuss the causes for the emergence of Indian nationalism.

3.8 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press

*Associations before
1885 II*

NOTES

Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.

Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

BLOCK - II
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND
SPLIT OF CONGRESS

*Formation of the Indian
National Congress*

NOTES

UNIT 4 FORMATION OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Indian National Congress: Aims and Principles
- 4.3 Early Nationalists and their Programmes
 - 4.3.1 C. Vijayaraghavachariar
 - 4.3.2 Dadabhai Naoroji's Drain Theory and Economic Nationalism
- 4.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Key Words
- 4.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 4.8 Further Readings

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The Indian National Congress was formed in the year 1885. Several factors led to its formation; however, its origin is shrouded in mystery. The Indian National Congress was established with an aim to unify the people irrespective of their differences in caste, religion, languages, etc. After its establishment, the Congress made some political, economic and administrative demands. Several key members of the Indian National Congress played a major role in cultivating a sense of nationalism. This unit will discuss the role of these members in detail.

4.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the formation of the Indian National Congress
- Explain the contributions of the various members of the Indian National Congress
- Examine the contribution of C. Vijayaraghavachariar
- Analyse Dadabhai Naoroji's Drain of Wealth theory

4.2 INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

NOTES

The Indian National Congress was formed due to the efforts of a number of people. Presence of number of political associations across the country, and spread of the ideals of patriotism and nationalism prepared the foundation of the Indian National Congress. It was formed in the year 1885 but its origin is not known. According to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, its origin is 'shrouded in mystery'. However, many people believe that A.O. Hume laid its foundation under Lord Dufferin. 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 by Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India. He also believed that Lord Dufferin formed it because he wanted a political organization which can understand the 'real wishes' of the people so that the British government could prevent political outbursts in the country.

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'. Some scholars believe that Ripon advised Hume to form an organization of educated Indians. Recently, some scholars analysed Dufferin's correspondence to Hume as well as the activities of the early nationalists, they 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 all-India scale. For instance, two National Conferences were organized by Indian Association.

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 a National Conference was going on in Calcutta at the same time. The objectives of both these organizations were same. The Indian National Conference was later merged into the National Congress. It would be wrong to believe that he 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. It is because he did not belong to any of these groups and he had a sincere love for India.

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 some demands, which can be divided into three categories: political, administrative and economic.

NOTES

(i) Political demands

- Greater power to the Supreme Council and local Legislative Council
- Discussion on budget to be held by the council
- Representation of the council through local bodies like Universities and Chambers of Commerce
- Creation of Legislative Assembly in Punjab, Awadh (NWP) and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)

(ii) Economic demands

The Congress sessions, between 1855 and 1905, regularly passed resolutions for:

- Reduction in land revenue
- Establishment of agricultural banks
- Reduction in home charge and military expenditure
- Ending unfair tariffs and excise duties
- Enquiring the causes behind India's poverty and famines
- Providing more funds for technical education
- Development of Indian industries
- Better treatment for Indian coolies in foreign countries
- Change in forest laws so that tribal can use forest

(iii) Administrative demands

- ICS examination in India as well as England
- Increase in Indian volunteer force
- Understanding of Indian needs on the part of administration
- Separation of Judiciary from Executive power and extension of trial by jury
- 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 of 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

NOTES

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 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 Britishers.

Check Your Progress

1. In which year was the Indian National Congress formed?
2. List any two economic demands of the Indian National Congress.
3. Who was the first President of the Indian National Congress?

4.3 EARLY NATIONALISTS AND THEIR PROGRAMMES

We have already seen that some of the educated Indians were playing major roles in cultivating a sense of nationalism. Some of the early nationalist, also known as the moderates, were the ones who set up the Indian national Congress. Here are some of the prominent names:

- 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 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. Pheroza Shah 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 Banerjee (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 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.

NOTES

NOTES

- 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 Gandhiji, 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 the Law degree, he 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.

4.3.1 C. Vijayaraghavachariar

Salem C. Vijayaraghavachariar, as he was popularly known, was born on 18 June 1852 in an orthodox Vaishnavite Brahmin family at Pon Vilaindha Kalathur, in Chingleput district, Tamil Nadu.

His father being a purohit and steeped in religious lore, was eager to bring up his son according to orthodox traditions. At a very early age, Vijayaraghavachariar was sent to the Veda Pathshala in his village and was brought up in a tradition of memorising the Vedas. This stood him in good stead in later years.

His English education began in his twelfth year when he joined the Madras Pachaiyappa High School. He matriculated in 1870. He graduated from the Madras Presidency College in 1875. Appearing privately for the Law examination he began to practice in 1881. He was an able Advocate and a leader of the Bar at Salem.

In 1882, a short time after he set up practice at Salem there was a Hindu-Muslim riot. Vijayaraghavachariar was implicated in the riot and charges were framed against him. He relentlessly fought the charges in the Court of Law and finally came out unscathed. Fighting the case for those implicated in the Salem riots of 1882 made Vijayaraghavachariar famous overnight. He was called 'The Hero of Salem' and 'Lion of South India'.

When the Indian National Congress was started in 1885 he was one of the special invitees. He was a close associate of A. O. Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress. He attended the Bombay session of the Congress and in 1887 he was one of the members of the committee which drafted the constitution of the Indian National Congress. From then on Vijayaraghavachariar became an ardent freedom fighter. His counsels and leadership were much sought after by the Congressmen of the early days.

In 1895, he was elected to the Madras legislative Council which he served for 6 years, till 1901. In 1913, he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council with which he was associated till 1916. When Lord Birkenhead the Secretary of State for India threw out a challenge whether Indians could draw up a Constitution for India Vijayaraghavachariar took up the challenge and drew up the Swaraj Constitution for India.

With the advent of Mahatma Gandhi, there was a rift in the Congress ranks between the old moderates and the new radicals. Even earlier, the ideas of the moderates did not appeal to him. He kept aloof from active party work for a period after the Surat split of the Congress and later joined with redoubled vigour to carry the message of the Mahatma. The climax of his political career came when in 1920 he was elected to preside over the Indian National Congress Session at Nagpur, where Gandhi ji's advocacy of 'Poorna Swaraj' through non - violent non - cooperation was debated and accepted.

He was also in the vanguard of the opposition to the Simon Commission that toured the country in 1929. He took an active part in the Committee that met under Motilal Nehru to frame the Constitution for India.

In many aspects, Vijayaraghavachariar was much ahead of his time. He advocated post -puberty marriage for women and also the right of a daughter to have a share in her father's property. He advocated the much needed change in the Hindu law at a time when any talk about it was a taboo.

He was a champion of the Depressed Classes. He was one of the two Vice Presidents of the Madras Branch of the Passive Resistance Movement. Mahatma Gandhi was its President; the other Vice-President was G. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, Editor of the Hindi.

He lived to the ripe old age of ninety-two. Though the diadem of leadership in South India, passed on from his hands to C. Rajagopalachari, he contented himself with giving periodic advice on matters of public importance through his regular contributions to the Madras journals.

NOTES

NOTES

His long life had been a period of relentless struggle against Imperialism and economic and social distress. Though an anti - imperialist, he shared a lifelong friendship with some of its representatives in India, viz., Governors and Viceroys, Lord Ripon, Lord Curzon, Lord and Lady Hardinge.

The voice of the Lion of South India was stilled when he passed away on 19 April 1944. After his death, his valuable collections were treasured in the Memorial Library and Lecture Halls specially constructed and named after him.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of a written constitution. Almost all modern countries possessed of a constitutional government have written constitutions. England seems to be the only exception but only a partial exception, for her constitution is made up as well of charters and statutes as of traditions and usages preserved as common law by the line of great judges who contributed to the national freedom of England no less than her great statesmen and soldiers. I venture to submit that it is too late to think of an unwritten constitution.

4.3.2 Dadabhai Naoroji's Drain Theory and Economic Nationalism

Economic history of India is a late discipline. It started with critiques of imperialism and colonialism 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*. Other economists like GB Joshi and Prithwis Chandra Ray, more or less on these lines, wrote the history of Indian economy in the British period.

Economic nationalism in India primarily began with the publication of the Drain of Wealth theory in the 19th century. The Drain of Wealth refers to the wealth of the Indian nation, which was exported outside the country in the form of valuable commodities and goods, and this export was not the usual kind of export, which we talk about in contemporary terms. India was not benefiting from this export in any way as there were absolutely no adequate returns that the country was getting out of these exports. The theory of the Drain of Wealth was first proposed by Dadabhai Naroji. The great intellectual leader, who was also a cotton trader, was better known as the 'Grand Old Man of India'. He was one of the founding fathers of the Indian National Congress.

The Grand Old Man of India was born in the year 1825. He was the first one to expose this drainage of wealth in the paper, which he wrote in the year 1867. The title of the paper was 'English Debt to India'. On 2nd May of the same year, Dadabhai Naroji read this paper in front of the East India Association as he was invited to a meeting by them. He was quick to present his view and was not afraid

of any criticisms from the part of the British administrators. In his own words, 'Our of the revenues raised in India nearly one-fourth goes clean out of the country, and is added to the resources of England.' According to Dadabhai Naoroji, the following items contributed to the drain of wealth from India:

- Government purchase of stores manufactured in Britain.
- Remittances for the purchase of British goods for the consumption of British employees as well as purchases by them of British goods in India.
- Remittances of savings by employees of the Company, since most employees preferred to invest at home.
- Remittances to England by European employees for the support of their families and education of children-a feature of colonial system of government.
- Interests charges on public debt held in Britain.

Thus, the British ruled India and the Indian economy with two principle motives:

- To fetch raw materials from India for the growing British industries, and,
- To sell British made finished products in the vast Indian markets.

The main features of the economic policy adopted by the British to achieve these motives were:

- The British government compelled Indian farmers to change over from the production of food crops to the production of commercial crops like cotton, jute, oilseeds, etc.
- As a result of the Land Revenue System adopted by the British Government, the Indian farmers were obliged to sell large parts of their commercial crops in the local market and the same exported to England.
- On account of the British policy, Indian handicraft and cottage industries were almost ruined.

As a result of the economic policy of the Britishers, and the British Government, Indian economy degenerated into a poor, static, backward and predominantly agricultural economy. To exploit India for the selfish interest of England was the sole objective of each policy and measure adopted by the British Government.

After the success of the first paper, Dadabhai Naroji further extended his point of views in the papers titled 'The Wants and Means of India', which was written in the year 1870 and 'On the Commerce of India', which was written in the year 1871. In the words of Dadabhai, the British rule was plundering, unrighteous, despotic, destructive and un-British. Many British theorists were of the view that India was actually benefiting from the British rule but Dadabhai called such theories as absolute myths.

As Dadabhai started his campaign, many leaders, reformers and theorists started following him. A famous nationalist was Govind Ranade who started delivering

NOTES

NOTES

lectures on similar topics. Ranade proposed that more than one-third on the national income of the country was being taken away by the British in some way or the other. Another famous writer was Ramesh Chandra Dutt who wrote a book on this topic. The book was named *The Economic History of India*. He observes that, 'One half of the net revenue flows annually out of India and the moisture of India blesses and fertilizes other lands.' Thus, there were a stream of writers and nationalists who started joining this campaign delivering lectures, writing papers and books on the topic of the Drain of Wealth. Some of the famous ones included:

- P. C. Ray
- Gopal Krishna Gokhle
- M. M. Malaviya
- G. V. Joshi
- D. E. Wacha
- G. Subramaniam Iyer
- Bholanath Chandra
- Surendranath Banerjee

The Amrit Bazar Patrika was the newspaper that wrote about the Drain of Wealth out of India on a regular basis. The British theorists gave a point of view that invaders were plundering and looting India far before the coming of the British and further proposed that India was always ruled by the foreign rulers such as the Mughals, the Afghans and the Turks. The theories of the British writers can be debunked on two grounds. Firstly, when they talk about foreign invaders such as Mahmud of Ghazni, Nadir Shah and many more, they forget that these invasions were an attack on properties of individuals and thus the nation was not affected by such attacks. Secondly, the rulers who came to India and ruled over the country made India their home. The wealth accumulated by these rulers thus remained within the country making our nation wealthy and prosperous. It is true that the distribution of wealth was unequal, but this inequality widened even further during the British Raj when the wealth started being drained out of the country.

Check Your Progress

4. In which year did A.O Hume join the Bengal Civil Service?
5. Who is the author of the book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*?
6. Who was the founder of the Bombay Chronicle?
7. Who was also known as the 'Lion of South India'?
8. Who wrote the book *The Economic History of India*?

4.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The Indian National Congress was formed in the year 1885.
2. The economic demands of the Indian National Congress are given below:
 - Reduction in land revenue
 - Establishment of agricultural banks
3. W.C Banerjee was the first President of the Indian National Congress.
4. A.O Hume joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1849.
5. Dadabhai Naoroji is the author of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*.
6. Pherozeshah Mehta founded the famous Bombay Chronicle in 1913.
7. Salem C. Vijayaraghavachariar was also known as the 'Lion of South India'.
8. Ramesh Chandra Dutt wrote the book *The Economic History of India*.

NOTES

4.5 SUMMARY

- The Indian National Congress was formed due to the efforts of a number of people. Presence of number of political associations across the country, and spread of the ideals of patriotism and nationalism prepared the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
- The Indian National Congress was formed in the year 1885 but its origin is not known. Many people believe that A.O. Hume laid its foundation under Lord Dufferin. According to W.C. Banerjee, the First Congress President, the Indian National Congress was formed by Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India.
- 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.
- 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 of 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 educated Indians played a major role in cultivating a sense of nationalism. Some of the early nationalist, also known as the moderates, were the ones who set up the Indian national Congress.
- Some of the prominent members of the Indian National Congress were A.O Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjea,

NOTES

Badruddin Tyabji, Womesh Chander Banerjee, Madan Mohan Malviya, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

- C. Vijayaraghavachariar was also known as the 'The Hero of Salem' and 'Lion of South India'. This was because Vijayaraghavachariar was implicated in a Hindu-Muslim riot and charges were framed against him. He relentlessly fought the charges in the Court of Law and finally came out unscathed. His long life had been a period of relentless struggle against Imperialism and economic and social distress.
- Economic nationalism in India primarily began with the publication of the Drain of Wealth theory in the 19th century. Dadabhai Naoroji was the first one to propose this theory. In his own words, 'Our of the revenues raised in India nearly one-fourth goes clean out of the country, and is added to the resources of England.'

4.6 KEY WORDS

- **Budget:** It is a financial plan that is prepared for a defined period, often one year.
- **Tariffs:** It is a tax imposed by a government on imports or exports of goods.
- **Delegation:** It is a group of people who have been chosen to represent a larger group, especially at a meeting or an assembly.
- **Depressed Classes:** The term is used to refer to people belonging to the lowest castes in India, also known as untouchables.

4.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the political demands put forward by the Indian National Congress?
2. What were the objectives of the Indian National Congress?
3. Write a short note on the contribution of Dadabhai Naoroji.
4. Why was C. Vijayaraghavachariar known as the 'Lion of South India'?
5. What were the main features of the economic policy adopted by the British?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the formation of the Indian National Congress.
2. Examine the contribution of the prominent members of the Indian National Congress.

3. Analyse the political contributions of C. Vijayaraghavachariar.
4. Discuss in detail Dadabhai Naoroji's Drain of Wealth theory.

*Formation of the Indian
National Congress*

4.8 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

NOTES

NOTES

UNIT 5 IMPORTANT SESSIONS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
 - 5.1 Objectives
 - 5.2 List of Important Sessions of the Congress
 - 5.2.1 Presidents of INC before Independence
 - 5.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
 - 5.4 Summary
 - 5.5 Key Words
 - 5.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
 - 5.7 Further Readings
-

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in the year 1885 under the presidency of W.C Banerjee. After its formation, several notable personalities of different religions took control of the sessions of the Congress. The importance of these session is evinced by the kind of decisions that were taken. The issues ranged from the decision regarding the separate electorate system to the Non cooperation Movement. This unit will discuss in detail the decisions taken at the key sessions of the Congress before independence.

5.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the key sessions of the Indian National Congress
 - Discuss the contribution of some of the important Presidents of the Indian National Congress
-

5.2 LIST OF IMPORTANT SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The following is a list of important sessions of the Indian National Congress before independence as well as the name of the Presidents who presided over the session.

- First Session: held at Bombay in 1885. President: W.C. Bannerjee
 - o Formation of Indian National Congress.

- Second Session: held at Calcutta in 1886. President: Dadabhai Naoroji
- Third Session: held at Madras in 1887. President: Syed Badruddin Tyabji, first muslim President.
- Fourth Session: held at Allahabad in 1888. President: George Yule, first English President.
- 1896: Calcutta. President: Rahimtullah Sayani
 - o National Song ‘Vande Mataram’ sung for the first time by Rabindranath Tagore.
- 1899: Lucknow. President: Romesh Chandra Dutt.
 - o Demand for permanent fixation of Land revenue
- 1901: Calcutta. President: Dinshaw E. Wacha
 - o First time Gandhiji appeared on the Congress platform
- 1905: Benaras. President: Gopal Krishan Gokhale
 - o Formal proclamation of Swadeshi movement against government
- 1906: Calcutta. President: Dadabhai Naoroji
 - o Adopted four resolutions on: Swaraj (Self Government), Boycott Movement, Swadeshi & National Education
- 1907: Surat. President: Rash Bihari Ghosh
 - o Split in Congress- Moderates & Extremist
 - o Adjournment of Session
- 1910: Allahabad. President: Sir William Wedderburn
 - o M.A Jinnah decried the separate electorate system introduced by act of 1909
- 1911: Calcutta. President: B.N. Dhar
 - o First time recital of Jan-Gan-Man in Congress session
- 1915: Bombay. President: Sir S.P. Sinha
 - o Constitution of the Congress was altered to admit the delegates from the extremist section
- 1916: Lucknow. President: A.C. Majumdar
 - o Unity between two factions-Moderates and Extremists of Congress
 - o Lucknow Pact signed between Congress and Muslim League to build political consensus
- 1917: Calcutta. President: Annie Besant, First Woman President of Congress
- 1918 (Special session): Bombay. President: Syed Hasan Imam
 - o The session was convened to deliberate the contentious Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme

Important Sessions of the Indian National Congress

NOTES

NOTES

- 1919: Amritsar. President: Motilal Nehru
 - o Congress extended support to Khilafat Movement
- 1920 (Special Session): Calcutta. President: Lala Lajpat Rai
 - o Mahatma Gandhi moved the Non cooperation resolution
- 1920: Nagpur. President: C. Vijayaraghavachariar
 - o Reconstitution of Working committees of Congress on Linguistic basis
 - o MA Jinnah left the Indian National Congress
- 1922: Gaya. President: C.R. Das
 - o CR Das and other leaders broke away from INC
 - o Formation of Swaraj Party
- 1924: Belgaum. President: M.K. Gandhi
 - o Only Session presided over by Mahatma Gandhi
- 1925: Kanpur. President: Sarojini Naidu, First Indian Woman President
- 1927: Madras. President: Dr. M.A. Ansari
 - o Passed a resolution against the use of Indian troops in China, Iran and Mesopotamia.
 - o Passed a resolution against boycott of Simon Commission
 - o Adoption of resolution on Purna Swaraj
- 1928: Calcutta. President: Motilal Nehru
 - o Formation of All India Youth Congress
- 1929: Lahore. President: Jawahar Lal Nehru
 - o Passed the resolution on 'Poorna Swaraj.'
 - o Civil Disobedience movement for complete independence to be launched
 - o 26 January to be observed as 'Independence Day'.
- 1931: Karachi. President: Vallabhbhai Patel
 - o Resolutions on Fundamental Rights and National Economic Programme
 - o Endorsement of Gandhi-Irwin pact
 - o Gandhi nominated to represent INC in the Second Round Table Conference to be held in London
- 1934: Bombay. President: Rajendra Prasad
 - o Amendment in the Constitution of Congress
- 1936: Lucknow. President: Jawahar Lal Nehru
 - o Push towards socialist ideas by Jawahar Lal Nehru
- 1937: Faizpur. President: Jawahar Lal Nehru
 - o First Session to be held in a village

- 1938: Haripura. President: Subhas Chandra Bose
 - o National Planning Committee set up under Jawahar Lal Nehru.
- 1939: Tripuri. President: Rajendra Prasad
 - o Subhas Chandra Bose was re-elected but had to resign
 - o Rajendra Prasad was appointed in his place
 - o Subhash Chandra Bose formed Forward Bloc
- 1940: Ramgarh. President: Abul Kalam Azad
 - o Civil Disobedience movement to be launched at appropriate time and circumstances.
- 1941–45: This Period is marked by events i.e. Quit India movement, RIN Mutiny & INA trials.
 - o Phase of constitutional negotiations such as Cripps Mission, Wavell Plan and Cabinet Mission.
 - o On account of these events during this phase no congress session was held.
- 1946: Meerut. President: J.B Kripalani
 - o Last session before independence
 - o J.B Kriplani was the president of INC at independence.

NOTES

5.2.1 Presidents of INC before Independence

Given below are some of the notable Presidents of the Indian National Congress:

- **W.C. Bannerjee (1885, 1892):** He was the President of the 1885 session in Bombay. He was the first president of the Indian National Congress. Bannerjee was also the president of INC's Allahabad session in 1892.
- **Dadabhai Naoroji (1886, 1893):** He was the president of the Calcutta conference in 1886. The Lahore session in 1893 was also held under his president-ship. He was a Parsi intellectual, educator, cotton trader and social reformer renowned as the Grand Old Man of India.
- **Badruddin Tyabji (1887):** He was the president at the Madras conference in 1887.
- **George Yule (1888):** He became the first British president of INC and presided over the Allahabad session in 1888.
- **William Wedderburn (1889, 1910):** He was the president at the Bombay session in 1889 and the Allahabad conference in 1910.
- **Pherozeshah Mehta (1890):** He was the president of INC's Calcutta session in 1890. He was a leading lawyer in the Bombay presidency and was knighted by the British government for his service.

