

Paper -19

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

The Indian national movement was undoubtedly one of the biggest mass movements modern societies has ever seen. It was also popular and multi-class movement. It was basically the result of a fundamental contradiction between the interest of the Indian people and that of British colonialism. The Indian people were able to see that India was regressing economically and undergoing a process of underdevelopment. This anti-colonial ideology and critique of colonialism were disseminated during the mass phase of the movement.

The Indian National Congress which emerged in 1885, championed the cause of Indian people. It derived its entire strength, especially after 1918 from the militancy and self-sacrificing spirit of the masses. Satyagraha as a form of struggle was based on the active participation of the people and on the sympathy and support of the non-participating millions. The non-cooperation movement, the civil-disobedience movement and the quit-India movement were the reflection of the popularity of the Congress. The Muslim League which formed in 1906 gradually widened its base. The move towards Pakistan became inevitable when Jinnah and the Muslim League basing themselves on the theory that Hindu and Muslim were two nations which must have separate homelands, put forward the demand for Pakistan. So on 15th August 1947, a hard-earned, prized freedom was won after long, glorious years of struggle but a bloody, tragic partition rent asunder the fabric of the emerging free nation. Paper 19 deals with nationalist movement in India. It is divided into four units.

The Unit-1 deals with character of colonialism in India. It also deals with administrative structure and policies of colonialism. The section two deals with the

different conceptual debates relating to nationalism. The third section deals with the Revolt of 1857. The last section deals with birth political association before 1885 and growth of Nationalism in India...

The Unit-11 delineates the factors responsible for the growth of Indian National Congress. The second section deals with extremist and revolutionary movement. The third section deals with Swadeshi movement in Bengal. The last section deals with Extremist-Moderates Conflict and Surat split of 1907. Home rule movement, Ghaddar Movement and Non-Cooperation movement were discussed in the last section.

The Unit-III analyses the formation and working of the Swaraj party. In the next section it deals with Civil Disobedience Movement and revolutionary terrorist. The last section describes civil disobedience movement and Revolutionary terrorist movement. In the last section growth of Communalism and 1937 election were discussed.

Unit-IV deals with the growth of Communalism, Pakistan Movement, Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha. Second section deals with State's people movement. Outbreak of second world war, Cripps proposal and Quit India movement were discussed in the next section. Last section deals with INA and Subash Chandra Bose. In the sixth section Simla Conference and Cabinet Mission Plan have been discussed. The last section deals with partition and Independence.

UNIT-1

Structure

1.0 Objectives

1.1 Introduction

- 1.2 Various stages of colonialism in India.
 - 1.2.1 Rise of British Capitalism in India
 - 1.2.2 Monopoly of Indian trade.
 - 1.2.3 New Trade Policy
 - 1.2.4 Impact on Peasantry
 - 1.2.5 Rise of middle class
 - 1.2.6 Indian Industrial Capitalist Class
 - 1.2.7 Modern Intelligentsia.
- 1.3 Change in the Administrative structure and police.
 - 1.3.1 Revenue Administration.
 - 1.3.2 The Judicial System
 - 1.3.3 The service.
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 - 1.3.5 Military Administration.
 - 1.3.6 Educational System
 - 1.3.7 Relation with colonial interest.
- 1.4 Approaches to Nationalism.
 - 1.4.1 Nationalist Approach
 - 1.4.2 Marxist Approach
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- 1.5. Revolt of 1857.
 - 1.5.1 Nature and Character.
 - 1.5.2 An assessment of various causes.

1.5 .3 Causes of Failure of the Mutiny.

1.5.4 Effect of the Mutiny.

1.6. Political Association before 1855.

1.6.1. Role of Raja Ram Mohan Ray.

1 .6.2. Landholder Society.

1.6.3. East India Association.

1.6.4. Poona Sarvajanika Sabha.

1.6.5. The Indian Association.

1.6.6. The Madras Mahajan Sabha.

1.7 Growth of National Conscious

1.7.1 Character of Indian Nationalism

1.7.2 Factors responsible for growth of Nationalism

1.7.3 Effects of Nationalism.

1.8 Growth of National