NOTES

- **Anandacharlu (1891):** He presided over the Nagpur session in 1891.
- **Alfred Webb (1894):** He was the president at the 1894 Madras conference.
- **Surendranath Banerjee (1895, 1892):** He was the president of INC's Poona session in 1895 and the Ahmedabad conference in 1902. He was called the sobriquet Rashtraguru.
- **Rahimtulla M Sayani (1896):** He was the president at the Calcutta session in 1896. One of the founding members of INC, Sayani was the second Muslim to become its president. He was a follower of Aga Khan and belonged to the Khoja community.
- **C. Sankaran Nair (1897):** He was the president at Amraoti conference of INC in 1897. Till date, he is the only Keralite to have held the position. A lawyer, jurist and activist by profession, he had slammed the highhandedness of the foreign administration and called for self-governance.
- **Anandamohan Bose (1898):** A barrister by profession, Bose was the president at the Madras conference in 1898.
- **Romesh Chunder Dutt (1899):** He presided over the Lucknow conference in 1899. He was a civil servant, writer, translator of Mahabharata and Ramayana, and an economic historian.
- **Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar (1900):** He was the president of the Lahore session of INC in 1900. He was then one of the leading Hindu reformers in western India. He was also on the bench of the Bombay High Court and was knighted in 1910.
- **Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1901):** One of the founding members of INC, Wacha was the president at the 1901 Calcutta session of INC.
- **Lalmohan Ghosh (1903):** He presided over the 1903 conference of INC in Madras. He was a leading Bengali barrister.
- **Henry John Stedman Cotton (1904):** He was the president at the 1904 conference at Bombay. He was a long-serving Indian civil servant and was sympathetic to the sentiments of Indian nationalists.
- **Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1905):** He presided over the Benares conference in 1905. He went on to lead the moderate group (naram dal) after the party split into garam dal and naram dal. After Mahatma Gandhi's return to India, he joined Gokhale's group to lead the independence movement.
- **Rashbihari Ghosh (1907, 1908):** He was the president of INC's Surat conference in 1907 and the Madras session of 1908. He was a politician, lawyer, social activist and philanthropist. He was one of the most vocal opponents of radicalism or extremism and was part of the moderates.

- **Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (1909, 1918):** He was the president of INC's 1909 conference in Lahore and the 1918 conference in Delhi. He is credited with founding the Benares Hindu University, Asia's largest residential university. An educationist by profession, he was conferred with the title Mahamana by Rabindranath Tagore and was also posthumously conferred with the Bharat Ratna.
- **Bishan Narayan Dar (1911):** He presided over the Calcutta session in 1911.
- **Rao Bahadur Raghunath Narasinha Mudholkar (1912):** He was the president at the Bankipore session of INC in 1912. He was a staunch advocate of female education, widow remarriage abolition of untouchability. He was also Companion (CIE) of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, an order of chivalry founded by Queen Victoria in 1878.
- **Nawab Syed Muhammad Bahadur (1913):** He was the president at INC's Karachi session in 1913. Born into one of the wealthiest families in south India, he was also the first Muslim sheriff of Madras.
- **Bhupendra Nath Bose (1914):** He was the president at the 1914 session of INC in Madras. He was also the first president of Mohun Bagan AC.
- **Lord Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (1915):** The first baron of Raipur, Sinha was the president of the Bombay conference in 1915. He was later knighted and became the first Indian to be a member of the British House of Lords. Sinha's ennoblement also helped to move a bill that eventually became the Government of India Act 1919.
- **Ambica Charan Mazumdar (1916):** He was the president at INC's Lucknow session in 1916. The historic Lucknow Pact between the INC and Muslim League was signed during this session. It was also the session where the Congress' moderate and extremist groups reunited.
- **Annie Besant (1917):** She presided over the 1917 session in Calcutta and became the first woman president of INC. Besant was a sociologist, theosophist, social reformer and an advocate of Indian self-rule.
- **Syed Hasan Imam (1918):** Inam presided over the Special Session of 1918 in Bombay. The session was convened to deliberate the contentious Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms Scheme. He was also a leader of the Khilafat movement.
- **Motilal Nehru (1919):** Motilal Nehru presided over the Amritsar session of INC in 1919 as well the Kolkata session of 1928. He was an eminent lawyer and was the founder patriarch of the Nehru-Gandhi family. The second session presided by him witnessed a tussle between two sections of the party—one which accepted dominion status and the other which wanted complete independence. He was also part of the

NOTES

NOTES

civil disobedience movement, non-cooperation movement, and the Swaraj party. Though close to Mahatma Gandhi, he was often critical of him.

- **Lala Lajpat Rai (1920):** He presided over the Calcutta session in 1920. He was regarded as Punjab Kesari. Lala Lajpat Rai was freedom fighter; he controversially asked for India to be divided into a Hindu and Muslim state in 1923. He was also a leader of several Hindu reform movements, including the Arya Samaj.
- **C. Vijayaraghavachariar (1920):** He presided over the Special Session at Nagpur in 1920. He was an orthodox Vaishnavite who was accused of inciting religious riots, but was cleared later. He was close to A.O. Hume and played a key role in the formation of the Swaraj Constitution. He was also part of the Propaganda Committee of Congress.
- **Hakim Ajmal Khan (1921):** He presided over the 1921 session in Ahmedabad. He was one of the founders of Delhi's Jamia Millia Islamia University and the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia (medical) College. He is the only person to have been appointed president of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and the All India Khilafat Committee.
- **Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das (1922):** He presided over the Gaya conference of INC in 1922. A lawyer by profession, he was a leading member of the Indian National Movement and a founding leader of the Swaraj Party in Bengal.
- **Mohammad Ali Jouhar (1923):** He was the president at the Kakinada session of INC in 1923.
- **Abul Kalam Azad (1923, 1940-46):** He presided over the Delhi Special Session in 1923. He was also elected president of the 1940 session in Ramgarh. Commonly regarded as Maulana Azad, the leader was conferred Bharat Ratna posthumously. He was a revolutionary poet, journalist, activist and freedom fighter. He is credited for the formation of University Grants Commission and the Indian Institutes of Technology. He oversaw the formation of a national education system which offered free education till primary school.
- **Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1924):** He was the president of INC's Belgaum session in 1924. Gandhi spearheaded several movements like the non-violent civil disobedience, non-cooperation, swadesi movement, etc. Gandhi is one of the most important members of the Indian nationalist movement solely on the basis of influence and mass support gathered by his vision of non-violence, religious pluralism, swaraj and a upliftment of the downtrodden.

- **Sarojini Naidu (1925):** She presided over the 1925 session in Kanpur.
- **S Srinivasa Iyengar (1926):** He was the president at the Gauhati session of Congress in 1926. An eminent lawyer, he served as the Advocate-General of Madras Presidency from 1916-1920.
- **Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari (1927):** He presided over the Madras session in 1927. He also served as the president of the Muslim League and was one of the founders of Jamia Millia Islamia University. He was chancellor from 1928-36.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru (1929, 1930, 1936, 1937, 1946-July to September, 1951-1954):** He presided over the Lahore session in 1929 as well as the Karachi session of 1930. He also presided over the 1936 sessions in Lucknow and the 1937 session in Faizpur. He presided over the Delhi sessions in 1951 and 1952 as well as the Hyderabad and Calcutta sessions in 1953 and 1954.

Jawaharlal Nehru wasn't elected president in 1929 but was backed by the influential Motilal Nehru. However, he was one of the central figures of Indian politics and Independence movement. The first prime minister of independent India was a trained barrister and was mentored by Gandhi. He is regarded as Pandit Nehru due to his roots in the Kashmiri Pandit community.

- **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (1931):** He was president of the Karachi session in 1931. The conference endorsed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact under his president-ship at this session. Patel was one of the leading figures of Indian independence movement and is credited with persuading hundreds of provinces to form India.
- **Nellie Sengupta (1933):** She presided over the Calcutta session in 1933.
- **Rajendra Prasad (1934, 1935):** He was the president of the INC of Bombay conference in 1934 and the Lucknow session in 1935. Rajendra Prasad also went on to become the first president of independent India.
- **Subhas Chandra Bose (1938, 1939):** He was the president of the Haripura session of Congress. He was elected the president for the Jabalpur session in 1939 but had to resign. He was replaced by Rajendra Prasad. Bose founded the Indian National Army (INA) and was opposed to the pacifist movement adopted by INC. His movement aimed at liberating India by the all Indian army INA. He is one of most renowned freedom fighters in India's history.
- **J.B. Kripalani (1947):** He presided over the Meerut session in 1947. He was one of the most ardent disciples of Mahatma Gandhi and was president of INC during transfer of power from Britain to India in 1947.

NOTES

NOTES

Check Your Progress

1. Where was the first session of the Indian National Congress held?
2. Who was the first Muslim President of the Indian National Congress?
3. Name the first English President of the Indian National Congress.
4. In which year was the Lucknow Pact signed between the Congress and the Muslim League?
5. Who was the first Woman President of the Congress?
6. Where was the last session of the Indian National Congress held before independence?
7. Who conferred the title of Mahamana to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya?
8. In which year did Nellie Sengupta preside over the session of the Congress?

5.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay in 1885.
2. The first Muslim President of the Indian National Congress was Syed Badruddin Tyabji.
3. The first English President of the Indian National Congress was George Yule.
4. The Lucknow Pact was signed between Congress and Muslim League to build political consensus in 1916.
5. Annie Besant was the first Woman President of the Indian National Congress.
6. The last session of the Indian National Congress before independence was held in Meerut in 1946.
7. Rabindranath Tagore conferred the title of Mahamana to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
8. Nellie Sengupta presided over the Calcutta session in 1933.

5.4 SUMMARY

- The first session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay in 1885. The first Muslim President of the Indian National Congress was Syed Badruddin Tyabji and the first English President was George Yule.

- National Song ‘Vande Mataram’ was sung for the first time by Rabindranath Tagore in 1896 session of the Congress.
- The 1916 session of the Congress in Lucknow was considered important for the following reasons:
 - o Unity between two factions-Moderates and Extremists of Congress
 - o Lucknow Pact signed between Congress and Muslim League to build political consensus
- In the 1927 session, following decisions were taken:
 - o A resolution was passed against the use of Indian troops in China, Iran and Mesopotamia.
 - o A resolution was passed against boycott of Simon Commission.
 - o Adoption of resolution on Purna Swaraj
- The 1929 Lahore session is important due to the following factors:
 - o A resolution was passed on ‘Poorna Swaraj.’
 - o Civil Disobedience movement for complete independence was to be launched.
- The period between 1941 and 1945 is marked by events such as Quit India movement, RIN Mutiny & INA trials.
- The last session of the Indian National Congress before independence was held in Meerut in 1946.
- Some of the notable Presidents of the INC were W.C. Banerjee. G.K Gokhale, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Subhash Chandra Bose and J.B Kriplani.

NOTES

5.5 KEY WORDS

- **Resolution:** It refers to a formal decision that is taken after a vote by a group of people.
- **Pact:** It is a formal agreement between two or more people, countries or associations.
- **Amendment:** It is a change that is introduced in a law that has already been passed or is still under discussion.

5.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were some of the key decisions taken in the 1927 Madras session of the Congress?

2. Write a short note on the 1929 Lahore Session of the Congress.
3. What were some of the key decisions taken in the 1931 Karachi session of the Congress?

NOTES

Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the key decisions taken in some of the important sessions of the Indian National Congress.
2. Explain how the sessions of the Indian National Congress stirred the national consciousness of the people.

5.7 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

UNIT 6 THE MODERATES: DEMANDS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

*Important Sessions of
the Indian National
Congress*

NOTES

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 The Moderates
- 6.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 6.4 Summary
- 6.5 Key Words
- 6.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 6.7 Further Readings

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The Indian National Congress gave impetus to the spirit of nationalism. In the early stages, the Congress leaders believed that the British government would listen to their demands and act upon it. However, with the passage of time, the Indian masses became disillusioned with the concept of nationalism. This gave rise to a new stream of leaders, who were known as Extremists. This unit will discuss the achievements and reasons for failure of the Moderates.

6.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Examine the differences between the Moderates and the Extremists
- Understand the constitutional, administrative and economic demands of the Moderates
- Discuss the achievement and the causes for the failure of the Moderates

6.2 THE MODERATES

Since its inception in 1885 till the time India won its Independence in 1947, the Indian National Congress was the largest and most prominent Indian political organization. In its initial stages, the Indian National Congress was a political unit, however, in due course of time it supported the cause of social reform and human development. The Indian National Congress is said to have also provided impetus to the spirit of nationalism. In its early stages, there was unity in the Indian National Congress and it was marked by the learning of democratic methods and techniques.

NOTES

The leaders of the INC believed that the British government was responsive to their needs and were willing to make changes accordingly. However, over a period of time, the Indian masses became disillusioned with the concept of nationalism. They suddenly became aware that their petitions were not as fruitful as expected and that the British subtly avoided taking any action. Even in the phase of dissatisfaction, there were some Congress leaders who believed in the methods of the British government and came to be known as 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 moderates that 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.

Moderates

Due to the low-level of political awareness, the achievements of moderate nationalists were not immense. However, by 1907, the moderates were pushed to the background with the emergence of an extremist class in the Congress. The failure to produce any results for the welfare of the people resulted in the creation of an extremist group and the division of Congress into two factions. Leaders of moderate phase mainly came from Bombay, Bengal and Madras. For example, Badruddin Tayabji, 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 belief. They saw England as a source of inspiration and treated English as their political guru. Many of these nationalist leaders had anglicized lifestyle. All they wanted and expected from the British was a 'reform package' for Indians.

The moderates believed in peaceful methods to get their demands across. They believed in writing petitions and peaceful protests. Though the Moderates failed to make the same impact as the extremists, they petitioned 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.

NOTES

- 2. Demand for economic reforms:** The Congress 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 manufactures and a field of investment for foreign capital. 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 which 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 the blame on the politics of the British Government. They blamed the Government for the destruction of the indigenous industries like the traditional handicrafts industries in the country. They demanded the rapid development of the modern industries which 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 the 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 which 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 the European put a heavy burden on Indian finance, and contributed to the

NOTES

economic drain. Indians of similar qualifications could be employed on lower salaries. Europeans sent a large part of their salaries back to England 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 the 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 from 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 and protested against the policy of the annexation of Burma, the attack upon 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 the British colonies in search of employment. In many of these foreign lands they were subjected to severe oppression and racial discrimination.

- 4. Defense of Civil Rights:** They opposed the restrictions imposed by the government on the 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 condemning the government through their speeches and writings. The Nattu brothers of Poona were deported without trial. The entire country protested against this attack on the liberties of the people. The arrest of Tilak marked the beginning of new phase of the nationalist movement.

Failure of the Moderates

The basic weakness of the moderates lay in 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 challenge to the foreign rulers. That was likely to invite severe 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.

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.

Thus, it is clear that the Congress was not only concerned with the issues of zamindars, capitalist and English educated professionals, but it also showed concern

NOTES

NOTES

for almost all the sections of the society. The objectives of the Congress were never the reason for calling it 'moderate', rather its methods and style of functioning. The early Congress leaders believed in the constitutional method of struggle, i.e., through petitions, speeches and articles. One important reason for this was the social composition of early Congress leaders. They came from successful professional background (most of them were lawyers, journalists and academicians) and their personal life-style was anglicised. Perhaps, the first lesson they learned from the British was how to write applications and give petitions. Moreover, politics, for most of them, remained a part-time affair.

Check Your Progress

1. Name the Moderates who demanded Swarajya or self government within the British Empire.
2. Why did the Moderates call the Indian Councils Act of 1892 a hoax?
3. Who was the first Indian to be jailed for performing his duty as a journalist after the Vernacular Press Act of 1878?
4. In which year was the Vernacular Press Act repealed by Lord Ripon?
5. Why were the Moderates unable to win over the Muslims?

6.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Dadabhai Naoroji demanded Swarajya within the British Empire in the year 1905 and 1906 respectively.
2. The Moderates demanded the expansion and reform of the existing Legislative Councils from 1885 to 1892. They demanded a large share for the Indians in the Legislative Councils. The Moderates called the Indian Councils Act of 1892 a hoax as they were not satisfied with what was given to the people of India.
3. Surendranath Banerjee was the first Indian to go to jail in performance of his duty as a journalist.
4. Lord Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act in 1881.
5. 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.

6.4 SUMMARY

- Since its inception in 1885 till the time India won its Independence in 1947, the Indian National Congress was the largest and most prominent Indian political organization. In its initial stages, the Indian National Congress was a political unit, however, in due course of time it supported the cause of social reform and human development.
- Over a period of time, the Indian masses became disillusioned with the concept of nationalism. They suddenly became aware that their petitions not as fruitful as expected and that the British subtly avoided taking any action.
- There were some Congress leaders who believed in the methods of the British government and came to be known as 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 moderates that were limited to writing petitions and conducting agitations to get themselves heard.
- Leaders of moderate phase mainly came from Bombay, Bengal and Madras. The moderate leaders treated British rule as a blessing. The moderates believed in peaceful methods to get their demands across. They believed in writing petitions and peaceful protests.
- Though the Moderates failed to make the same impact as the extremists, they petitioned a number of reforms during this time. These were primarily constitutional, administrative, and economic reforms.
- The basic weakness of the moderates lay 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 immunity.
- 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.
- 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.

NOTES

6.5 KEY WORDS

- **Petition:** It is a written document, signed by many people, that asks a government to do or change something.

NOTES

- **Racial discrimination:** It refers to any discrimination against any individual on the basis of their skin color, or racial or ethnic origin.
- **Capitalists:** The term is used for a person who uses their wealth to invest in trade and industry for profit.

6.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Differentiate between the political outlook of the Moderates and the Extremists.
2. What were the economic demands of the Moderates?
3. What was the impact of the Vernacular Press Act on press freedom and journalists?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the constitutional and administrative reforms demanded by the Moderates.
2. Discuss the factors that led to the failure of the Moderates.

6.7 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

UNIT 7 THE EXTREMISTS

Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Objectives
- 7.2 Rise of Extremism and its Causes
 - 7.2.1 Revolutionary Activities
- 7.3 Bal, Pal, Lal
- 7.4 Swadeshi Movement
- 7.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 7.6 Summary
- 7.7 Key Words
- 7.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 7.9 Further Readings

NOTES

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The Indian political scene was not reformed to a great extent by the efforts of the Moderates. This led to the rise of a new and younger group who believed that different measures need to be adopted. Revolutionary activities were seen in India and abroad. Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Bal Gandadhar Tilak became the face of militant nationalism in India. This unit will discuss the contribution of these freedom fighters and the Swadeshi Movement in India.

7.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the rise of extremism in India
- Discuss the contributions of Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal
- Examine the Swadeshi Movement in India

7.2 RISE OF EXTREMISM AND ITS CAUSES

The closing decade of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress, which 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, which was to be achieved by more self-reliant and independent methods. The new group came to be called the extremists in contrast to the older one which began to be referred to as the moderates.

NOTES

The militant form of nationalism was first found in the teachings and preaching of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Dayananda Saraswati. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was inspired by the *Bhagavad Gita* and visualized a united India. Swami Vivekananda, who was called the prophet of nationalism by Bipin Chandra Pal, added spiritual dimension to the idea of nationalism. He inspired the youth of his time, more than anyone else. The root of extremism lies in two important factors—the policies of colonial rule, and the failure of moderate leaders to attract younger generation and common people.

Factors that Led to the Rise of Extremism

Following are the factors led to the rise of extremists:

- Enlightenment of the true nature of British rule
- Civil Services examinations was disallowed
- Partition of Bengal
- The Indian Council Act, 1892, failed to introduce an elective element in India and provided for selection of some members
- Adoption of the Tariff and Cotton Duties Act of 1894 and 1896 by the Indians
- Curbing freedom of press (1904) and controlling universities through Indian University Act (1904)
- Defeat of Russia (1904-05) by Japan inspired the educated youth
- Circulation of Vernacular newspaper went up from 2,99,000 in 1885 to 8,17,000 in 1905. Some of the popular journals like *Kesari* (Marathi) and *Bangabhasi* (Bengali) opposed the moderate Congress
- The famine of Maharashtra in 1896

Objectives and Methods of Extremists

The new turn in Indian politics found expression in two forms—the formation of the extremist group within the Congress and the growth of revolutionary movement in the country at large. Four prominent Congress leaders—Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai, defined the creed of the new group, gave 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 titled ‘New Lamps for Old’ was Aurobindo Ghose. He did not like the 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 French Revolution (1789-99). He also suggested bringing the proletariat (working) class in the national movement. The emerging leaders in the Congress, like Bipin Chandra Pal, Ashwini Kumar Dutta, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 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 works. They argued that ‘good government is no substitute for self-government’. The issue of Swadeshi Movement widened the gap between the moderates and the extremists. 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 plans.

Lajpat Rai thundered ‘no national 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’. But the true founder of militant nationalism was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. 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, i.e., ‘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. He used religious symbols and festivals, like Ganesh festival since 1894, to mobilize people and he made patriotic-cum-historical cult through Shivaji festival since 1896 to inspire the youth. He even carried out the 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. 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’. He also started Boycott Movement on the issue of countervailing Cotton Excise Duty Act 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 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.

NOTES

NOTES

7.2.1 Revolutionary Activities

Even the reactionary activities of the extremists school of leaders could not satisfy the Indian youth. They opposed the British with the use of violence through pistol and bomb. The revolutionary terrorist movement in India strongly affected the Congress and the British government. Revolutionary terrorist groups restricted their strengths only to remain more agile and effective. The movement, however low the number it attracted, had an impact on India: its people, the Congress and the British rulers.

Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra

The Chapekar brothers (Deodar and Balkrishana Chapekar) shot dead Lt. Ayerst in 1897 at Poona, although Rand, the president of the Plague Committee was the real target. They were arrested, convicted and hanged. Similarly, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was sentenced to jail for provoking terrorism through his writings.

Revolutionary activities in Bengal

Bengal became the hotbed of terrorist activities. In 1908, Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose threw a bomb at Kennedy's carriage assuming it to be that of Kingsford, the judge of Muzaffarpur. Previously, the concerned judge had awarded capital punishment to many youths. Two ladies died in the incident and Prafulla shot himself dead before he could be captured by the police. On the other hand, Khudiram was tried and hanged.

In Calcutta, Aurobindo Ghosh organized the revolutionaries. He tried to strike terror in the minds of the British officials by killing some British officers. In Alipore conspiracy case, Aurobindo, his brother, Barinas and others were captured and tried. Namenda Gosling, the approver in the case, was shot dead. A similar fate awaited the Public Prosecutor and the Deputy Superintendent of police. Although Aurobindo was acquitted but his brother and the others were deported to Andaman. Sateen Bose and Kanai Dutta, who had killed the approver, were sentenced to death. Another revolutionary named Baghdad Jain was killed in an encounter with police in 1915. He was involved in the Dacca conspiracy case.

Revolutionary activities in Punjab

Punjab also became a centre of revolutionary activities under the leadership of Lala Hardayal, Avado Bihar, Amir Chandra, J.M. Chatterjee, etc. The revolutionary associations like 'Kitty Kinas Party' and 'Naujawan Sabha' were also set up.

Chandra Shekhar Azad founded 'Hindustan Republic Association'. It was later rechristened as 'Hindustan Socialist Republic Association'. Its leading members like Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev were sentenced to death for their involvement in the Kakori train robbery, bombing the Assembly hall and other terrorist activities. In fact, Punjab became a smouldering volcano for the British government.

The Europeans were attacked at Lahore. Several riots occurred at Rawalpindi under the leadership of Ajit Singh.

Revolutionary activities in Madras

The youths of Madras were inspired by the visit of Bipin Chandra Pal to Madras and his inflammatory speech. Chidambaram Pillai demanded total independence for India for which he was arrested. As a protest the crowd turned violent in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli. The police opened fire to disperse the crowd. The officer who had ordered firing was killed by Vanchi Ayer.

Revolutionary activities in the rest of India

At various places in western India, the revolutionary terrorism made its presence felt. In 1909 Jackson, the Magistrate of Nasik was shot dead. He was very unpopular among the general public. The Ahmedabad bomb case and the Satara conspiracy cases were other noteworthy terrorist activities in the region.

At Dehradun, a bomb was thrown at Viceroy Lord Harding by Rasbehari Bose. Some of the Viceroy's attendants were killed. In an encounter with British police in 1931, Chandra Shekhar Azad was shot dead at Alfred Park in Allahabad.

Revolutionary activities abroad

Even abroad the revolutionary activities continued in full swing. After the murder of District Magistrate Rand, Shyamji Krishna Verma of Kathiawar went to London and started Home Rule Society in due course of time.

In 1906, V.D. Savarkar went to London and joined 'Indian Society'. It promoted revolutionary terrorism. Madan Lal Dhingra, one of the members of this society, killed Sir William Curzon Willy, the ADC to the Secretary of State of India.

Among the revolutionary activities abroad, the role of Gadar Party can never be denied. Lala Hardayal, a revolutionary young man from Punjab, established Gadar Party and also published a weekly paper *The Gadar*. It aimed at bringing about a revolution in India to set the country free from the British. Lala Hardayal was ordered by the USA government to leave the country due to his engagement in the anti-British propaganda.

During the World War I, the Indian revolutionaries abroad approached the German government for help. They further sought help from the Muslims of Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan to overthrow the British empire in India. Sardar Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad went to the Middle East to unite the defeated Indian soldiers and garner their support.

Raja Mahendra Pratap led an Indo-German mission to Afghanistan and set up a free government there. The Komagata Maru case fanned the fire of revolutionary terrorism. This Japanese ship which took revolutionary Sikhs to Canada was denied anchoring in the port in Canada and returned to Calcutta. The

NOTES

NOTES

passengers revolted not to board train for Punjab arranged by the British government. Some of them died due to the government's strict action. All these happenings inspired the terrorist movement in Punjab.

The revolutionary terrorists carried out political dacoities at Amritsar, Jullundur and Ludhiana in Punjab. These revolutionary activities lasted abroad till 1945 when Subhas Chandra Bose met a mysterious death. The revolutionary activities, both inside the country and abroad, could not succeed because these were confined just to the educated middle class people of India.

There were specific causes which were responsible for the failure of revolutionary activities. Some of them are: lack of sympathy from the upper class Indians; various types of organizational and financial problems coming across the revolutionaries; indifference of Indian National Congress towards the militant nationalist thought; tough and repressive measures taken by the government; and last but not the least, the appearance of Gandhiji on the scene.

Bhagat Singh, representative of the dissatisfied Indian youth who disapproved of Gandhian policies, offered revolutionary alternatives. He emerged as an extraordinary revolutionary and martyr of the Indian anti-colonial movement. He studied the European revolutionary movement and was particularly attracted to anarchism and communism. Being an out and out atheist, socialist and communist, it was not long before it dawned on him that just overthrowing the British was not enough. He realized that the socialist reconstruction of Indian society was essential, for which the workers needed to seize political power. In the words of Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt:

By Revolution we mean that the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice must change. Producers or labourers, in spite of being the most necessary element of society, are robbed by their exploiters of their labour and deprived of their elementary rights. The peasant who grows corn for all, starves with his family; the weaver who supplies the world market with textile fabrics, has not enough to cover his own and his children's bodies; masons, smiths and carpenters who raise magnificent palaces, live like pariahs in the slums. The capitalists and exploiters, the parasites of society, squander millions on their whims.

This was their understanding of revolution which they expressed following the (assembly bomb case) on 6th June, 1929.

Their argument was that a 'radical change' was required and that it could only be brought about by those who realized that it was necessary to reorganize society on socialist. For this purpose, it was felt necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is clear from the actions and slogans associated with the Lahore Conspiracy Case that Bhagat Singh and his comrades were followers of Communism. On January 21, 1930, they appeared in court with red scarves. The moment the magistrate was seated they raised the following slogans: 'Long Live Socialist Revolution', 'Long Live the Communist International', 'Long live the people',

‘Lenin’s name will never die’, and ‘Down with Imperialism.’ The text of the following telegram was read by Bhagat Singh in court:

On Lenin Day we send hearty greetings to all who are doing something for carrying forward the ideas of the great Lenin, we wish success to the great experiment Russia is carrying out. We join our voice to that of the International working class movement. The proletariat will win. Capitalism will be defeated. Death to Imperialism.

Bhagat Singh criticized the individual terrorism that existed among the revolutionary youth of his time. He realized that there was a need for the Communist Party to work towards mass mobilization. Bhagat strongly believed that the party had to organize the workers and the peasantry. The fight for the small economic demands through the labour unions, according to him, was the best means of educating the common masses for a final struggle to achieve political power. He also felt that the Communist Party should shoulder the additional responsibility of organizing a military department.

In his own words: ‘I am not a terrorist and I never was, except perhaps in the beginning of my revolutionary career. And I am convinced that we cannot gain anything through these methods. One can easily judge it from the history of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. All our activities were directed towards an aim, i.e., identifying ourselves with the great movement as its military wing. If anybody has misunderstood me, let him amend his ideas. I do not mean that bombs and pistols are useless, rather the contrary. But I mean to say that mere bomb throwing is not only useless but sometimes harmful. The military department of the party should always keep ready all the war-material it can command for any emergency. It should back the political work of the party. It cannot and should not work independently.’

Check Your Progress

1. Name some of the popular journals that opposed the moderate Congress.
2. Name the leader who criticized moderate politics in a series of articles titled ‘New Lamps for Old’.
3. Who said ‘Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it’?
4. Who founded the ‘Hindustan Republic Association’?

7.3 BAL, PAL, LAL,

Let us begin by discussing Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Bal Gangadhar Tilak can be considered the true founder of militant Nationalism in India. He was a Chitpavan Brahmin from Poona who criticized the moderates in

NOTES

NOTES

the Congress 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 objective 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’. For his strong advocacy of India’s freedom Tilak was imprisoned by the British government on charges of sedition thrice and was even sent to prison in Burma in 1908 for a period of six year. After coming back from Burma, he founded the All India Home Rule League.

Tilak was in many ways a pioneer in the Indian freedom movement.

- (i) Used religious symbols and festivals like Ganesh festival since 1894, to mobilize people.
- (ii) Used patriotic-cum-historical cult through Shivaji festival since 1896, to inspire the youth.
- (iii) Started 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.’
- (iv) Started Boycott Movement on the issue of countervailing cotton exercise of 1896.

Lala Lajpat Rai

Lala Lajpat Rai was another extremely prominent early nationalist leaders of the freedom struggle. Along with Bal Ganghadar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Rajpat Rai was part of the Indian triumvirate of ‘Lal Bal Pal’. Due to his fierce brand of patriotism and potent vocalism for India’s independence from Britain, he was given the moniker ‘Punjab Kesari’ or the ‘Lion of Punjab’. Along with his independence activities, Rai’s contribution is also noteworthy in other areas. He initiated the founding of the Punjab National Bank and also founded Hindu Orphan Relief Movement to keep the Christian missions from securing custody of these children.

When the British announced the setup of a constitutional reform commission, known as the Simon Commission, many nationalists including Rai were strongly opposed to it. While leading a protest against the commission, Rai was injured in a police lathicharge, and later succumbed to his injuries. Even though he was grievously injured, Rai subsequently addressed the protest and said, ‘I declare that the blows struck at me today will be the last nails in the coffin of British rule in India’.

The young Indian revolutionary nationalist leaders from the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association such as Bhagat Singh and Chandrashekhar Azad,

sought revenge against the English police officer responsible for hitting Rai with lathis during the protest.

The Extremists

Bipin Chandra Pal

Indian journalist and one of the early leaders of the nationalist movement Bipin Chandra Pal popularized the concept of ‘Swadeshi’ and ‘Swaraj’. His interactions with political leaders like Surendra Nath Banerjee, Shivnath Shastri and B K Goswami propelled him to take part in politics. Though he was originally a moderate, he slowly and gradually moved towards the more militant policies of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Pal was also sent to prison for refusing to provide evidence against Aurobindo Ghosh in the Bande Mataram sedition case. Like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai, he espoused an extremist form of nationalism which included boycotting of British goods, burning western clothes and advocating strikes and lockouts of British factories. In his later years, he became closely associated with the Bengali nationalists who were critical of the cult of personality surrounding Mahatma Gandhi. He was a fierce critic of Gandhi and his pacifist beliefs.

Bipin Chandra Pal was an exceptional orator and writer. As a journalist, he used the platform to spread his message of patriotism and nationalism. He edited journals such as ‘The Democrat’ and ‘The Independent’. He also started many newspapers and magazines such as ‘Paridarsak’, ‘Bande Mataram’, ‘New India’ and ‘Swaraj’.

Vallinayagam Olaganathan Chidambaram Pillai

Popularly known as the Tamil Helmsman, VO Chidambaram Pillai was a prominent freedom fighter from the state of Tamil Nadu. An exceptional organizer and someone who believed in employing all resources to rouse the people towards the freedom struggle, Pillai was one of the most famous students of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He played the critical role in organizing the Swadeshi movement in southern India.

Pillai had entered politics during the ferment taking place in India after the 1905 Partition of Bengal. He was immediately drawn to the ideas of Tilak and Rai and enthusiastically took part in the Swadeshi movement. By 1906, Pillai won the support of merchants and industrialists in Turicorin and Tirunelveli for the idea of establishing a Swadeshi merchant shipping outfit by the name of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company (SSNCo). In the process, he converted Tirunelveli district into a hotbed of intense nationalist politics—to the shock and anger of the British colonialists. The formal birth of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company (SSNCo), on 16 October 1906, was largely the personal achievement of VOC. Meanwhile, VOC brought together leading commercial figures from Tirunelveli, Madurai and other centres in Tamil Nadu in order to place the Swadeshi shipping company on a firmer footing. Even prior to Gandhiji’s Champaran Satyagraha, VOC took up the cause of the working class in Tamil Nadu, and thus he can be considered to be a forerunner to Mahatma Gandhi in this respect.

NOTES

NOTES

Check Your Progress

5. Who founded the All India Home Rule League?
6. Who was also known as ‘Punjab Kesari’ or the ‘Lion of Punjab’?

7.4 SWADESHI MOVEMENT

The Swadeshi movement was born as a unified reaction against the partition of Bengal in 1905 and continued up to 1908. In fact, it was the most successful of all the pre-Gandhian movements. Primarily, the scheme of partition was opposed through a comprehensive use of conventional ‘moderate’ means of press campaigns, petitions and several meetings, massive conferences at the Calcutta town hall, etc. When such measures and techniques bailed, it led to a search for new means like boycott of British goods, Rakhi Bandhan and Arandhan.

At the theoretical level, two significant trends can be specified in the Swadeshi movement—(i) constructive Swadeshi and (ii) political ‘extremism’. The weapon of ‘boycott’ was used to make Swadeshi movement successful. Constructive Swadeshi comprised self-help through the means of Swadeshi industries, national schools and attempts at village improvement. It found expression through the business ventures of people such as Prafulla Chandra Roy or Nilratan Sarkar; national education movement started by Satishchandra Mukherjee; and development work in villages by reviving the traditional Hindu Samaj outlined by Rabindranath Tagore. Aswini Kumar Datta’s Swadesh Bandhav Samity also played a key role in the effort for reconstruction. Rabindranath termed this perspective of development *atmashakti* (self-strengthening).

However, it appealed little to the excited educated youth of Bengal. They were more drawn to the doctrine of political ‘extremism’. Their basic difference with the proponents of constructive Swadeshi was regarding methods. In April 1907, the classic statements were given by Sri Aurobindo Ghosh in this regard in a series of articles. These were later reprinted as the ‘Doctrine of Passive Resistance’. He envisioned a programme of ‘organized and relentless boycott of British goods, official education, justice and executive administration’. All this was to be backed up by the positive development of Swadeshi industries, schools and arbitration courts. Moreover, he looked forward to civil disobedience, ‘social boycott’ of loyalists and the option of waging armed struggle if the British repression crossed the limits of endurance.

There was another controversy over cultural ideas between the modern nationalists and the proponents of Hindu revivalism. In general, the Swadeshi mood was strongly linked to the efforts to associate religious revivalism with politics. The method of Swadeshi vows in temples was first used by Surendranath Banerjee. Usually, the national education plans possessed a very strong revivalist content.

Further, 'boycott' was planned to be enforced through traditional caste sanctions. Such aggressive brand of Hinduism usually got inextricably reflected in the pages of *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* or *Yugantar*. Nonetheless, Brahmo journals such as *Sanjibani* and *Prabasi* were very critical of this view.

The Hindu revivalist tendency, along with the British propaganda that the new province would fetch more jobs for the Muslims, achieved significant success in turning the upper and middle classes of Muslims against the Swadeshi movement. In spite of powerful pleas for communal unity given by an active group of Swadeshi Muslim agitators such as Ghaznavi, Rasul, Din Mahomed, Didar, Liakat Hussain, etc., East Bengal witnessed communal riots. For maintaining Hindu images, a few Hindu *zamindars* and *mahajans* started to levy an *Ishvar brtti*. As such a huge section of the Muslim community in Bengal remained detached from the Swadeshi movement. Hindu *bhadralok*, whether believing in moderate or extremist politics, took an active part in the movement.

Rabindranath Tagore and other men of letters realized this limitation of the spontaneity of the movement. Rabindranath, though substantially influenced by revivalism for some time, driven by all the communal strife, in a series of outstandingly perceptive articles in mid 1907 pointed out that just blaming the British for the riots was an oversimplification of the situation.

Along with such cultural limitations, the history of boycott and Swadeshi movement clearly illustrates the limitations of a movement launched by the intelligentsia in the sense that it possessed broadly bourgeois aspirations but had little real bourgeois support. During the initial stages, boycott attained some success. Hence, in September 1906, the Calcutta collector of customs observed a decline in the sales of Manchester cloth. Nonetheless, the decline was more born of a quarrel over trade terms between Calcutta *marwari* dealers and the British manufacturers. Significantly, the biggest decline was for items such as shoes and cigarettes where the demand was basically from the middle-class Indian gentry.

Despite such limitations, the Swadeshi mood brought about considerable revival in handloom, silk weaving and some other traditional arts and crafts. Further, several attempts were undertaken to promote modern industries. Hence, in August 1906, Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills was started and there were some reasonably successful ventures in the fields of soap, matches, porcelain, chrome and cigarettes.

A significant diversity is noticeable within the national education efforts in Swadeshi Bengal. It ranges from the schemes for vernacular technical teaching to *Santiniketan* founded by Rabindranath and the Dawn Society of Satish Mukherjee. These comprised the attempts to combine the traditional and the modern in a plan for 'higher culture' for selected youths. In March 1906, the National Society of Education was set up as a parallel university. National education possessed negligible job prospects and hence failed in attracting the bulk of students, still a few institutions like Bengal National College or Bengal Technical Institute continued their operations.

NOTES

NOTES

The appearance of *Samitis* was an achievement of the Swadeshi times. Most of these *Samitis* were quite open bodies by 1908 and performed various activities like physical and moral training, social work during religious festivals, propagating the Swadeshi message in various forms, and organizing schools, crafts arbitration courts and village societies, apart from implementing the techniques of passive resistance.

Unfortunately, the Swadeshi movement indirectly alienated the common Muslim public from the mainstream of national politics. They followed a different course which culminated in the formation of the Muslim League (1906) in Dacca. However, it also helped in providing a new dimension to the Indian nationalist movement through giving the Gandhian conception of mass *satyagraha* without taking a recourse to violence.

Significance of Swadeshi movement

Although the Swadeshi movement was not immediately successful in unifying the partitioned Bengal, still its significance cannot be underestimated. It is because of the following factors:

- The Swadeshi movement was fairly different from the earlier movements conducted by the national leaders. In this movement, a programme of direct political action was undertaken which was opposed to the policy of ‘prayer and petition’.
- During the initial stages, the Swadeshi movement tried to bring about the annulment of the partition of Bengal. However, finally its efforts assumed a bigger dimension to incorporate the objective of attaining complete freedom from the foreign domination itself.
- The ‘boycott’ aspect of the Swadeshi movement comprised the aim of pressurizing the mill-owners of Manchester economically so that they could bring pressure upon the British government, for the annulment of Partition. However, with the passage of time the ‘boycott’ did not keep limited to the British goods alone. It was applied on a broader scale to incorporate everything that was foreign, specifically British.
- The cultural aspect of the Swadeshi movement was also very significant. Bengali literature flourished during the Swadeshi days. The patriotic compositions and creations of Rabindranath Tagore and Rajanikanto Sen magically touched the patriotic sense of the masses.

Role of Students, Women, Muslims and the Masses during Swadeshi Movement

The students of Bengal played a prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation. They propagated and practised Swadeshi and took the lead in organizing picketing of shops selling foreign items. The government on its part tried its best to suppress the students. It issued orders to penalize such schools and colleges

whose students were actively involved in the Swadeshi agitation. Their grants-in-aid and other privileges were withdrawn. Further, they were disaffiliated and their students were not allowed to compete for scholarships and were restricted from all governmental services.

Penalizing action was taken against students found guilty of participating in the nationalist agitation. A good number of them were fined, expelled from schools and colleges, arrested and at times beaten by the police. However, the students refused to be cowed down.

An amazing aspect of the Swadeshi agitation comprised the active participation of women. Many women belonging to traditionally home-centred urban middle classes took part in processions and picketing. Afterwards, they participated in the nationalist movement at a very active level.

Moreover, many prominent Muslims participated in the Swadeshi movement. These included Abdul Rasul (the famous barrister), Liaquat Hussain (the popular agitator) and Guznavi (the businessman). Maulana Abul Kalam Azad joined one of the revolutionary terrorist groups. However, majority of the middle and upper class Muslims remained neutral. Many others, following the Nawab of Dhaka (who got a loan of ₹14 lakh from the government), even supported partition under the belief that East Bengal would come to have a Muslim majority.

This kind of communal attitude, as was nurtured by the Nawab of Dhaka and others, was greatly encouraged by the government officials. In a speech made at Dhaka, Lord Curzon stated that one of the reasons for the partition was 'to invest the Mohammedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman Viceroys and Kings.'

Swadeshi Movement began as an anti-partition agitation in Bengal and boycott was first suggested by Krishna Kumar Mitra in *Sanjivani*. 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 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.

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

NOTES

NOTES

programmes of Swadeshi and boycott went hand in hand. As a consequence of the 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.

Check Your Progress

7. What were the two significant trends within the Swadeshi movement?
8. In which year was the National Council of Education set up?

7.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Some of the popular journals that opposed the moderate Congress were *Kesari* (Marathi) and *Bangabhasi* (Bengali).
2. Aurobindo Ghosh criticized moderate politics in a series of articles titled 'New Lamps for Old'.
3. Bal Gangadhar Tilak said 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it'.
4. Chandra Shekhar Azad founded the 'Hindustan Republic Association'.
5. Bal Gangadhar Tilak founded the All India Home Rule League.
6. Lala Lajpat Rai was also known as 'Punjab Kesari' or the 'Lion of Punjab'.
7. At the theoretical level, two significant trends can be specified in the Swadeshi movement—(i) constructive Swadeshi and (ii) political 'extremism'.
8. On 15 August 1906, the National Council of Education was set up.

7.6 SUMMARY

- The closing decade of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress, which was sharply critical of the ideology and methods of the old leadership.
- The root of extremism lies in two important factors—the policies of colonial rule, and the failure of moderate leaders to attract younger generation and common people.
- The new turn in Indian politics found expression in two forms—the formation of the extremist group within the Congress and the growth of revolutionary movement in the country at large. Four prominent Congress leaders—

Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai, defined the creed of the new group, gave 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 titled 'New Lamps for Old' was Aurobindo Ghose. He did not like the 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 French Revolution (1789-99).
- The emerging leaders in the Congress, like Bipin Chandra Pal, Ashwini Kumar Dutta, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 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 works.
- The true founder of militant nationalism was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He was quick to set the political goal of India, i.e., '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 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 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.
- The revolutionary terrorist movement in India strongly affected the Congress and the British government. Revolutionary terrorist groups restricted their strengths only to remain more agile and effective. The movement, however low the number it attracted, had an impact on India: its people, the Congress and the British rulers.
- The revolutionary activities were spread all over the country. Maharashtra, Bengal, Punjab and Madras became the centres of revolutionary activities.
- Even abroad the revolutionary activities continued in full swing. After the murder of District Magistrate Rand, Shyamji Krishna Verma of Kathiawar went to London and started Home Rule Society in due course of time. Among the revolutionary activities abroad, the role of Gadar Party can never be denied.
- There were specific causes which were responsible for the failure of revolutionary activities. Some of them are: lack of sympathy from the upper class Indians; various types of organizational and financial problems coming across the revolutionaries; indifference of Indian National Congress towards the militant nationalist thought; tough and repressive measures taken by the government; and last but not the least, the appearance of Gandhiji on the scene.

NOTES

NOTES

- Bhagat Singh, representative of the dissatisfied Indian youth who disapproved of Gandhian policies, offered revolutionary alternatives. Being an out and out atheist, socialist and communist, it was not long before it dawned on him that just overthrowing the British was not enough. He realized that the socialist reconstruction of Indian society was essential, for which the workers needed to seize political power.
- Bal Gangadhar Tilak can be considered the true founder of militant Nationalism in India. He was quick to set the political objective 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'.
- Lala Lajpat Rai was another extremely prominent early nationalist leaders of the free struggle. Along with Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Rajpat Rai was part of the Indian triumvirate of 'Lal Bal Pal'. Due to his fierce brand of patriotism and potent vocalism for India's independence from Britain, he was given the moniker 'Punjab Kesari' or the 'Lion of Punjab'.
- VO Chidambaram Pillai was a prominent freedom fighter from the state of Tamil Nadu. Pillai was one of the most famous students of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He played the critical role in organizing the Swadeshi movement in southern India.
- The Swadeshi movement was born as a unified reaction against the partition of Bengal in 1905 and continued up to 1908. In fact, it was the most successful of all the pre-Gandhian movements.
- At the theoretical level, two significant trends can be specified in the Swadeshi movement—(i) constructive Swadeshi and (ii) political 'extremism'.
- The students of Bengal played a prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation. They propagated and practised Swadeshi and took the lead in organizing picketing of shops selling foreign items. Penalizing action was taken against students found guilty of participating in the nationalist agitation.
- 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.

7.7 KEY WORDS

- **Famine:** It refers to a lack of food over a long period of time in a large area that can cause the death of many people.
- **Socialist:** It refers to someone who believes in social ownership of the means of production and workers' self-management of enterprises.

- **Communist:** The term is used to refer to people who believe in the ideas of common ownership of the means of production and the absence of social classes, money and the state.
- **Proleteriat:** It refers to working class people especially those who do not own any property.

NOTES

7.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the factors that led to the rise of extremism?
2. Write a short note on the revolutionary activities in Punjab.
3. What were the contributions of Lala Lajpat Rai?
4. Write a short note on the significance of the Swadeshi movement.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the revolutionary activities of extremists in India and abroad.
2. Analyse the contribution of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bip Chandra Pal.
3. Examine the role of students, women, Muslims and the masses in the Swadeshi movement.

7.9 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

BLOCK - III
FORMATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE AND ROLE OF
GANDHI IN FREEDOM STRUGGLE

UNIT 8 THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Objectives
- 8.2 Formation of Muslim League
- 8.3 Surat Split
- 8.4 Home Rule Movement
- 8.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 8.6 Summary
- 8.7 Key Words
- 8.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 8.9 Further Readings

8.0 INTRODUCTION

The British government followed a policy of divide and rule in India. The schism between the Hindus and the Muslims gradually increased. This period also saw the growth of communalism and separatist tendencies. The early 20th century witnessed the formation of Muslim League as well the split between two factions of the Congress. The rift between the Moderates and the Extremists culminated in the Surat Split of 1907. This unit will discuss the factors that led to these two significant events. The Home Rule Movement will also be discussed in detail.

8.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the factors that led to the formation of the Muslim League
- Discuss the causes and impact of the Surat Split
- Analyse the Home Rule Movement

8.2 FORMATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

Communalism is basically an ideology. It is the belief that in India Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are from different and distinct communities. Inherent in communalism is the second notion that the social, cultural, economic and political interests of the followers of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the

interests of the followers of another religion. When religious 'communities' are seen to be mutually incompatible, antagonistic and hostile communalism is said to be at its apex. Thus, at this stage, the communalists assert that Hindus and Muslims cannot have common secular interests, and that their secular interests are bound to be opposed to each other.

To look upon the communal problem in India merely as the Hindu-Muslim question or of religious antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims is misleading. Apart from the Hindus and the Muslims, there was third party in the Communal triangle—the British rulers who interposed themselves between the Hindus and the Muslims and thus, created a communal triangle of which they remained the base.

Anti-Muslim British Policy

The strongest arm of the communal triangle was the British rulers. They were neither the true friends of the Muslims, nor the foes of the Hindus; they were the true friends of British imperialism and acted on the tested and tried maxim divide and rule.

Until the seventies of 19th century, it suited the imperial interest to support the Hindus and they did it. The early British economic and educational policies benefited the Hindus more than the Muslims. The result of these policies was the catastrophe of 1857. Even before the Mutiny of 1857, the Muslims had revolted against the British Government under the Wahabi leaders.

The British Government ruthlessly suppressed the movement; but it manifested itself in the form of the mutiny. The prime movers in the mutiny of 1857 were the Muslim Wahabis. As the British considered the Muslims to be responsible for the Mutiny, they were treated very severely after 1858.

However, a change in British policy is perceptible towards the 1870s. The Hindus, politically more advanced than the Muslims, demanded more share for Indians in higher services, agitated for grant of political rights, introduction of representative government, etc. The Hindu posed a serious menace to the stability of British rule in India than the politically, economically and educationally backward Muslims. This marked the beginning of a change in British policy towards the two communities. W. W. Hunter's book, *The Indian Mussalmans* (published in 1871) described 'the Muslims too weak for Rebellion', pleaded for a change of official attitude towards the Muslims community. Theodore Beck, the first British principal of the newly started Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, played a notable role in mobilizing Muslim opinion and influencing British policy towards the Muslims. He urged the Muslims to support the British for their safety.

Role of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Figure 8.1) became a staunch opponent of the Indian National Congress and he fell into line with the British imperialists.

NOTES

Principal Beck was able to convince Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan that ‘while an Anglo-Muslim alliance would ameliorate the condition of the Muslim community, the nationalist alignment would lead them once again to sweat, toil and tears.’

NOTES



Fig. 8.1 Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

Sayyid Ahmad Khan started his political career as an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. He had described the Hindus and Muslims as ‘two eyes of the beautiful bride that was India.’ He had declared in 1884 at Gurdaspur that the Hindus and Muslims should try to become of one heart and soul and act in unison. ‘If united, we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both,’ he said. Contrast with this, Sir Sayyid’s speech at Meerut on 16 March 1888, where he maintained that the Hindus and Muslims were not only two nations, but as two warring nations who could never lead a common political life, should ever the British quit India. The Muslim demand for separate electorates almost synchronized with the introduction of the system of election in the constitution of local bodies. Speaking in the Central Legislature in January 1883 on Ripon’s Bill for establishment of local self-government in the Central Provinces, Khan referred to the vital difference between different races and religions and the unequal or disproportionate progress of education among different sections of the population. He said that the fear that any system of election, pure and simple, would result in the larger community overriding the interest of the smaller community. A true devotee of the Muslim cause, Sayyid Ahmad Khan was fully aware of Muslim backwardness in the fields of education and politics and came to the conclusion that India was not fit for the introduction of Western political institutions like representative or responsible government, for his community could not get its due share in it. His policy was based on fear of permanent domination of Muslims by Hindus educationally, economically and politically.

The Anglo-Indian administrators were quick to work on Muslim apprehensions and strove to drive a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims. The three English principals of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Beck,

Morrison and Archbold, gave the pro-British and anti-Hindu bias to the Aligarh Movement. The Aligarh Movement worked to instil into the minds of the Muslims a spirit of loyalty towards the British Crown and worked consciously and deliberately to keep them away from the mainstream of Indian political life. In August 1888, Sayyid Ahmad Khan set up the United Indian Patriotic Association with the avowed object of countering the Congress propaganda and policy in England and in India. This was followed a few years later (1893) by the exclusively sectarian Muhammadan Anglo Oriental Defence Association of Upper India to keep the Muslims aloof from political agitation and to strengthen British rule in India.

Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and Communalism

The Morley-Minto Reforms introduced the system of separate electorate under which all Muslims were grouped in separate constituencies from which Muslims alone could be elected. This was done in the name of protecting the Muslim minority. But in reality, this was a part of the policy of dividing Hindus and Muslims and maintaining British supremacy in India. The system of separate electorates was based on the notion that the political and economic interests of Hindus and Muslims were separate. This 'notion was unscientific because religions cannot be the basis of political and economic interest or of political groupings. What is even more important, this system proved extremely harmful in practice. It checked the progress of India's unification, which had been a continuous historical process. It became a potent factor in the growth of communalism in the country. Instead of removing the educational and economic backwardness among the middle class Muslims and integrating them into the mainstream of Indian nationalism, the system of separate electorates tended to perpetuate their isolation from the ebbing nationalist movement. It encouraged separatist agencies. It prevented people from concentrating on economic political problems, which were common to all Indians—Hindu or Muslim.

Communalism: An Interpretation of Indian History

British writers on Indian history also served the imperial cause by initiating, developing and emphasizing the Hindu-Muslim approach in their study of Indian history and development of Indian culture. This communal approach to history also imitated by Indian scholars and fostered the communal way of thinking. For example, the ancient period of a history was described as Hindu Period and the medieval period labelled as Muslim Period of Indian history, implying thereby that religion was the guiding force behind politics throughout the course of Indian history. True, both the rulers and the ruled, not often used religious slogans to suit their material and political ambitions, but it was certainly a distortion of history to infer—as was done by these writers—that all Muslims were the rulers and all Hindus were the ruled. In fact, the Muslim masses as poor, if not more, as the Hindu masses and were thoroughly oppressed and exploited by the Muslim rulers and their Hindu

NOTES

collaborators. All the same, this communal approach Indian history did foster divisive communal tendencies in Indian politics in the last quarter of the 19th century and first of the 20th century.

NOTES

Militant Nationalism with Communal Overtone

Unfortunately, while militant nationalism was a great step forward in every other respect, it was to some extent responsible for the growth of communalism. The speeches and writings of some of the militant nationalists had a strong religious and Hindu tinge. In their search for national heroes and hero myths, the militant nationalists referred to Maharana Pratap, Shivaji and Guru Gobind Singh as national heroes and the Muslim rulers like Akbar, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb as 'foreigners'. The straight logic was that Pratap, Shivaji and Gobind Singh were nationalists because they were Hindus, and Mughal emperors were foreigners because they were Muslims. In reality, struggle between Pratap and Akbar or Shivaji and Aurangzeb to be viewed as a political struggle in its particular historical sitting. Besides, it was too much to assume that nationalism of the 20th century existed in the medieval period of Indian history. They emphasised ancient Indian culture to the exclusion of medieval Indian culture. They tried to abandon elements of composite culture. For example, Tilak's propagation of the Shivaji and Ganapati festivals, Aurobindo Ghosh's semi-mystical concept of India as mother and nationalism as religion, the terrorists' oath before goddess Kali and the initiation of the anti-partition agitation with the dips in Ganga could hardly be attached to the Muslims.

This does not mean that militant nationalists were anti-Muslim or even wholly communal. Most of them including Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo and later Gandhiji were strong believers in Hindu-Muslim unity. True, the references to Hindu theology were intended to involve the politically inert masses into the nationalist struggle by explaining to them nationalism couched in a language within their comprehension, i.e., religious phraseology, but it did have the undesired effect of rousing Muslim communal susceptibilities—feelings cleverly exploited by the British rulers.

Economic backwardness: In the absence of any avenues of gainful employment in trade and industry, the British Indian Government remained the biggest employer to which the educated youth, hopefully, looked for their means of livelihood. The rulers to promote rivalry and discord among different sections of society cleverly used this enormous patronage in higher and subordinate service. This led to demoralization and conflict and the government could play one group against the other. Our nationalist leaders were fully aware of the mischievous character of this bait, but the hunger, rather compulsion, for loaves and fishes blinded them to its dangerous potentialities.

Foundation of the Muslim League

The separatist and loyalist tendencies among a section of the Muslim intelligentsia and the big Muslim nawabs and landlords reached a climax on 30 December

1906, when the All India Muslim League was founded under the leadership of the Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Founded as a loyalist, communal and conservative political organization, the League made no critique of colonialism, supported the partition of Bengal, raised the slogan of separate Muslim interests, demanded separate electorates and safeguards for Muslims in government services, and reiterated all the major themes of communal politics and ideology enunciated earlier by Sir Ahmad and his followers. The aims of the League were as follows:

From its very inception, the Muslim League was a communal body established to look after the political rights and interests of the Muslim community alone. Its political activities were directed not against the foreign rulers but against the Hindus and the National Congress. It, played into the hands of the British who announced that they would protect 'special interests' of the Muslims.

To increase its usefulness, the British also encouraged the Muslim League to approach the Muslim masses and to assume their leadership. It is true that the nationalist movement was as also dominated at this time by the educated town-dwellers but in its anti-imperialism, it was representing the interests of all Indians-rich or poor, Hindu or Muslim. On the other hand, the Muslim League and its upper class leaders had little in common with the interests of the Muslim masses, who were suffering as much as the Hindu masses at the hands of foreign imperialism.

This basic weakness of the League came to be increasingly recognized by the patriotic Muslims. The educated Muslim young men were, in particular, attracted by radical nationalist ideas. The militantly nationalist 'Ahrar Movement' was founded at this time under the leadership of Maulana Mohammed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hasan Imam, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Mazhar-ul-Haq. These young men disliked the loyalist politics of the Aligarh School and the big nawabs and zamindars.

Similar nationalist sentiments were arising among a section of the traditional Muslim scholars led by the Deoband School. The young Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who propagated his rationalist and nationalist ideas in his newspaper *Al Hilal*, which he brought out in 1912 at the age of 24, was also a prominent Muslim scholar.

In 1911, war broke out between the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and Italy and during 1912 and 1913, Turkey had to fight the Balkan powers. The Turkish ruler claimed to be the Caliph or religious head of all Muslims; moreover, nearly all of the Muslim holy places were situated within the Turkish Empire. A wave of sympathy for Turkey swept India. A medical mission, headed by Dr. M. A. Ansari, was sent to help Turkey. Since Britain's policy during the Balkan War and after was not sympathetic to Turkey, the pro-Turkey and pro-Caliph or Khilafat sentiments tended to become anti-imperialist. In fact, for several years (from 1912 to 1924), the loyalists among the Muslims Leaguers were completely overshadowed by nationalist young men.

NOTES

NOTES

Unfortunately, with the exception of a few persons like Azad who were rationalists in their thinking, most of the militant nationalists among Muslim young men did not fully accept the secular approach to politics. The result was that instead of understanding and opposing the economic and political consequences of imperialism, they fought imperialism on the ground that it threatened the Caliph and the holy places. Even their sympathy for Turkey was on religious grounds. Moreover, the heroes and myths and cultural traditions they appealed, belonged not to ancient or medieval Indian history but to West Asian history. It is true that this approach did not immediately clash with Indian nationalism. Rather, it made its adherents and supporters anti-imperialist and encouraged the nationalist trend among urban Muslims. But in the long run, this approach too proved harmful, as it encouraged the habit of looking at political questions from a religious point of view. In any case, such political activity did not promote among the Muslim masses a modern, secular approach towards political and economic questions.

The election results were a great disappointment to the Muslim League and Jinnah. It could not gain a majority even in the Muslim-majority provinces of the Punjab and Bengal. Jinnah who had parted company with the Congress in 1928, settled down in London in 1932 to practice law.

He returned to India in 1935 and led the Muslim League to the polls. The poor election results convinced Jinnah that the only way to counteract the Congress was to inflame communal feelings among the Muslims.

In Uttar Pradesh, the Congress rejected a demand for a coalition with the Muslim League, which fanned the fires of Muslim frustration. Some of the Congress leaders in Uttar Pradesh feared that if the Muslim League was brought into the ministry the Congress agrarian programme would suffer. The Uttar Pradesh legislature during the years 1937–46 justified the apprehensions of the Congress leaders. The Congress stood for democracy, socialism and a common Indian nationality, the League tried to promote the interests of only the Muslims in India.

Jinnah proclaimed that Muslims could not expect any justice or fair play at the hands of the Congress. Throughout the twenty-seven months of the Congress rule in the provinces, the League kept up intense propaganda climaxed by the Pirpur Report in the late 1938, the Shareef Report on Bihar in March 1939 and Fazul Haq's Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule in December 1939. The charges included failure to prevent encouragement of Hindi at the cost of Urdu and the Wardha Scheme of Basic Education, which was ironically enough devised largely by two eminent Muslim educationists, Zakir Husain and K. G. Saiyidin. The Congress suggested an enquiry by Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, but the Muslim League turned down the proposal. Jinnah asserted that India was not one nation, and that the Muslims of India constituted a separate nation, and therefore, entitled to a separate homeland of their own.

The Muslim League propaganda gained by the existence of such communal bodies among the Hindus as Hindu Mahasabha, who, too accepted the two-

nation theory. They actively opposed the policy of giving adequate safeguards to the minorities so as to renovate their fears of domination by the minorities. Interestingly enough, the communal groups-Hindu as well as Muslims-did not hesitate to join hands against the Congress.

Another characteristic feature the various communal groups shared was their tendency to adopt pro-government political attitudes. It is to be noted that none of the communal groups and parties, which talked of Hindu and Muslim nationalism, took active part in the struggle against foreign rule. They saw the people belonging to other religions and the nationalist leaders as the real enemies.

The communal groups and parties also shied away from social and economic demands of the common people, which as we have seen above, were being increasingly taken up by the nationalist movement. In this respect, they increasingly came to represent the upper class vested interests.

Communalism also became, after 1937, the only political recourse of colonial authorities and their policy of 'divide and rule'. This was because, by this time, nearly all the other divisions, antagonism and divisive devices promoted and fostered earlier by the colonial authorities had been overcome by the national movement, and had become politically non-viable from the colonial point of view. The Non-Brahmin challenge in Maharashtra and South India had fizzled out. The Scheduled Castes and other backward classes could no longer be mobilized against the Congress except in stray pockets. The Right and Left wings of the Congress also refused to split. Inter-provincial and inter-lingual rivalries had exhausted themselves much earlier, after the Congress accepted the validity of linguistic states and the cultural diversity of the Indian people. The effort to pit the zamindars and landlords against the national movement had also completely failed. The elections of 1937 showed that nearly all the major social and political props of colonialism lay shattered. The communal card alone was available for playing against the national movement and the rulers decided to use it to the limit, to stake all on it. They threw all the weight of the colonial state behind Muslim communalism, even though it was headed by a man, M. A. Jinnah, whom they disliked and feared for his sturdy independence and outspoken anti-colonialism.

The outbreak of World War II in September 1939 further strengthened the reliance on the communal card.

Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory

The British Government harped on 'the issue of minorities' and some talked of the unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. Mahatma Gandhi held that it was a domestic problem, which would disappear if the British withdrew from India. At the Ramgarh session of the Congress, held in March 1940, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President, emphasized the heritage of a common nationality between the Hindus and the Muslims in India and significantly remarked, 'Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible'.

NOTES

NOTES

Various factors fanned communal bitterness and at its annual session, held at Lahore in March 1940, the Muslim League enunciated the theory that the Muslims are not a minority but a 'nation' and they must have their separate homeland. It was of the view that 'the areas in which the Muslims were numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units would be autonomous and sovereign'. Indeed, the influence of the Muslim League over the Muslims had increased much by that time. Gandhi's reaction to the Lahore resolution was prophetic, 'I can never be a willing party to the vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it. For it means the undoing of centuries of work done by numberless Hindus and Muslims to live together as one nation. Partition means a patent untruth.'

Check Your Progress

1. Why did the British change their policy towards Hindus?
2. Who set up the United Indian Patriotic Association?
3. When was the All India Muslim League founded?

8.3 SURAT SPLIT

The struggle between the different strands of nationalist struggle culminated in the Surat Split of December, 1907. Despite opposition by Tilak and several others, Rash Behari Ghosh was the president of the Surat Congress session in 1907. Congress leaders were split into two factions, namely the moderates and the extremists, at the session in Surat. This rift was also evident at the Banaras Session of Congress (1905) when some leaders like Tilak criticized the methods of the moderates and suggested passive resistance. They also believed that British goods and government institutions should be boycotted.

Causes of the Surat Split

Given below are the causes of the Surat Split:

- The Bengal partition of 1905 gave impetus to the Extremists to openly criticize the methods adopted by the Moderates. The Partition, therefore, promoted the extremist ideology.
- The Moderate method of constitutional agitation that included petition, prayer and protest had exhausted the Indian masses and given rise to extremist tendencies that stressed on direct action against the British.
- In the Surat Session of Congress, two main objectives were placed by the Extremists. The Extremists demanded that the Lala Lajpat Rai should be made the President of the INC. The second demand was for resolution of Swaraj. Both the demands were not accepted by the Moderates.

Lal-Bal-Pal and a new era of Extremist dominance which resulted into Surat Split of 1907

The ideology of the Moderates was criticized by the trio of Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal. These three leaders challenged the nationalist vocabulary of the Indian National Movement and introduced concepts of boycott, Swadeshi, and national education. In Punjab, Maharashtra and Bengal, these leaders were so popular that the credibility of the Moderates was questioned.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak

- He was one of the prominent Extremist leaders of the Indian freedom struggle.
- Tilak espoused his ideas in both *Kesari* (Marathi) and *Maratha* (English) even before he was actively involved in politics. He tried to inspire the youth by drawing upon the patriotism of Shivaji. He also introduced the Shivaji festival in 1896.
- In 1896, Tilak campaigned successfully for boycott of foreign clothes in Maharashtra and protested against the imposition of taxes on cotton.
- He advocated for no-tax campaign in certain areas of Maharashtra, which were impacted by the famine in 1896. He tried to expand the bases of the Congress by incorporating peasants, a segment of society that was previously ignored by the Moderates.
- Tilak demanded Swaraj which according to him meant a government that was constituted by the Indians themselves and one that acted in accordance to the wishes of the people or their representatives.

Results of the Surat Split

- The efforts of Rabindranath Tagore to bring the Moderates and the Extremists together after the Surat Split were in vain. Furthermore, in the 1908 Allahabad convention, the adoption of resolutions for permanently disqualifying the Extremist section of the Congress aggravated the situation.
- Following the Surat Split in 1907, the Moderates demanded colonial self-government as opposed to the demand of the Extremists for complete independence.
- The constitutional politics of the moderates did not impress the British government and this was evident in the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909.
- The Moderates had lost touch with the younger generation of nationalists. The younger generation wanted results and this led to the rise of revolutionaries.
- The British followed the policy of divide and rule in order to suppress the militant nationalists.

NOTES

NOTES

- Extremism was mainly limited to Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab, where the increase in terrorist activities allowed the government to unleash repression.
- Following the imprisonment of leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the moderate-dominated Congress became dormant.
- In 1909, the Separate electorates were granted to the Muslims. This was a blow to the Congress as the most critical and vocal elements were not part of the INC.

The Surat Split was the result of the Divide and Rule policy of the British. The British believed that they were in control of the affairs of the INC after significant period of time. While the leadership of the Congress remained in the hands of the Moderates for some time more, as the Extremists worked separately till 1916. Later both groups reunited at Lucknow session of Congress in 1916 due to the efforts of the leaders of Home Rule movement.

Check Your Progress

4. Who was the president of the Surat Congress session in 1907?
5. Which two demands of the Extremists were not met at the Surat Session of the Congress?

8.4 HOME RULE MOVEMENT

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 World War I 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.

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.

Annie Besant proposed that Home Rule League in the country could be modeled 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 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 people 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.

With the rise of revolutionary movements and extremism, the British government followed a two-edged policy: (i) adopting the policies of repression and dividing the Indians, specifically the Hindus and the Muslims; and (ii) bringing about gradual reforms which resulted in passing of the Act of 1909. The formation of the Muslim League in 1906 and the clause of the communal electorate system in the Act of 1909 discredited the British in the eyes of most of the Indians. Still a lull remained in Indian politics for some time because the moderates grudgingly decided to cooperate with the government for some more time. The outbreak of World War I provided a new impetus to the national movement. When World War I started the Indian National Congress supported the government in its war efforts with the presumption that the British government will bring about some administrative

NOTES

NOTES

reforms for the benefit of the Indians after the war. However, the extremists viewed it as a God-sent opportunity and took a decision to advance their own cause. They thought that it was the fitting time to force Britain to agree to the Indian demands for extracting political concessions during their time of difficulties. The extremists were basically influenced by the emergence of the Irish Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Issac Butt. B.G. Tilak returned to active politics in 1914 after completing his term of imprisonment. He tried to join hands with the Congress on the issue of demanding 'Home Rule' for India. However, when he did not succeed in this, he founded the Home Rule League on 28 April 1916 with its headquarters at Poona. Due to the British indigestibility for the word 'swaraj', Tilak opted for the term 'Home Rule' in place of 'swaraj' as the main objective of the movement. The main aim of the Home Rule League was to 'attain Home-Rule or self government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same'.

Annie Besant, an Irish lady, had arrived in India as a member of the Theosophical Society. She later joined the Congress. Further, she had set up a Home Rule League in London in 1914 and ultimately founded a Home Rule League on 15 September 1916. The latter had its headquarters at Adyar near Madras. Both these leagues supported each other and hence, divided their areas of activities among themselves. Tilak's Home Rule League confined its activities to Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Berar, while Besant's League functioned in the rest of the country. Tilak and Besant toured all over India and propagated the message of the Home Rule among the masses. They used the means of newspapers, mass meetings and distribution of leaflets to spread their message. Tilak used *Young India* to stir the popular sentiments. Besant, on her part, used *New India* and *Common Weal* to educate the masses about the League's objectives. The movement attracted liberal leaders such as Motilal Nehru and Tej Bahadur Sapru who became its members. The Home Rule movement turned a powerful phenomenon during the phase of World War I. The movement strived for the grant of self-government to India within the British dominions. However, it always remained within constitutional limits.

The government put strenuous efforts to suppress the movement through force. Mrs Besant was forced to stop the publication of *New India* and was sentenced to home imprisonment. When action was taken against Mrs Besant and Tilak on their refusal to provide securities and personal bonds, the movement acquired an all-India character. The movement infused the spirit of patriotism, fearlessness, self-respect and sacrifice among the people. Ultimately, the government relented and in 1917 by Montague's declaration was receptive to the idea of self-government for India through a gradual process. Mrs Annie Besant was elected as the Congress President in 1917 and the objective of 'Home Rule' was accepted by the Congress. It was the biggest success of this movement.

However, the movement got weakened after some time. Some of the reasons for this were: the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919; factionalism in the Congress on the issue of the Act; departure of Tilak to London for a legal case; and Besant's consent to the new scheme of reforms of 1919. Although the Home Rule Movement could not achieve its objectives, it kept the fire of nationalism burning among the Indians during the course of the war. It was crucial because during this period the congress had failed to provide any direction to the people. On the issue of the significance of the Home Rule Movement, S.R. Mehrotra states 'The Home Rule League created a significant impact on the national movement in India. For the first time an agitation had been aroused on a nation-wide scale and a network of political committees covered much of India.'

NOTES

Check Your Progress

6. When was the All India Home Rule League formed?
7. What was the aim of the Home Rule League?
8. What are the factors that weakened the Home Rule Movement?

8.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. A change in British policy towards the Hindus was perceptible towards the 1870s. This was because the Hindus posed a serious menace to the stability of British rule in India than the politically, economically and educationally backward Muslims.
2. Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan set up the United Indian Patriotic Association with an aim to counter the Congress propaganda and policy in England and in India.
3. All India Muslim League was founded on 30 December 1906 under the leadership of the Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk.
4. Rash Behari Ghosh was the president of the Surat Congress session in 1907.
5. In the Surat Session of Congress, two main demands were put forward by the Extremists. The Extremists demanded that the Lala Lajpat Rai should be made the President of the INC. The second demand was for resolution of Swaraj. Both the demands were not accepted by the Moderates.
6. The All India Home Rule League was formed in 1916.
7. The main aim of the Home Rule League was to 'attain Home-Rule or self government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to

NOTES

educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same’.

8. The Home Rule movement weakened due to several factors. Some of the reasons for this were: the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919; factionalism in the Congress on the issue of the Act; departure of Tilak to London for a legal case; and Besant’s consent to the new scheme of reforms of 1919.

8.6 SUMMARY

- Communalism is basically an ideology. It is the belief that in India Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are from different and distinct communities. Inherent in communalism is the second notion that the social, cultural, economic and political interests of the followers of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the interests of the followers of another religion.
- Apart from the Hindus and the Muslims, there was third party in the Communal triangle—the British rulers who interposed themselves between the Hindus and the Muslims and thus, created a communal triangle of which they remained the base.
- A change in British policy is perceptible towards the 1870s. The Hindu posed a serious menace to the stability of British rule in India than the politically, economically and educationally backward Muslims. This marked the beginning of a change in British policy towards the two communities.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan became a staunch opponent of the Indian National Congress and he fell into line with the British imperialists. Sayyid Ahmad Khan started his political career as an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. However, this view changed over the years. In 1888, he said that the Hindus and Muslims were not only two nations, but two warring nations who could never lead a common political life.
- The Morley-Minto Reforms introduced the system of separate electorate under which all Muslims were grouped in separate constituencies from which Muslims alone could be elected. This was done in the name of protecting the Muslim minority. But in reality, this was a part of the policy of dividing Hindus and Muslims and maintaining British supremacy in India.
- The separatist and loyalist tendencies among a section of the Muslim intelligentsia and the big Muslim nawabs and landlords reached a climax on 30 December 1906, when the All India Muslim League was founded under the leadership of the Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk.
- From its very inception, the Muslim League was a communal body established to look after the political rights and interests of the Muslim

community alone. Its political activities were directed not against the foreign rulers but against the Hindus and the National Congress.

The Muslim League

- Jinnah proclaimed that Muslims could not expect any justice or fair play at the hands of the Congress. Jinnah asserted that India was not one nation, and that the Muslims of India constituted a separate nation, and therefore, entitled to a separate homeland of their own.
- The British Government harped on ‘the issue of minorities’ and some talked of the unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. Mahatma Gandhi held that it was a domestic problem, which would disappear if the British withdrew from India.
- The struggle between the different strands of nationalist struggle culminated in the Surat Split of December, 1907. Congress leaders were split into two factions, namely the moderates and the extremists, at the session in Surat.
- In the Surat Session of Congress, two main objectives were placed by the Extremists. The Extremists demanded that the Lala Lajpat Rai should be made the President of the INC. The second demand was for resolution of Swaraj. Both the demands were not accepted by the Moderates.
- The ideology of the Moderates was criticized by the trio of Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal. These three leaders challenged the nationalist vocabulary of the Indian National Movement and introduced concepts of boycott, Swadeshi, and national education.
- The Surat Split was the result of the Divide and Rule policy of the British. Following the Surat Split in 1907, the Moderates demanded colonial self-government as opposed to the demand of the Extremists for complete independence.
- 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.
- The league organized discussions, conducted lecture tours and circulated pamphlets to spread awareness among the people. 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.
- 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.
- With the rise of revolutionary movements and extremism, the British government followed a two-edged policy: (i) adopting the policies of

NOTES

NOTES

repression and dividing the Indians, specifically the Hindus and the Muslims; and (ii) bringing about gradual reforms which resulted in passing of the Act of 1909.

- The main aim of the Home Rule League was to ‘attain Home-Rule or self government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same’.
- The Home Rule movement turned a powerful phenomenon during the phase of World War I. The movement strived for the grant of self-government to India within the British dominions. However, it always remained within constitutional limits.
- The Home Rule movement weakened after some time. Some of the reasons for this were: the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919; factionalism in the Congress on the issue of the Act; departure of Tilak to London for a legal case; and Besant’s consent to the new scheme of reforms of 1919.

8.7 KEY WORDS

- **Communalism:** It is a term that is used to refer to attempts made to construct religious or ethnic identity, incite strife between people identified as different communities, and to stimulate violence between those groups.
- **Factionalism:** It refers to arguments or disputes between two or more small groups from within a larger group.
- **Propaganda:** It refers to information, often inaccurate, which a political organization publishes or broadcasts in order to influence people.
- **Libel:** It is the act of printing a statement about somebody that is not true and would give people a bad opinion of him/her.

8.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What do you mean by Communalism?
2. Write a short note on Morley-Minto reforms.
3. How was the All India Muslim League formed?
4. Write a short note on the Surat Split.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the views and political beliefs of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan.
2. Examine the causes and impact of the Surat Split.
3. Discuss in detail the Home Rule Movement.

The Muslim League

NOTES

8.9 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

UNIT 9 EMERGENCE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

NOTES

Structure

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Objectives
- 9.2 India in the Early 20th Century
- 9.3 Gandhiji and Mass Movement
 - 9.3.1 The Rowlatt Satyagraha
- 9.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 9.5 Summary
- 9.6 Key Words
- 9.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 9.8 Further Readings

9.0 INTRODUCTION

The exemplary contribution of M.K. Gandhi earned him the titled of ‘Mahatma’ or ‘the great soul’. He emerged as the leader of the masses who took upon himself the baton to guide the country in its nationalist struggle. He espoused ideas of satyagraha, non-violence, truthfulness, etc. Gandhi guided the farmers of Champaran and Kheda and the workers of Ahmedabad. When the Rowlatt Act was passed, he led the protest against the gruesome act. However, he called off the protest when it took a violent turn. This unit will discuss the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as a leader of the masses and the Rowlatt Satyagraha.

9.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the contribution of Gandhi as the leader of the masses
- Discuss in detail Champaran satyagraha
- Analyse the contribution of Gandhi towards farmers and workers in Kheda and Ahmedabad
- Discuss the Rowlatt Act and the resistance to it

9.2 INDIA IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The nationalist movement in India progressed as a result of the British colonial exploitation. It achieved momentum through various stages. The British entered India as a trading entity. Their 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 using 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 set example of the modern form of non-violent resistance movement to gain independence from the British.

Throughout Asia and Africa, nationalist ideas fuelled the campaigns to replace the old European empires with homegrown rulers in the twentieth century. 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 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 Bipin 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 based on it 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.'

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

NOTES

NOTES

- 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 their status got reduced to that of agricultural labourers, sharecroppers 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. Bipin 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. The remarkable tribal uprisings occurred in Bhagalpur and Rajmahal around 1855 and were known as Santhal hool or Santhal rebellion. The Kols of Chhotnagpur rebelled 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. 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 revolt of 1857 came as the first major challenge to British colonialism. Though it started from the barracks of sepoy, yet 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 on newspaper campaigns, 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. 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 the working class

The next important group of the Indian society who 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 foreign, profitseeking 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 slogan 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 grew 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. The nationalist movement enriched itself, when the workers supported it in its metamorphosis.

NOTES

NOTES

Tagore: The preacher of self-reliance

Earlier the social reformers had preached the idea of human equality, indirectly fostering the concept of the unity of India and Indians. Though the nationalist struggle was engineered by the elite in the early stages, the militant nationalists acted on a more practical programme to take up the 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. The students, teachers, clerks, etc. formed volunteer groups and joined the struggle. The remarkable aspect of it was the approach from the grassroots, right from the extremist days.

Check Your Progress

1. In which year did the hill tribesmen of Rampa revolt against the British?
2. Name the Indian leader who preached the importance of self-reliance or 'aatmashakti'.

9.3 GANDHIJI AND MASS MOVEMENT

Mahatma Gandhi was born in Porbander, Gujarat, on 2 October 1869. He finished his schooling in Rajkot, where his father served as the adviser to the local ruler of Rajkot. Though India was under British rule, over 500 kingdoms, principalities, and states were allowed autonomy, however, they were bound to the British government by subsidiaries. These states are called native states or princely states and Rajkot was also a native state. In 1888, Gandhi went to England, where he pursued a degree in law. After completing his law degree, Gandhi decided to accept an offer from an Indian businessman in South Africa, Dada Abdulla, to join him as a legal adviser. Gandhi was to stay in South Africa for over twenty years. It was here that Gandhi first got a taste of European racism when he was thrown out of first class railway compartment despite having a first class ticket. This incident gave birth to a strong political awakening which forced him to come back to India and join in India's freedom for struggle.

In early 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India. After his return to India, he is known to have left the country only once in 1931 to participate in the Second Round Table Conference. On the advice of G.K. Gokhale, he travelled extensively throughout India to familiarize himself with India and Indian conditions. He considered Gokhale to be his political mentor and often turned to him for advice. For the next few years Gandhi became involved in various local struggles such as the ones in Kheda, Gujarat and Champaran, Bihar. These local struggles were also a landmark in the history of Indian freedom

struggle as they were the first Satyagraha protests initiated by Gandhi. It would be important to point out that though the Champaran Satyagraha was the first revolution, the term Satyagraha was first used during the Rowlatt Agitation of 1919.

Gradually, he led several local struggles such as the one at Champaran in Bihar and the dispute at Ahmedabad textile mills. These local struggles were also a landmark in the history of Indian freedom struggle as they were the first Satyagraha protests initiated by Gandhi based on the principle of *ahimsa* or non-violence against the British. His leadership earned him widespread respect and loyal support of the people, and he rapidly rose to the helm of nationalist politics as a charismatic leader of the nationalist movement.

Rabindranath Tagore, India's most well-known poet and author, gave him the title of Mahatma, or 'Great Soul'.

Though many leaders fought for the cause of Indian independence, Mahatma Gandhi's role stands out among them. His arrival galvanized the nationalist movement and made it a mass movement.

Champaran satyagraha

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, which pushed them to the brink. The farmers had heard about Gandhi and they 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. According to the committee report, the peasants were free from the clutches of the European planters. Gandhi emerged as a leader with mass appeal.

Kheda

Similarly, in Kheda, Gujarat, the farmers were slightly better off than their counterparts in Champaran. However, with the famine, the agrarian economy was destroyed. In a situation where the people did not have enough to feed themselves, the British government levied a 23 per cent tax increase which was to take affect the same year. Gandhi's efforts in Kheda and Champaran earned him a distinguished position in nationalist politics.

NOTES

NOTES

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.

Gandhi's position as a leader of the nationalist movement was further strengthened by his actions against the Rowlatt Act. This act was passed to control public unrest and check conspiracy against the British. This act authorized the British government to imprison any person without trial who was suspected of terrorist activity for a minimum period of two years. As a mark of protest, Gandhi organized a strike where Indians would close their business. Although, the strike was successful in Delhi, the rioting in other parts of India was high. Gandhi suspended the resistance because of these riots. He realized that Indians were not ready to protest peacefully, without the use of non-violence which was an integral part of Satyagraha.

After the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, Gandhi drafted the report of the Punjab Congress Inquiry Committee. During the next two years, Mahatma Gandhi initiated the Non-Cooperation Movement, where he requested all Indians to withdraw from British institutions and return degrees conferred by the British. He also emphasized on self-reliance. The contribution of many leaders in the cause of Indian Freedom is immense, but Mahatma Gandhi's role is commendable. It has been observed that the progress of the nationalist movement was not worth mentioning. However, with the arrival of Gandhi, the nationalist movement gained momentum. The pre-Gandhi nationalists were considered to be too democratic and their activities were effortless to the cause of freedom. It was only under Gandhi's leadership that the nationalist movement gained mass appeal.

Under Gandhi's leadership, the nature of the nationalist movement changed drastically. He adopted principles of non-violence in his method of protests. Mahatma Gandhi gained confidence of the Indian masses and gradually emerged as the leader who controlled the movement against the British government. It was only through the developments initiated by Gandhi and the complete involvement of the Indian masses that the British finally quit India in 1947. The methods used by Mahatma Gandhi in his fight against British imperialism can be divided into the following four categories:

- (i) **Non-cooperation and satyagraha:** This was the most common method initiated by Gandhi where he led peaceful protests through non-cooperation

with the British authority. Another ideology of his was Satyagraha, which Gandhi explains as fearless agitation based on non-cooperation, fearlessness and truthfulness. Gandhi used Satyagraha to bend the British government in accepting the valid demands of the Indian people.

- (ii) **Non-violence:** Mahatma Gandhi was aware that the poor Indians could not compete against the British government and that any violent protest would only result in more Indian casualties. Therefore, he adopted the policy of non-violence during all his movement.
- (iii) **Truthfulness:** Similar to non-violence, truthfulness was a symbol of Gandhi's ideologies and methods. It is known that he not only preached but practiced absolute truthfulness that gave him inner strength to fight the British government. Apart from inner strength, it convinced the Indian masses of his intentions towards the British.
- (iv) **Involvement of masses:** The involving of common man in his cause of freedom was an important step in uniting the entire nation against the British. Previously, the nationalist movement was run by a small group of intellectuals and the masses were neither involved nor informed about the developments taking place in the national movement. This trend was reversed under the leadership of Gandhi.

9.3.1 The Rowlatt Satyagraha

After the end of the First World War, the extremist faction was on the rise in the Indian national movement. The existing law—the Defence of India Act—was about to expire, and the British needed stronger measures to contain what they termed as terrorist elements, who posed a threat to their rule. They introduced the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, commonly known as the Rowlatt Act, after its author Sir Sydney A.T. Rowlatt, in March 1919. Under this Act, the government could arrest and imprison any person without trial. It also gave the government power to curb the media from printing any news. The Act was labelled as the 'Black Act' and attracted mass protests all over the country, attracting even more repressive measures by the government.

The Rowlatt Act led to the biggest mass movement against the British rule since the Revolt of 1857, and provided the spark that ignited the movement for independence that later spread all over India and eventually led to Independence.

Gandhi opposed the Rowlatt Act and called for mass agitation and an all India *hartal*, or strike, in which Indians shut their businesses and fasted to show their opposition to the British. People all over the country signed a Satyagraha pledge to follow the path of non-violence. Gandhi's *hartal* began on 6 April 1919 and received wide support from the masses. The strike was successful in Delhi, but violence and rioting broke out in Punjab and other parts of India, forcing Gandhi to suspend the movement. He was saddened to note that Indians were not

NOTES

NOTES

ready for peaceful protest, with non-violence, which was the core principle of Satyagraha.

The protest movement was the strongest in Punjab province, where two Congress leaders, Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, were arrested and taken to an unknown place on 10 April 1919. In protest against this incident, people gathered at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, on 13 April 1919, a protest that turned into one of the most gruesome tragedies under British rule—the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919.

Check Your Progress

3. In which year did Mahatma Gandhi return to India from South Africa?
4. Who gave the title of 'Mahatma' to M.K. Gandhi?
5. When did the Champaran Satyagraha take place?
6. Who was Gandhi accompanied by when he visited Champaran?
7. Why was Rowlatt Act passed?
8. Why did Gandhi call off the resistance against Rowlatt Act?

9.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The hill tribesmen of Rampa in coastal Andhra revolted in March 1879 against forest regulations.
2. Rabindranath Tagore preached the importance of self-reliance or 'aatmashakti'.
3. In early 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa.
4. Rabindranath Tagore, India's most well-known poet and author, gave M.K. Gandhi the title of Mahatma, or 'Great Soul'.
5. The satyagraha at Champaran took place in 1917.
6. Gandhi came to Champaran accompanied by young leaders like Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalani, Mahadev Desai and Mazhar-ul-Haq.
7. The Rowlatt Act was passed to control public unrest and check conspiracy against the British. This act authorized the British government to imprison any person without trial who was suspected of terrorist activity for a minimum period of two years.
8. The resistance against Rowlatt Act led to a lot of rioting in Delhi. Gandhi called off the resistance as he realized that Indians were not ready to protest peacefully, without the use of nonviolence which was an integral part of Satyagraha.

9.5 SUMMARY

- 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 remarkable tribal uprisings occurred in Bhagalpur and Rajmahal around 1855 and were known as Santhal hool or Santhal rebellion. The Kols of Chhotnagpur rebelled 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.
- The exploited and oppressed peasants of India revolted against the alien rule and created a base for the nationalist struggle. 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.
- The next important group of the Indian society who played a vital role in the nationalist struggle was the workers. 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.
- Mahatma Gandhi was born in Porbander, Gujarat, on 2 October 1869. In 1888, Gandhi went to England, where he pursued a degree in law. After completing his law degree, Gandhi decided to accept an offer from an Indian businessman in South Africa, Dada Abdulla, to join him as a legal adviser.
- In early 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India. After his return to India, he is known to have left the country only once in 1931 to participate in the Second Round Table Conference. On the advice of G.K. Gokhale, he travelled extensively throughout India to familiarize himself with India and Indian conditions. He considered Gokhale to be his political mentor and often turned to him for advice.
- Gandhi became involved in various local struggles such as the ones in Kheda, Gujarat and Champaran, Bihar. These local struggles were also a landmark in the history of Indian freedom struggle as they were the first Satyagraha protests initiated by Gandhi. Rabindranath Tagore, India's most well-known poet and author, gave him the title of Mahatma, or 'Great Soul'.
- 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

NOTES

NOTES

crop was bought at very low price fixed by the European planters. In addition, the British also started levying a tax on the farmers, which pushed them to the brink.

- Gandhi came to Champaran and 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. Gandhi emerged as a leader with mass appeal.
- Gandhi's efforts in Kheda and Champaran earned him a distinguished position in nationalist politics.
- In 1918, there was a dispute between the workers and mill-owners of Ahmedabad. This was because 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. He himself went on a fast unto death to keep up workers' resolve to continue the strike. The mill-owners gave in to the workers' demands on the fourth day and agreed to give the workers a 35 per cent increase in wages.
- The Rowlatt Act was passed to control public unrest and check conspiracy against the British. This act authorized the British government to imprison any person without trial who was suspected of terrorist activity for a minimum period of two years.
- Gandhi's position as a leader of the nationalist movement was further strengthened by his actions against the Rowlatt Act. As a mark of protest, Gandhi organized a strike where Indians would close their business. Although, the strike was successful in Delhi, the rioting in other parts of India was high. Gandhi suspended the resistance because of these riots. He realized that Indians were not ready to protest peacefully, without the use of nonviolence which was an integral part of Satyagraha.
- The Rowlatt Act led to the biggest mass movement against the British rule since the Revolt of 1857, and provided the spark that ignited the movement for independence that later spread all over India and eventually led to Independence.

9.6 KEY WORDS

- **Racism:** It refers to the belief that some races of people are better than others and therefore should be treated unfairly.
- **Trial:** It is the process in a court of law where a judge listens to evidence and decides if somebody is guilty of a crime or not.

- **Strike:** It is a work stoppage, caused by the mass refusal of employees to work.

*Emergence of Mahatma
Gandhi*

9.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

NOTES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the Champaran Satyagraha.
2. How did Gandhi resolve the Ahmedabad Mill dispute?
3. What was the Rowlatt Act?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the role played by peasants and workers in the Indian freedom struggle.
2. Examine the factors that consolidated Gandhi's position as the leader of the masses.
3. Discuss the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the fight against British imperialism.

9.8 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

NOTES

UNIT 10 JALLIANWALA BAGH AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Objectives
- 10.2 Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
- 10.3 Non-Cooperation Movement and Chauri Chaura Incident
- 10.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 10.5 Summary
- 10.6 Key Words
- 10.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 10.8 Further Readings

10.0 INTRODUCTION

The Indian nationalist struggle gained momentum with the launch of the Non-Cooperation Movement. This movement was a reaction to the Rowlatt Act, Jallianwala Bagh massacre and other ordeals. Mahatma Gandhi, with the support of the Indian masses, shook the foundations of the British Empire with the Non-Cooperation Movement. The movement also incorporated the Khilafat Movement and several leaders from Bengal ensured that the ideals of the movement were met. The Chauri-Chaura incident, however, weakened the movement, which led to the revival of revolutionary groups. This unit will discuss in detail the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the Non-Cooperation Movement and the growth of revolutionary groups.

10.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss in detail the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
- Examine the circumstances that led to the Non-Cooperation Movement
- Analyse the aim of revolutionary groups that emerged after the Non-Cooperation Movement

10.2 JALLIANWALA BAGH MASSACRE

As protest against the Rowlatt Act mounted, the British government used more and more oppressive measures to suppress the mass agitation. There were frequent

lathi charges and firings on unarmed demonstrators at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Delhi and other cities. Gandhi's call for a countrywide *hartal* on 6 April 1919 received a huge response from the common people. The protest movement was strongest in Punjab, where one of the worst political crimes in Indian history was committed. On 13 April 1919, the day of Baisakhi, a large but peaceful and unarmed crowd had gathered at Jallianwala Bagh, near the Golden Temple in Amritsar, to protest against the repressive measures of the British government, including the arrest of Indian leaders.

General Dyer, the military commander of Amritsar, decided to teach the people of Amritsar a lesson. Jallianwala Bagh, a sprawling open space, was surrounded on three sides by buildings and had only one exit. General Dyer surrounded the place with his soldiers and blocked the exit. Without any warning, he ordered indiscriminate firing at the crowd of unarmed men, women and children. The firing went on for 10–15 minutes, till the guns ran out of ammunition. Among the screaming, terrified crowd, many were trampled to death by those desperately trying to escape. At the end, there were 379 dead and over 1,500 wounded.

After this massacre, the government imposed martial law in Punjab and the people were subjected to the most severe atrocities, including public flogging of men, arrest and detention of people without any concrete reasons, censorship of mails, construction of an open cage for the confinement of arrested persons and other novel punishments. The atrocities in Punjab sparked nationwide outrage. The sentiment of Indians was reflected by the great poet and humanist, Rabindranath Tagore, who renounced his knighthood in protest. After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, Gandhi drafted the report of the Punjab Congress Inquiry Committee. Over the next two years, he led the Non-Cooperation Movement, in which he encouraged Indians to withdraw from British institutions and return degrees conferred by the British. He also stressed on self-reliance.

Check Your Progress

1. Who was responsible for indiscriminate firing at unarmed Indians in Jallianwala Bagh on 13 April 1919?
2. Name the poet who renounced his knighthood after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

10.3 NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT AND CHAURI CHAURA INCIDENT

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 Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian

NOTES

NOTES

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 Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Montagu 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
- 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 Chitta Ranjan 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 CR Das, Motilal Nehru, MR 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 laborers 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:

- 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.

NOTES

NOTES

Mahatma Gandhi, Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements

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.

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 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 Gandhiji. 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 revolt 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.'

In order to protest against 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 nonviolence, 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 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
- AK 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.

NOTES

NOTES

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 AK Fazlul Huq, Abul Kasem and Mujibur Rahman, and they demanded that unless 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 orthodox by nature Khilafat movement 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.

Revolutionary Fervour

The spontaneous upsurge of the Non-Cooperation Movement released the great force of India's youth that were determined to wrest freedom. The youth of the country had responded eagerly to the call of Gandhi and had participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement. The sudden withdrawal of the movement was a blow to their aspirations. The secret samitis of the first phase of the revolutionary movement began to be revived in Punjab and in Bengal.

The Anushilan Samiti in Bengal was associated with Subhas Bose and the Yugantar Samiti with the J. M. Sengupta group. There was considerable amount

of political rivalry between these two groups. Some smaller revolutionary groups began to be formed at about this time for example the one under Surya Sen of Chittagong that developed along much more radical lines. 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.

Another centre of revolutionary ferment was northern India where Sachin Sanyal and Jogesh Chatterji and others formed the Hindustan Republican Association in the United Provinces and started raising funds through dacoities. The most renowned of which was the Kakori train robbery in August 1925 that resulted in the arrest of several members of the organization.

This organization also established links with a group of young men in the Punjab under the dynamic and brilliant student leader Bhagat Singh. The Punjab group was deeply influenced by socialist ideology. Hence, the organization was renamed Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA). The aim of the revolutionaries was to achieve complete independence and they had a vision of how the State should be after the achievement of the same. They envisaged a mass struggle of the people and for this purpose and tried to mobilize students, workers and peasants.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

3. Who started the Non-Cooperation Movement?
4. When was the Non-Cooperation Movement officially launched?
5. Name some of the prominent lawyers who left their legal practice due to the Non-Cooperation Movement.
6. What were the limitations of the Non-Cooperation Movement?
7. State the resolutions passed at the first All-India Khilafat Committee in November 1919.

10.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. General Dyer, the military commander of Amritsar, was responsible for indiscriminate firing at unarmed Indians in Jallianwala Bagh on 13 April 1919.
2. Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.
3. The Non-cooperation movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi.
4. The Non-cooperation movement was officially launched on 1 August 1920.

NOTES

5. Some of the lawyers who left legal practice when the Non-Cooperation movement started were C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M.R. Jayakar and S. Kitchlew.
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 promised.
7. The following resolutions were passed at the All-India Khilafat Committee in November 1919:
 - 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.

10.5 SUMMARY

- As protest against the Rowlatt Act mounted, the British government used more and more oppressive measures to suppress the mass agitation. There were frequent lathi charges and firings on unarmed demonstrators at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Delhi and other cities.
- On 13 April 1919, the day of Baisakhi, a large but peaceful and unarmed crowd had gathered at Jallianwala Bagh, near the Golden Temple in Amritsar, to protest against the repressive measures of the British government, including the arrest of Indian leaders. General Dyer, the military commander of Amritsar, decided to teach the people of Amritsar a lesson. Without any warning, he ordered indiscriminate firing at the crowd of unarmed men, women and children. At the end, there were 379 dead and over 1,500 wounded.
- The atrocities in Punjab sparked nationwide outrage. The sentiment of Indians was reflected by the great poet and humanist, Rabindranath Tagore, who renounced his knighthood in protest.
- 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 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.
- 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’.

- 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 Chauri Chaura incident, in which a mob burned alive twenty-five policemen and one inspector, made Gandhi suspend the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- During the Non-Cooperation Movement, thousands of Indians were put in jail. Gandhi himself was arrested in March 1922 and charged with sedition.
- In order to protest against 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.
- 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 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 secret samitis of the first phase of the revolutionary movement began to be revived in Punjab and in Bengal.
- The aim of the revolutionaries was to achieve complete independence and they had a vision of how the State should be after the achievement of the same. They envisaged a mass struggle of the people and for this purpose and tried to mobilize students, workers and peasants.

NOTES

10.6 KEY WORDS

- **Martial law:** It is the imposition of direct military control of normal civil functions or suspension of civil law by a government, especially in response to a temporary emergency where civil forces are overwhelmed, or in an occupied territory.
- **Censorship:** It is the suppression of speech, public communication, or other information, on the basis that such material is considered objectionable, harmful, sensitive, or ‘inconvenient’.
- **Knighthood:** It is a title that is given to a man by a British king or queen for his achievements or his service to his country.

- **Ideology:** It is a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy.

NOTES

10.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.
2. State the aims and charter of the Non-Cooperation Movement as determined at the Kolkata session in 1920.
3. What were some of the indirect effects of the Non-Cooperation Movement?
4. Write a short note on the Chauri Chaura incident.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss in detail the Non-cooperation Movement.
2. Examine the contribution of leaders of the Khilafat Movement.
3. Explain the causes for the growth of revolutionary groups after the Non-Cooperation Movement.

10.8 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

BLOCK - IV
OVERVIEW OF INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE
MOVEMENTS (1923 – 1947) AND IMPORTANT
ISSUES

NOTES

UNIT 11 SIMON COMMISSION

Structure

- 11.0 Introduction
- 11.1 Objectives
- 11.2 Swaraj Party
 - 11.2.1 Simon Commission Report
 - 11.2.2 Poorna Swaraj Resolution
 - 11.2.3 Nehru Report and Jinnah's 14 Points
- 11.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 11.4 Summary
- 11.5 Key Words
- 11.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 11.7 Further Readings

11.0 INTRODUCTION

The Swaraj Party was formed with an intention to thwart the British government's plan for diarchy. The failure of the Government of India Act 1919 hastened the formation of the Simon Commission. The Commission comprised seven MPs including Sir Simon. However, it did not include any Indian which led to a lot of criticism. The boycott of the Simon Commission was dealt with police repression. This unit will discuss in detail the Simon Commission. The Nehru Report and the Poorna Swaraj resolution will also be discussed in detail.

11.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the formation of the Swarajists Congress Party
- Examine the findings of the Simon Commission
- Analyse the factors that led to the boycott of the Simon Commission report
- Discuss in detail the Poorna Swaraj Resolution, Nehru Report and the recommendations of Jinnah

11.2 SWARAJ PARTY

NOTES

The first major Gandhian movement all over India was the Non-Cooperation Movement from 1920 to 1922. The movement was withdrawn in 1922 by Gandhi in view of the rise of violence among its followers. After the termination of the movement his followers were agitated over the future course of action. Leaders like C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru thought that, as there was no immediate chance of resuming the struggle, an alternative strategy was called for. That strategy was Council entry. This would require Congressmen to contest election and appeal to the voters, that is, the common Indians. At the same time they would not accept ministerial offices that were created through the scheme of diarchy which had been rejected by the Congress. This group called themselves the Swarajists Congress Party. They aimed at thwarting the government plan for diarchy.

Until 1923, the Councils were dominated by the Liberals who had walked out of the Congress at the beginning of the Non-Cooperation Movement. When the Swarajists fought elections, those Liberals were defeated all over the country. The Government of India Act, 1919, therefore, failed to work. This hastened the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1928 for working out a more acceptable scheme of reforms for India.

11.2.1 Simon Commission Report

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 against by the Indian masses. However, the Indian public demanded for revision of this form of government. Moreover, 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 comprising seven MPs, including Chairman Sir Simon.

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.

Simon Commission

The findings of the Simon 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.

NOTES

Boycott of the Simon Commission

Amidst this reformulation and resurgence of the revolutionary movement and the subdued state of the mainstream movement was announced the Simon Commission to formulate further constitutional reforms for India. The all-white commission did not include any Indian and thus it was clear that the forthcoming reforms, if any, would not fulfill the aspirations of the Indian people.

Diarchy had already shown itself to be a great farce with all the key decision-making powers still firmly in the hands of the colonial government. The announcement of the all-white Simon Commission sparked off widespread discontent and fanned the fires of the nationalist movement. All shades of political opinion in India unanimously condemned the Commission, as not a single Indian was included in it.

The Indian response to the Commission was a unanimous resolution by leaders of every shade of opinion to boycott it. All the important cities and towns observed a *hartal* on the day that the members of the Commission landed in India (3rd February 1928). There were mass rallies and processions and black flag demonstrations against the Commission. ‘Go Back Simon’ was imprinted on banners, placards and even kites. Black flags were waved at the Commission wherever it went. It is needless to say that police repression was harsh and merciless and processions were attacked and not even the most prominent leaders were spared.

The most insensitive attack was on Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the outstanding leaders of the extremist era in Lahore. This, now elderly, leader was hit by lathis and he succumbed to this attack a few days later. 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.

NOTES

As a result of the adoption of the *Purna Swaraj* pledge, there was a rise of great expectations in the country and similar independence pledges were taken all over the country on 26th January 1930. There was unrest brewing in the country proof of which was a railway strike led by the communists based in the Bombay-Nagpur region. The Congress-led movement started getting ready for a movement of civil disobedience that would include non-payment of taxes in its extreme form. Congress legislators were instructed to resign preparation for the next round of struggle.

Gandhi however began with issuing an ultimatum to the Viceroy Irwin on 31 January, which did not mention anything about complete independence, or *Purna Swaraj*. The Eleven points were rather a set of specific demands that the nation was making from the colonial government. One of the demands was for the abolition of the salt tax and the government monopoly of manufacture of salt. The demands also included 50 per cent reduction in land revenue, protection of textiles, 50 per cent cuts in army expenses and civil service salaries etc.

11.2.2 Poorna Swaraj Resolution

Before the Simon Commission, the Congress demanded Home Rule, i.e., dominion status within the British Empire. It did not advocate complete independence. However, 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 *Poorna Swaraj* (complete independence). The Session also announced the launch of the Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

11.2.3 Nehru Report and Jinnah's 14 Points

In August 1928, the Congress held Madras session in which they presented the Nehru Report outlining a proposed new dominion status for India. The then secretary of State of India, Lord Birkenhead challenged the Indians to draft their own constitution. As a result, All Parties Conference was conducted under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru, with his son Jawaharlal acting as secretary to draft a constitution. It consisted of members like Subhas Chandra Bose, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Ali Imam, G. R. Pradhan, Shuaaib Qureshi etc. Hence, it was the first major attempt by the Indians to frame their own constitution.

The recommendations of the Nehru Report were as follows:

- Status of a dominion to be granted to India.
- Federal form of government was to be opted with residuary powers vested in the center.
- A parliamentary form of government headed by a Prime Minister and six ministers appointed by the Governor General.
- A bi-cameral legislature should be there.
- No separate electorates for any community.
- No system of weightage for minorities.

- One-fourth representation to the Muslims in the central legislature.
- Hindi should be considered as the official language of India.
- If Sindh was to be self-sufficient then only it should be separated from Bombay.
- Wherever the Muslim population is 10 per cent, reservation of Muslim seats can be made but this should strictly adhere in proportion to the size of the community.

M. A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan also brought in certain amendments regarding representation of Muslims in the legislature. Some of his recommendations were:

- One-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature.
- Adequate representation to Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies.
- In any cabinet at the centre or in the provinces, one-third to be Muslims.
- It proposed separate electorates for Muslims.
- Residuary powers to be vested in the hands of provinces and not at the centre.
- Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP were not to be affected by any territorial redistribution.
- Sindh to be separated from Bombay.

This proposal constituted almost all the major provisions which were drafted in the Constitution of India. But at that time, it created dissection of opinion with respect to what should be demanded from the British – nothing short of independence, or complete independence (purna swaraj) was the view of the majority of the people. The Nehru Report was approved by the Congress at the Calcutta session held in December, 1928. According to Gandhi, India would accept dominion status provided in the Nehru Report for a period of one year. He further stated that if the British did not accept it then the Congress would organize a campaign of non-cooperation.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the aim of the Swarajists Congress Party?
2. Who formed the Simon Commission?
3. Why did the Indian leaders disapprove of the Simon Commission?
4. Name the Indian leader who died after getting injured at the protest against the Simon Commission?
5. Why was the Government of India Act, 1919 passed?
6. In which session of the Congress was the resolution for Purna Swaraj declared?

NOTES

11.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

NOTES

1. The aim of the Swarajists Congress Party was to thwart the government's plan for diarchy.
2. In 1927, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin formed a Commission comprising seven MPs, including Chairman Sir Simon.
3. The findings of the Simon Commission caused tremendous discontent among the Indian leaders because no Indian was included in the commission to represent the nation.
4. Lala Lajpat Rai died after he was injured at the protest against the Simon Commission.
5. The Government of India Act, 1919, had been passed to introduce diarchy for the governance of the provinces of British India.
6. The Congress in its Lahore Session passed a resolution declaring the demand for Poorna Swaraj.

11.4 SUMMARY

- The first major Gandhian movement all over India was the Non-Cooperation Movement from 1920 to 1922. The movement was withdrawn in 1922 by Gandhi in view of the rise of violence among its followers. After the termination of the movement his followers were agitated over the future course of action. This led to the formation of the Swarajists Congress Party.
- The Swarajists Congress Party aimed at thwarting the government plan for diarchy.
- 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 diarchy for the governance of the provinces of British India. This was protested against by the Indian masses. Moreover, 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 1927, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin formed a commission comprising seven MPs, including Chairman Sir Simon. The Simon Commission was given the responsibility to investigate into the condition of constitutional affairs

in India as the British government were apprehensive about transferring the control of their colonies to a relatively inexperienced party.

- 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 Simon Commission caused tremendous discontent throughout the country, because no Indian was included in the commission to represent the nation.
- Amidst the resurgence of the revolutionary movement and the subdued state of the mainstream movement was announced the Simon Commission to formulate further constitutional reforms for India. All the important cities and towns observed a hartal on the day that the members of the Commission landed in India (3rd February 1928).
- In the protest against the Simon Commission, Lala Lajpat Rai was hit by lathis and he succumbed to this attack. The death of Lajpat Rai created tremendous resentment against the British rule all over.
- 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 Poorna Swaraj (complete independence). The Session also announced the launch of the Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.
- In August 1928, the Congress held Madras session in which they presented the Nehru Report outlining a proposed new dominion status for India. The then secretary of State of India, Lord Birkenhead challenged the Indians to draft their own constitution.
- An All Parties Conference was conducted under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru, with his son Jawaharlal acting as secretary to draft a constitution. It consisted of members like Subhas Chandra Bose, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Ali Imam, G. R. Pradhan, Shuaaib Qureshi etc.
- M. A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan also brought in certain amendments regarding representation of Muslims in the legislature.
- The Nehru Report was approved by the Congress at the Calcutta session held in December, 1928. According to Gandhi, India would accept dominion status provided in the Nehru Report for a period of one year. He further stated that if the British did not accept it then the Congress would organize a campaign of non-cooperation.

11.5 KEY WORDS

- **Diarchy:** It refers to a government in which power is vested in two rulers or authorities.

Simon Commission

NOTES

NOTES

- **Monopoly:** It refers to a situation in which a specific person or enterprise is the only supplier of a particular commodity.
- **Legislator:** It is a person who writes and passes laws, especially someone who is a member of a legislature.

11.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the factors that led to the formation of the Swarajist Congress Party?
2. What were the findings of the Simon Commission?
3. Write a short note on the Poorna Swaraj Resolution.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the Indian response to the Simon Commission.
2. Examine the recommendations of the Nehru Report.
3. Explain the recommendations introduced by Jinnah to safeguard the interest of the Muslims.

11.7 FURTHER READINGS

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

UNIT 12 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

*Civil Disobedience
Movement*

NOTES

Structure

- 12.0 Introduction
- 12.1 Objectives
- 12.2 Civil Disobedience Movement and the Dandi March
- 12.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 12.4 Summary
- 12.5 Key Words
- 12.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 12.7 Further Readings

12.0 INTRODUCTION

The Civil Disobedience Movement was the direct reaction to Lord Irwin's disregard for the demands put forward by Gandhi. The movement gained momentum after Gandhi marched from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi to protest against the imposition of salt tax. This unit will discuss in detail the features of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Karachi session and the Round Table Conferences will also be discussed briefly.

12.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss in detail Dandi March and the Civil Disobedience Movement
- Explain the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact
- Discuss the outcome of the First and Second Round Table Conference

12.2 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT AND THE DANDI MARCH

After Gandhi was given the responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement, he wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin seeking the abolishment of salt tax, reduction of military expenditure and the release of political prisoners. However, Lord Irwin chose to not respond to this letter. This formed the crux for the outbreak of the Civil Disobedience Movement against the British by Gandhi. On 12 March 1930, Gandhi started a march from Sabarmati ashram to the sea at Dandi accompanied by 72 followers. People cheered the marchers and joined them along the way. As Gandhi walked past them, villagers spun yarn on charkhas as a mark of their

NOTES

solidarity to the movement. On 16 April after Gandhi reached the sea at Dandi, he picked up some salt from the seaside as a mark of breaking the Salt Law. Gandhi had decided to break the law as he believed that salt was a basic necessity of people and salt tax was against the interest of the poor. Inspired by Gandhi, people began manufacturing salt all over the country.

From Madras to Maharashtra, from Bengal and Assam to Karachi, volunteers were recruited on a large-scale for the movement through careful planning and it soon spread like fire. Supporters launched a massive demonstration at Peshawar in the farthest north. This area had been in news due to activism by leaders like Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars. The British were wary of the movement and arrested leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru on 14 April. Madras, Calcutta and Karachi erupted in protest against the arrest of Nehru. The colonial government was taken by surprise with the reaction of the masses as it had not anticipated such widespread support to the movement. Insecure, it decided to arrest Gandhi in May 1930 but the decision only added much fuel to the fire that the movement had stirred. The most important feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the support it received from the youth of the country, especially students and women. Women led groups attacked liquor shops as well as those that sold foreign goods. The government went all out to stop the people and issued orders curbing the civil liberties of citizens. It also decided to ban civil disobedience organizations in the provinces.

In June 1930, the Congress Working Committee was banned and its president, Motilal Nehru, was arrested. By August, even the local Congress committees were banned. All these issues became part of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It was then that the Simon Commission published its report, a time when the government had become a symbol of repression and the national movement was at its peak.

As against expectations, the Simon Report made no mention of giving dominion status to India. With this, many nationalist leaders turned outright against the British. It was followed by the Viceroy's invitation to the leaders to a Round Table Conference to discuss the issue of dominion status. Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru were taken to Gandhi to discuss the offer made by the British. But no breakthrough could be made between the government and the Congress leaders. It was in London in November 1930 that the First Round Table Conference was held between the Indian leaders and the British. However, leaders of the Congress abstained from the meeting. The absence of the leaders of the Congress meant that there would be no negotiations between the Indians and the British. The next conference was scheduled a year later. On 25 January 1931, the government released Gandhi. Without imposing any conditions, all other members of the Congress Working Committee were also released. However, the Congress leaders were asked to discuss the Viceroy's offer to participate in the next Round Table Conference. After several rounds of discussions, Gandhi was given the responsibility of negotiating with the Viceroy. Discussions between Gandhi and

Lord Irwin went on for a fortnight. On 5 March 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was finally signed. The terms of this Pact were as follows:

- Immediate release of all people arrested for non-violent protests.
- Fines not collected from people to be remitted
- Confiscated land not yet sold off to be returned to peasants
- Government employees who had resigned were to be treated leniently
- Right to make salt to villages along the coast
- Grant of right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing

The Congress decided to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement after the pact was signed. It also confirmed its participation in the next Round Table Conference. However, as per the judgment of many nationalist leaders, this pact was only a temporary truce, even though another section of leaders believed this settlement unnecessary. Due to this difference of opinion, activists launched numerous radical activities in the form of revolutionary secret societies.

In its Karachi session in March 1931, the Congress once again gave the call for *purna swaraj*. However, the party also supported the pact between Irwin and Gandhi. At Karachi, the Congress started preparing the framework of India's Constitution even though the Pact made no mention of giving independence to India. Resolutions related to the Fundamental Rights and National Economic policy were approved at the session. These resolutions were landmark in the history of the nationalist movement for it was for the first time that issues of civil liberties such as free speech, free press and freedom of association were spoken about for the Indian masses. Other provisions included in this resolution pertained to neutrality in religious matters, equality before law, universal adult franchise, free and compulsory primary education and many others.

For the Second Round Table Conference in August 1931, Gandhi travelled to London. Willington, meanwhile, replaced Lord Irwin. However, the discussions at this Round Table did not go in the favour of India. The new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi after he returned from London in December 1931. The British government refused to recognize the Congress as representatives of the people of India. Moreover, the government went back to its repressive ways by arresting Jawaharlal Nehru and also Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was leading the *Khudai Khidmatgars'* Movement in the North-West Frontier Province.

Circumstances were thus raised where the Congress had to re-launch the Civil Disobedience Movement, especially after the new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi for any further negotiation. In January 1932, Gandhi was arrested and the government once again curtailed people's civil liberties. The government followed this by giving itself the right to appropriate properties and detain people. With such powers, the government put all prominent leaders of the Congress behind bars. With this, the masses broke out in mass demonstrations to protest against the government's actions; liquor shops were picketed as well as foreign goods' shops.

NOTES

NOTES

However, the government only reacted with more force. Large number of people was jailed, Congress was banned and the police occupied Gandhian ashrams. Demonstrators were beaten up, those who refused to pay taxes were jailed and their properties seized. Yet, the movement continued for two years. The movement was withdrawn by Gandhi in April 1934 and his call was obeyed by the people of the country.

Check Your Progress

1. How many people accompanied Gandhi when he started his March from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi?
2. Why did Gandhi break the law after his march to Dandi?
3. How did women take part in the Civil Disobedience Movement?
4. When was the Gandhi-Irwin pact signed?
5. In which year was the Civil Disobedience Movement withdrawn by Gandhi?

12.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. On 12 March, 1930, Gandhi started a march from Sabarmati ashram to the sea at Dandi accompanied by 72 followers.
2. On April 6, after Gandhi reached the sea at Dandi, he picked up some salt from the seaside as a mark of breaking the Salt Law. Gandhi had decided to break the law as he believed that salt was a basic necessity of people and salt tax was against the interest of the poor.
3. Women actively took part in the Civil Disobedience movement by attacking liquor shops as well as those that sold foreign goods.
4. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed on 5 March 1931.
5. The Civil Disobedience Movement was withdrawn by Gandhi in April 1934.

12.4 SUMMARY

- After Gandhi was given the responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement, he wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin seeking the abolishment of salt tax, reduction of military expenditure and the release of political prisoners. However, Lord Irwin chose to not respond to this letter. This formed the crux for the outbreak of the Civil Disobedience Movement against the British by Gandhi.
- On 12 March, 1930, Gandhi started a march from Sabarmati ashram to the sea at Dandi accompanied by 72 followers. On April 6, after Gandhi

reached the sea at Dandi, he picked up some salt from the seaside as a mark of breaking the Salt Law. Gandhi had decided to break the law as he believed that salt was a basic necessity of people and salt tax was against the interest of the poor.

- The British were wary of the Civil Disobedience Movement and arrested leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru on April 14. Madras, Calcutta and Karachi erupted in protest against the arrest of Nehru. The colonial government was taken by surprise with the reaction of the masses as it had not anticipated such widespread support to the movement. Insecure, it decided to arrest Gandhi in May 1930 but the decision only added much fuel to the fire that the movement had stirred.
- The Simon Report made no mention of giving dominion status to India. With this, many nationalist leaders turned outright against the British.
- It was in London in November 1930 that the First Round Table Conference was held between the Indian leaders and the British. However, leaders of the Congress abstained from the meeting. The absence of the leaders of the Congress meant that there would be no negotiations between the Indians and the British.
- On 25 January, 1931, the government released Gandhi. Gandhi was given the responsibility of negotiating with the Viceroy. Discussions between Gandhi and Lord Irwin went on for a fortnight. On 5 March 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was finally signed.
- For the Second Round Table Conference in August 1931, Gandhi travelled to London. Willington, meanwhile, replaced Lord Irwin. However, the discussions at this Round Table did not go in the favour of India. The new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi after he returned from London in December 1931. The British government refused to recognize the Congress as representatives of the people of India.
- Circumstances were thus raised where the Congress had to re-launch the Civil Disobedience Movement, especially after the new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi for any further negotiation. In January 1932, Gandhi was arrested and the government once again curtailed people's civil liberties. Yet, the movement continued for two years. The movement was withdrawn by Gandhi in April 1934 and his call was obeyed by the people of the country.

NOTES

12.5 KEY WORDS

- **Political prisoners:** The term is used for people who are jailed for their political beliefs.
- **Pact:** It is a formal agreement signed between two parties.

- **Civil liberties:** They are guarantees and freedoms that liberal governments commit not to abridge, either by legislation or judicial interpretation, without due process.

NOTES

12.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on Dandi March.
2. What were the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact?
3. State the resolutions that were passed at the Karachi session of Congress.
4. What was the outcome of the Second Round Table Conference?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss in detail the Civil Disobedience Movement.
2. Examine the circumstances that led to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

12.7 FURTHER READINGS

Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.

Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press

Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.

Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

UNIT 13 ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES AND CRIPPS' MISSION

*Round Table Conferences
and Cripps' Mission*

NOTES

Structure

- 13.0 Introduction
- 13.1 Objectives
- 13.2 Round Table Conferences
- 13.3 Poona Pact
- 13.4 Individual Satyagraha
 - 13.4.1 Cripps' Mission
- 13.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 13.4 Summary
- 13.5 Key Words
- 13.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 13.7 Further Readings

13.0 INTRODUCTION

The Round Table Conferences brought to light the schism in the Indian society. While the First Round Table Conference brought the Hindu-Muslim differences to the surface, the Second Round Table Conference revealed the discontent of the Muslims, the Depressed Classes, Christians, and other minorities. Moreover, the Communal Award announced by British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald revealed the ideology differences between M.K Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar on the issues of the Depressed Classes. This unit will examine the significance of the Round Table Conferences and the Poona Pact. The details of the August offer and Cripps' proposal will also be discussed in detail.

13.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the significance of the Round Table Conferences
- Discuss in detail the outcome of the Poona Pact
- Examine the August offer and Cripps' proposal

13.2 ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES

The Simon Commission Report was not openly accepted by the political community in India when it was issued in June 1930.

NOTES

Various political parties expressed their opinion in various ways. The Congress began the Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Gandhi. The Muslims felt that the report was not final and that issues should be decided only after consulting representative leaders from all communities in the country. There was a deadlock in the country's political scenario. The British government did not want to consider any form of self-government for the people of the country. This led to frustration, which was often expressed in the form of violent conflicts.

In 1931, Britain saw the Labour Government returning to power in Britain in 1931. This brought hope to the Indians as the Labor leaders had always been supportive of and sympathetic to the Indian cause. A Round Table Conference was held in London by the government, to facilitate the consideration of new constitutional reforms. Indian politicians from all the communities, that is, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians were asked to attend the conference. At that conference, Gandhi decided to speak alone on behalf of all Indians holding that the Congress party was the party of the people of India. His argument was that all the other parties were only representative of sectarian perspectives and their following was hardly of any significance.

First Round Table Conference

On 12 November 1930, the first session of the Round Table Conference opened in London with all parties in attendance except for the Congress. This was because the Congress leaders were in prison following the Civil Disobedience Movement. They had refused to indulge in any further constitutional discussions till the enforcement of the entire Nehru Report as the Constitution of India.

58 out of the 89 members who attended the Conference were selected from different communities and interests in British India. The remaining 31 comprised the princely states and other political parties. The Muslim delegates included prominent names such as Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar, Quaid-i-Azam, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Aga Khan and Maulvi Fazl-i-Haq. The prominent Hindu leaders invited by the British government were Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Moonje and Mr. Jaikar.

While the Hindus were all for a powerful central government, the Muslims pushed for a loose federation comprising provinces that were completely autonomous. While the Hindus wished to abolish the maintenance of weightage and separate electorates, the Muslims demanded the same. The Hindus resisted the imposition of statutory majority in Punjab and Bengal which the Muslims claimed. The scenario in Punjab got further complicated by inflated Sikh claims.

Therefore, the Conference was overshadowed by Muslim-Hindu differences.

The details were dealt with by eight subcommittees. These dealt not only with the federal structure, provincial constitution and franchise but also Sindh, the North West Frontier Province, defense services and minorities.

On 19 January 1931, the Conference broke up. It was marked by the emergence of a general agreement to include safeguards for minorities in the constitution and a desire to come up with a federal system for the country.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact

When the First Round Table Conference came to an end, the British government realized that if they were to make any further progress in the making of the Indian Constitution, they will require the full cooperation and support of the Indian National Congress. Therefore, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin invited Gandhi for discussion. Following the talks, Gandhi agreed to end the Civil Disobedience Movement without putting forward any preconditions.

The important features of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which was signed on March 5, 1931 included the following:

1. The discontinuation of the Civil Disobedience Movement by the Congress
2. The participation of the Congress in the Round Table Conference
3. The Government's withdrawal of all ordinances to curb the Congress
4. The Government's withdrawal of all prosecutions pertaining to offenses not involving violence
5. The release of all those serving prison sentences for activities in the Civil Disobedience Movement, by the Government

The pact shows that the British Government was anxious to bring the Congress to the conference table.

Second Round Table Conference

The second session of the conference opened in London on 7 September 1931. The main task of the conference was done through the two committees on federal structure and minorities. Gandhi was a member of both but he adopted a very unreasonable attitude. He claimed that he represented all India and dismissed all other Indian delegates as non-representative because they did not belong to the Congress.

The communal problem represented the most difficult issue for the delegates. Gandhi again tabled the Congress scheme for a settlement, a mere reproduction of the Nehru Report, but all the minorities rejected it.

As a counter to the Congress scheme, the Muslims, the depressed classes, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, and the Europeans presented a joint statement of claims which they said must stand as an interdependent whole. As their main demands were not acceptable to Gandhi, the communal issue was postponed for future discussion.

Three important committees drafted their reports; the Franchise Committee, the Federal Finance Committee and States Inquiry Committee.

NOTES

NOTES

On the concluding day, the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald appealed to the Indian leaders to reach a communal settlement. Failing to do so, he said, would force the British government would take a unilateral decision.

Quaid-i-Azam did not participate in the session of the Second Round Table Conference as he had decided to keep himself aloof from the Indian politics and to practice as a professional lawyer in England.

On his return to India, Gandhi once again started Civil Disobedience Movement and was duly arrested.

Third Round Table Conference

The third session began on 17 November 1932. It was short and unimportant. The Congress was once again absent, so was the Labor opposition in the British Parliament. Reports of the various committees were scrutinized. The conference ended on December 25, 1932.

The recommendations of the Round Table Conferences were presented in a White Paper published in March 1933. It was also a topic of debate in the Parliament directly immediately afterwards. The Joint Select Committee analysed it and after the final reading and loyal assent, the bill reached the Statute Book on 24 July 1935.

Check Your Progress

1. Name some of the Muslim delegates who took part in the First Round Table Conference.
2. When did the Third Round Table Conference commence?

13.3 POONA PACT

The Poona Pact 1932 was an agreement between B.R. Ambedkar and M.K. Gandhi on the political representation of the *Depressed Classes* (a loose term that referred to Dalits/Untouchables/Scheduled Castes). A little more than a month earlier, Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister, announced the Communal Award that gave Depressed Classes separate electorates for central and provincial legislatures. Gandhi viewed this as a danger to the Hindu community that would de-link untouchables from Hindus. Ambedkar and other leaders of the *Depressed Classes* welcomed the award.

On 20th September 1932, while in prison, Gandhi announced a fast unto death till the time separate electorates were removed from the Award. The British had have given the assurance that it would make changes to the Award if these changes were the result of an agreement between the communities concerned. Indian political leaders realised that the best chance to get Gandhi to terminate his fast was to facilitate an agreement between Gandhi and Ambedkar. Initially,

Ambedkar was not fazed by Gandhi's fast. But later, he came around and agreed to negotiate. In the end, Gandhi and Ambedkar came to an agreement - the Poona Pact 1932 - that discarded separate electorates.

The Poona Pact is a very short document written in a quasi-legal style. It contained nine points, seven of which laid out the manner and quantum of representation of the *Depressed Classes* at the central and provincial legislatures. Separate electorates for *Depressed Classes* did not feature in the document, instead, the *Pact* put forward a system of the joint electorates with reserved seats. It reserved 148 seats from the general electorate for Depressed Classes, 78 more than what the Award had proposed.

The *Pact* also called for the non-discrimination of *Depressed Classes* in public services and urged for efforts towards the fair representation of the community in public services. It also contained a provision that proposed the earmarking of a portion of the state's educational grant for *Depressed Classes*.

The *Pact* was sent across to British authorities who then set aside the sections dealing with untouchables. Promptly, Gandhi broke his fast on 26th September 1932. The *Pact* influenced the Government of India Act 1935, separate electorates were given to Muslims, Sikhs and others, but not to the Depressed Classes.

The leaders of the Depressed Classes, including Ambedkar, were not happy with the Poona Pact. Even though the numbers of seats reserved was double than what the Award had offered, separate electorates were viewed as a critical tool for political representation. Also, as Ambedkar himself argued, the Award had given Depressed Classes a double vote: they could use one vote for the separate electorates and another for the general electorate. Ambedkar felt that the second vote was '*a political weapon was beyond reckoning*' for the protection of Depressed Classes' interests.

The *Pact* was a historic moment in India's constitutional and political history. It brought to bear the tensions between the Depressed Classes and the Hindus, one that would continue to haunt the freedom movement and negotiations between Indians and the British. To a large extent, the *Pact* further reinforced and augmented the claim that *Depressed Classes* were a political minority whose interests could not be ignored while drawing up the constitutional future of India.

Check Your Progress

3. What was the Poona Pact 1932?
4. Who announced the Communal Award that gave the Depressed Classes separate electorates?
5. Why was Ambedkar unhappy with the Poona Pact?

NOTES

13.4 INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA

NOTES

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. Jinnah was not only the League sole spokesman for India's Muslims, but he also had the League's power to Veto any constitutional changes that the League considered detrimental.

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 major crackdown. At the same time, this movement was also intended to give the British Government further opportunity to peacefully accept the Indian demands.

13.4.1 Cripps' Mission

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. 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 an immediate Dominion status and expansion of the Viceroy's Executive into a National Government.

In February, 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 Labour members of War Cabinet like Cripps and Attlee in Britain. These groups persuade 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

NOTES

NOTES

India's defence of India. Gandhi urged the 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 left behind frustrated and embittered Indian people.

Check Your Progress

6. When did Japan attack Pearl Harbour?
7. Why did negotiations between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Congress leaders fail?

13.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The Muslim delegates who took part in the First Round Table Conference were Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar, Quaid-i-Azam, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Aga Khan and Maulvi Fazl-i-Haq.
2. The Third Round Table Conference began on 17 November 1932.
3. The Poona Pact 1932 was an agreement between B.R. Ambedkar and M.K. Gandhi on the political representation of the Depressed Classes (a loose term that referred to Dalits/Untouchables/Scheduled Castes).
4. The British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald announced the Communal Award.
5. B.R. Ambedkar was not happy with the Poona Pact. This was because even though the numbers of seats reserved was double than what the Award had offered, separate electorates were viewed as a critical tool for political representation. Also, the Award had given Depressed Classes a double vote: they could use one vote for the separate electorates and another for the general electorate. Ambedkar felt that the second vote was 'a political weapon beyond reckoning' for the protection of Depressed Classes' interests.
6. Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in December 1941.
7. The negotiations between Cripps and Congress leaders failed as 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.

*Round Table Conferences
and Cripps' Mission*

13.6 SUMMARY

- The Simon Commission Report was not openly accepted by the political community in India when it was issued in June 1930. The British government did not want to consider any form of self-government for the people of the country.
- In 1931, Britain saw the Labour Government returning to power in Britain. This brought hope to the Indians as the Labor leaders had always been supportive of and sympathetic to the Indian cause. A Round Table Conference was held in London by the government, to facilitate the consideration of new constitutional reforms.
- On 12 November 1930, the first session of the Round Table Conference opened in London with all parties in attendance except for the Congress. This was because the Congress leaders were in prison following the Civil Disobedience Movement. They had refused to indulge in any further constitutional discussions till the enforcement of the entire Nehru Report as the Constitution of India.
- The first Round Table Conference was overshadowed by Hindu-Muslim differences.
- When the First Round Table Conference came to an end, the British government realized that if they were to make any further progress in the making of the Indian Constitution, they will require the full cooperation and support of the Indian National Congress. Therefore, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin invited Gandhi for discussion. Following the talks, Gandhi agreed to end the Civil Disobedience Movement without putting forward any preconditions.
- The second session of the conference opened in London on September 7, 1931. Gandhi claimed that he represented all India and dismissed all other Indian delegates as non-representative because they did not belong to the Congress. As their main demands were not acceptable to Gandhi, the communal issue was postponed for future discussion. On his return to India, Gandhi once again started Civil Disobedience Movement and was duly arrested.
- The third session began on November 17, 1932. It was short and unimportant. The Congress was once again absent, so was the Labor opposition in the British Parliament. Reports of the various committees were scrutinized. The conference ended on December 25, 1932.

NOTES

NOTES

- The Poona Pact 1932 was an agreement between B.R. Ambedkar and M.K. Gandhi on the political representation of the Depressed Classes (a loose term that referred to Dalits/Untouchables/Scheduled Castes).
- Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister, announced the Communal Award that gave Depressed Classes separate electorates for central and provincial legislatures. Gandhi viewed this as a danger to the Hindu community that would de-link untouchables from Hindus. Ambedkar and other leaders of the Depressed Classes welcomed the award. Gandhi announced a fast unto death till the time separate electorates were removed from the Award. In the end, Gandhi and Ambedkar came to an agreement - the Poona Pact 1932 - that discarded separate electorates.
- The Pact put forward a system of the joint electorates with reserved seats. It reserved 148 seats from the general electorate for Depressed Classes, 78 more than what the Award had proposed.
- The leaders of the Depressed Classes, including Ambedkar, were not happy with the Poona Pact. Even though the numbers of seats reserved was double than what the Award had offered, separate electorates were viewed as a critical tool for political representation.
- A change of government took place in Britain in May 1940 and Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister (1940–1945). Britain was in immediate danger of Nazi occupation. On 1 June 1940, Gandhi wrote, 'We do not seek our independence out of British ruin'. The government's response came as a statement from the Viceroy, on 8 August 1940. This was known as the August Offer.
- The August offer made it clear that 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.
- 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 Satyagraha. 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.
- 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.

- 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.

*Round Table Conferences
and Cripps' Mission*

NOTES

13.7 KEY WORDS

- **Minorities:** It is a culturally, ethnically, or racially distinct group that coexists with but is subordinate to a more dominant group.
- **Dalit:** It refers to people belonging to the lowest caste in India characterized as 'untouchable'.
- **Commonwealth:** It is a political association of 54 member states, nearly all former territories of the British Empire.

13.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.
2. What was the reason for the failure of the Second Round Table Conference?
3. Why was Gandhi opposed to the provision of separate electorates for untouchables?
4. Write a short note on the August offer.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Examine the outcome of the three Round Table Conferences.
2. Discuss in detail the causes and outcome of the Poona Pact.
3. Analyse the proposal put forward by Sir Stafford Cripps.

13.9 FURTHER READINGS

Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.

NOTES

Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press

Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.

Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.

UNIT 14 INDEPENDENCE AND PARTITION

NOTES

Structure

- 14.0 Introduction
- 14.1 Objectives
- 14.2 Quit India Movement
- 14.3 Indian National Army
- 14.4 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)
 - 14.4.1 Direct Action Day
- 14.5 Mountbatten Plan
- 14.6 Independence and Partition of India
- 14.7 Some Personalities
- 14.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 14.9 Summary
- 14.10 Key Words
- 14.11 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 14.12 Further Readings

14.0 INTRODUCTION

The Quit India Movement began in August 1942 due to the growing dissatisfaction over the Cripps proposal. Several leaders were arrested because of which the movement became violent. An understanding of the Indian freedom struggle is incomplete without a discussion of the contribution of Subash Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army. This unit will discuss the important events that moved India towards its freedom. These events include the establishment of the British Cabinet Mission and the plan proposed by Lord Mountbatten. The Partition of India and the communal killings it accompanied will also be discussed.

14.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss in detail the Quit India Movement
- Explain the contribution of Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA
- Understand the recommendations of the British Cabinet Mission
- Discuss in detail the Mountbatten Plan and the Partition of India

14.2 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

NOTES

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 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.

In these circumstances and a constantly declining support base for the British, Mahatma Gandhi decided to launch a final offensive against the British rule. Thus, the famous Quit India movement began in August 1942.

The following were the reasons for the outbreak of the 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 up; almost 60-point rise in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also 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 marketeers 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.

Thus, 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. Apart from formal resolutions, Gandhi, in an informal way at Gowalia Tank Ground (Bombay), addressed various sections of society:
 - o To the students: Be ready for sacrifice and be confident and leave studies
 - o To the peasants: If zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent
 - o To the soldiers: Do not open fire on fellow countrymen
 - o To government servants: Do not resign but oppose the government from within
 - o To princes: Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people
 - o 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 decision and arrested most of the leaders on 9 August 1942, including Gandhi. The sudden crackdown of the British gave rise to spontaneous reaction among the people.

In this movement, there were no other demands made to the British. They were simply asked to quit India. The British retaliated to Gandhi's call to 'Quit India' by arresting him and all members of the Congress Working Committee. The news of the arrest of Congress leaders angered the people, who came out on the streets and attacked the British government in every possible way. In absence of their leaders, people became violent and attacked, looted and destroyed government property. The government's action was severely brutal and many people were killed in police firing. Finally, the British government was able to suppress the movement only with the help of large-scale killings and arrests.

NOTES

NOTES

According to official figures, the number of people arrested by the end of 1943 was well over 91,000. Although the movement had been suppressed, it became very clear to the British government that they would not be able to hold on to India for long. Until now, they had ruled the country with the help of a support system that they had built in India, in the 19th century. This support system had been eroded by nationalist movement through a series of struggles. Without the help of various sections of Indians (peasants, workers, middle classes, rich people, police and army among others), it was not possible for the British to rule India. Once the British realized this, they began to prepare for a gradual and peaceful withdrawal from India. From 1944–45 onward, they released all Congress leaders and initiated a process of negotiations for transfer of power from British to Indian hands. Thus, India became free in August 1947.

The attainment of freedom was a matter of great joy for Indian people. Indians had won their battle against the mighty British imperialism. However, this was not an absolute victory. Along with freedom, India was partitioned into two states: India and Pakistan. The British government had always tried to destroy the unity of the people of India. They had never agreed that all Indians had common interests. This, when they left India, they decided to divide the country on the basis of religion. The Partition of India was also accompanied by communal violence at a very large scale. The year 1947, is very important in the history of India. It was a year of triumph for Indians as they achieved their freedom from foreign rule, but it was also the year of a great tragedy for the unity of India as the country.

Check Your Progress

1. When was the 'Quit India' campaign launched?
2. Name the leaders who had opposed the Quit India resolution?

14.3 INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

Subhash Chandra Bose, also known as Netaji, played an important role in Indian freedom struggle. He 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, 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 matriculation examination of Calcutta province. He completed his graduation in Philosophy with first class. In 1919, he was sent to England by his father to appear in the Indian Civil Services Examination. He got fourth rank in this Examination.

After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, he left his Civil Services apprenticeship and came back to India in 1921.

After coming back, he became a member of 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 fail to fulfill this demand within two years, the Congress would call upon all Indians to fight for Poorna Swaraj. The time period given by Gandhiji 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.

In 1930, Bose was arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement. After the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, he was released from jail. He opposed the Pact and withdrawal of the Movement. He was again arrested for 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 politico-cultural contacts between the two countries. After some time, he entered India and was again arrested for a year to defy 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 fail 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 which was supported by a number of people. He was put under House arrest in Calcutta for the same. In 1941, he reached Germany via Afghanistan. He took help from Germany and Japan to fight against the British. Soon, he used the medium of Radio Berlin and his broadcasts aroused enthusiasm among Indians.

In 1943, he went to Singapore and formed Azad Hind Fauj. Most of the soldiers of this army were Indian prisoners of war. This army went to India with an aim to fight against the British. On its way to India, it liberated Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In 1944, the headquarters of this army was shifted to Rangoon. In 18 March 1944, the army crossed Burma Border and reached India. However, Japan and Germany were defeated in the Second World War and thus the army could not fulfill 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.

NOTES

NOTES

Indian National Army

The Indian National Army (INA) was founded by Subhas 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 Fauz’.

Japanese forces defeated the British in 1941 at Malaya. This incident inspired the Indian populace residing in Southeast Asia. The Indians came together and organised a number of associations based out of South East Asia. Pritam Singh was a leader of such an organisation. 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. Singapore, surrendered to the Japanese in February 1942. 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 upon 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, Subhas 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 the 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, 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 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 China hills to the east of Lusai hills.

The Subhas 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. Supply of arms and ammunition fell short. Many soldiers left and only a few were left under the command of Surajmal.

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 caused widespread furor. The cause of India's independence was much advanced by the INA.

Role of Indian National Army (INA)

The Indian National Army was an armed force which was created by Indian nationalists during the Second World War. In the year 1942, in Southeast Asia, an army was created with the purpose of overthrowing the British government in India. The Indian National Army was initially formed by Mohan Singh who was a part of the British Indian Army. He did not join the retreating army and remained in Singapore. With the assistance of the Japanese, the first INA was formed with Indian prisoners of war captured by the Japanese at Malaya and Singapore. Mohan Singh recruited approximately sixteen thousand men and started the INA. However, due to differences with the Japanese, he was captured and arrested. With the arrest of Mohan Singh, the INA collapsed less than a year of its origin. Meanwhile, Subash Chandra Bose who openly supported Germany during the Second World War had fled to Germany to evade arrest by the British. The Germans further assigned him to Singapore where he re-established the INA. Subash Chandra Bose also went to Tokyo and met with Prime Minister Tojo who assured him that Japan had no territorial designs on India. In 1943, Bose went on to form the Provisional Government of Free India. He even reorganized the INA and formed a women's regiment which came to be known as Rani Jhansi Regiment. Subash Chandra Bose gave mesmerizing speeches and later came to be known as 'Netaji.'

NOTES

NOTES

During one of his speeches, the famous lines, ‘Tum mujhe khoon do main tumhe azadi dunga.’ (I promise you freedom, if you are ready to spill your blood) encouraged thousands youths to join the freedom movement.

Under the fine leadership of Subash Chandra Bose, the Provisional Government of Free India declared war on Britain and captured large parts of Manipur. This was also the first time the INA had set foot in India. The recently captured regions of Nag Hills and Kohima saw the hoisting of the Tri-color flag inside free India. However, these success stories were short lived as the developments of the Second World War had shifted in favour of the Allied Powers which included Britain. With Japan and German defeat, the INA was forced to retreat from Kohima. Many INA soldiers perished and a large number of them were captured while fighting the British. Despite their defeat, the INA and Subash Chandra Bose became famous throughout India. The captured soldiers were prosecuted by the British. Due to protests by Congress and Indian masses their sentences were disregarded. These INA soldiers were not able to be re-inducted into the Indian army. This was a prerequisite laid down by Lord Mountbatten which was agreed upon by Pundit Nehru in order to gain complete independence. During these trials Subash Chandra Bose was missing. Some believe that he must have escaped to Japan. There is even a theory which suggests that he died in an air-crash while escaping, while there are still some others who feel that he survived the crash. Netaji’s death is a mystery as his ultimate fate remains unknown.

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, 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 the following disadvantages, Shah Nawaz in his personal memoirs refers to the INA as a very potent and motivated force. Fay, on the other hand argues that the INA was less influential in terms of military but its special services group played a significant role in halting the First Arakan Offensive. This was during Mohan Singh’s command. The propaganda threat of the INA along with the paucity of concrete intelligence on the unit during the fall of Singapore made it a potential threat to the war plans of the Allied Powers in Southeast Asia. This also threatened to wipe out sepoy loyalty in the British Indian Army. This fact was not only significant but was successful as is evident from the First Arakan Offensive as the British intelligence started the Jiffs Campaign as well as engage in campaign to boost morale and preserve sepoy loyalty in order to defend Manipur. This also included the news ban on Bose and the INA that 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, 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 caliber which was evident in the battles of Arakan, Manipur, Imphal, and also during the withdrawal through Manipur and Burma. Their efforts during the 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 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 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 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

NOTES

NOTES

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 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.'

Exhibit 14.1
Subhas Chandra Bose inspired movements
in Singapore, Malaysia

A new book on Subhas Chandra Bose's influence on Singapore and Malaysia was launched at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) here.

The book, "A Gentleman's Word", published by ISEAS, and released yesterday, details late Bose had inspired progressive movements such trade unions and women's groups in Singapore and Malaysia.

The 260-page book was authored by Nilanjana Sengupta, a visiting research fellow at the ISEAS, a Singapore think tank on Southeast Asian affairs.

Launching the book, former Singapore President S R Nathan said the book bring to the fore "an aspect of Bose's work which has been least written about".

It moves beyond Bose's well-documented leadership of the Indian National Army in the fight against British imperialism.

Sengupta noted in the book how the founding member of Singapore's ruling People's Action Party and unionist James Puthuchearry and Malaysia's Malaysian Indian Congress founding president John Thivy had fought under Bose leadership on the Indian-Burma border.

People were inspired by Bose to fight for freedom and equality in Singapore and Malaysia, said Sengupta.

Bose empathized with the popular anti-institutional movements of the world, be it in Ireland, Burma or the Philippines, said Sengupta at the launch.

(**Source:** <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/—Subhas-Chandra-Bose-inspired-movements-in-Singapore—Malaysia—/918151/>)

Accessed on 2 March 2012

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 and is said to have mentioned the INA and its effects on the British Indian Army. He also mentioned Subash 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 a foreign power.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

3. Who was the founder of the Azad Hind Fauz?
4. What was the name of the women’s regiment formed by Subhash Chandra Bose?
5. Why have some historians considered the INA’s impact on the freedom struggle to be insignificant?

14.4 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 Indian leadership. The objective was to provide India with independence under Dominion status in 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

NOTES

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 also 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 about:

- Grouping of provinces
- Character of the federal union
- Setting up of a constitution-making machinery

However, the conference was closed due to incompatibility 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 Plan are as follows:

1. A federation comprising of both the princely states and British India was to be formed, which should deal with defence, foreign affairs and communications.
2. The federation should comprise of an executive and a legislature.
3. The provinces of British India should be vested with all residuary powers and all subjects, except for the Union subjects.
4. All subjects would be under the princely states except for those surrendered to the Union.
5. Provinces should have the liberty to form groups (sub-federal).
6. A provision should be made in the constitution of the Union, which 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.

7. 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.
8. 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.

NOTES

14.4.1 Direct Action Day

The League decided that 16 August 1946 would be observed as 'Direct Action Day' throughout the country for the purpose of winning the 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.

Check Your Progress

6. What was the aim of the British Cabinet Plan of 1946?
7. On which date was the 'Direct Action Day' observed?

14.5 MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

It was obvious that something drastic had to be done to break the deadlock. The initiative was taken by Attlee, who on 20 February 1947, announced in 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 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 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

NOTES

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.

Mountbatten Plan

Mountbatten now 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 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's objection by an appeal to his democratic instinct. No community, the Viceroy said, 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. Attlee announced the plan in the House of Commons on 3 June 1947, which came to be known as the 'June 3rd Plan.' The Government's Plan or the Mountbatten Plan dealt with the method by which power will 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 Muslim-minority areas would remain parts of the mother country. 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. The English Chairman of the two tribunals, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, was ultimately requested to make his own award. Not only the land, but also the financial and material assets of India had 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 June 3rd 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 the Royal assent. India had won her freedom but the price had been partition. The Dominion of Pakistan was inaugurated in Karachi on 14 August 1947. 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 and he in turn swore in Jawaharlal Nehru as the first Prime Minister of a free India. The 15 August 1947 dawned, revealing the dual reality of independence and partition. Lakhs 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 Gandhiji—the man who had given the message of non-violence, truth, love and courage, and manliness to the Indian people. In the midst of national rejoicing, he was touring the hate-torn land of Bengal, trying to bring comfort to people who were even then paying the price of freedom through senseless communal slaughter.

Check Your Progress

8. Name the British Prime Minister who announced the withdrawal of Britain from India by 30 June 1948.
9. Who replaced Lord Wavell?

14.6 INDEPENDENCE AND PARTITION OF INDIA

The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between British, Congress and Muslim League statesmen. 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 RIN mutiny in 1945–1946, the Tebhaga upsurge in Bengal, Punnapra vayalar in Travancore and the Telengana peasant armed revolt in Hyderabad.

NOTES

NOTES

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 labour victory further quickened the process somewhat.

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 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 the 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.

14.7 SOME PERSONALITIES

Let us now briefly discuss some of the personalities associated with the freedom struggle.

Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi was a great leader of our nation. He was born on 2 October 1869. His name was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He was called to the Bar in England. After returning from England, he started his legal practice in India. On the invitation of Gokhale, he went to South Africa where the government subjected Indians to great discrimination and to the most humiliating treatment in the early part of the 20th century. He became renowned in South Africa as a champion of truth, non-violence and the dignity of the human being. He returned to India in 1914 and dedicated the remaining years of his life to the cause of his motherland. He decided to fight against the British Raj. The freedom struggle during this period was called the Gandhian Era (1920–1948). For the first time in the history of the world, a saint politician was leading millions of people of a dependent country and teaching them the practical use of techniques like non-violence, non-co-operation and civil disobedience. In 1942, Gandhi called upon the British to quit India, and the people were asked to fight for that. Five years after the British left India by granting complete independence (on 15 August 1947). On 30 January 1948, Gandhi was shot dead by Nathuram Godse, a Hindu nationalist.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Nerhu was a prominent freedom fighter, second only to Mahatma Gandhi in the final stages of the freedom struggle. After independence, Jawarharlal became India's first Prime Minister and continued to be one of the central figures in Indian politics before and after independence. The son of prominent independence leader and moderate Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru emerged as an eminent leader of the Indian independence movement under the tutelage of Mahatma Gandhi and served India as Prime Minister from its establishment as an independent nation in 1947 until his death in 1964. He is considered to be the architect of the modern Indian nation-state: a sovereign, socialist, secular, and democratic republic.

Motilal Nehru

Motilal Nehru was a prominent figure of the early years of the Indian National Congress. A moderate, he became the President of the Congress twice, 1919–1920 and 1928–1929. He also joined the Swaraj faction and attempted to enter the British-sponsored councils.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was an Indian freedom fighter, preeminent leader of the Muslim League and went on to become the first Prime Minister of Independence Pakistan. In the early years of his political life, Jinnah had been the symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity, working within the Congress Party to bring independence to

NOTES

NOTES

India. However, after becoming disenchanted by the Congress, he joined the Muslim League and became the most important backer of Pakistan.

C. Rajagopalachari

C. Rajagopalachari was a prominent freedom fighter, member of the Indian National Congress, who went on to become the last Governor-General of India, serving till the time India became a republic. During the years in the freedom struggle, he favoured talks with both Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League and proposed what later came to be known as the C. R. formula. After independence, he became a prominent politician from Southern India, founding the conservative Swatantra Party and became a fierce critic of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Check Your Progress

10. What were the demands of Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Red Shirts?
11. Who was the founder of the Swatantra Party?

14.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The Quit India campaign was launched in August 1942.
2. Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajgopalachari opposed the Quit India resolution. Nehru, however, fell in line and moved the Quit India resolution.
3. Subash Chandra Bose founded the Azad Hind Fauz.
4. Subhash Chandra Bose formed a women's regiment that came to be known as the Rani Jhansi Regiment.
5. Some historians have considered the INA's impact on the freedom struggle to be insignificant for the following reasons:
 - Small numerical strength
 - Lack of heavy weapons
 - Dependence on Japanese logistics and planning
 - Lack of Independent planning
6. 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 in the Commonwealth of Nations.
7. The Muslim League decided that 16 August 1946 would be observed as 'Direct Action Day'.

8. Attlee, on 20 February 1947, announced that the British would withdraw from India by 30 June 1948.
9. Lord Mountbatten replaced Lord Wavell.
10. Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Red Shirts demanded an independent Pakhtoonistan.
11. C. Rajagopalachari founded the conservative Swatantra Party.

NOTES

14.9 SUMMARY

- 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 Congress decided 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.
- 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. The government took no time in taking decision and arrested most of the leaders on 9 August 1942, including Gandhi. The sudden crackdown of the British gave rise to spontaneous reaction among the people and the movement became violent.
- Although the Quit India movement had been suppressed, it became very clear to the British government that they would not be able to hold on to India for long. From 1944–45 onward, they released all Congress leaders and initiated a process of negotiations for transfer of power from British to Indian hands. Thus, India became free in August 1947.
- Subhash Chandra Bose, also known as Netaji, played an important role in Indian freedom struggle. He 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 1943, he went to Singapore and formed Azad Hind Fauj. Most of the soldiers of this army were Indian prisoners of war. This army went to India with an aim to fight against the British. On its way to India, it liberated Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In 1944, the headquarters of the army was shifted to Rangoon. In 18 March 1944, the army crossed Burma Border and reached India. However, Japan and Germany were defeated in the Second World War and thus the army could not fulfill its objective.

NOTES

- 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.
- Despite their defeat, the INA and Subash Chandra Bose became famous throughout India. The captured soldiers were prosecuted by the British.
- 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.
- 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 in the Commonwealth of Nations.
- The British Cabinet 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.
- The British Cabinet Mission 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 that of British India.
- The Muslim League decided that 16 August 1946 would be observed as 'Direct Action Day' throughout the country for the purpose of winning the separate Muslim state.
- Attlee, on 20 February 1947, announced that the British would withdraw from India by 30 June 1948, and that Lord Mountbatten would replace Wavell.
- Partition of the country was implicit in the provision that if the constituent assembly were no fully representative then power would be transferred to more than one Central Government. It was hoped that fixing a deadline would compel the Indians to settle their differences.
- Mountbatten set about convincing Congress leaders of the necessity of Partition. Gandhi suggested making Jinnah the head of the government of an undivided India. But after the sad experiences in the interim government, even Gandhi relented.
- Baluchistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier opted for Pakistan. Punjab and Bengal decided for double partition—the provinces would leave India,

but their Muslim-minority areas would remain parts of the mother country. Sylhet joined the eastern wing of Pakistan.

- The Indian Independence Act of 1947 gave a legal effect to the June 3rd 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 the Royal assent. On 15 August 1947 India became independent.
- The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between British, Congress and League statesmen. These were increasingly accompanied by communal violence, culminating in freedom accompanied by partition and sporadic, localized but often extremely militant and united mass action.

NOTES

14.10 KEY WORDS

- **Fascism:** It is a form of far-right, authoritarian ultranationalism characterized by dictatorial power, forcible suppression of opposition and strong regimentation of society which came to prominence in early 20th-century Europe.
- **Court martial:** It is a military court or a trial conducted to determine the guilt of members of the armed forces on the basis of military law.
- **Plebiscite:** It is the direct vote of all the members of an electorate on an important public question such as a change in the constitution.

14.11 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the demands put forward by the Quit India resolution?
2. Write a short note on the political contributions of Subhash Chandra Bose.
3. What were the key issues discussed at the Simla Conference of 1946?
4. Write a short note on the Mountbatten Plan.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the circumstances that led to the Quit India Movement.
2. Examine the role of the Indian National Army.
3. Explain the impact of the INA trials on the nationalist struggle.
4. Discuss the recommendations of the British Cabinet Mission.
5. Analyse the contribution of prominent leaders of the Indian freedom struggle.

14.12 FURTHER READINGS

NOTES

- Harris, Erika. (2009). *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. (2010). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1983). *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Gellner, Ernest. (2008). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India.
- Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 2000. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. New Delhi: Macmillan Publishers.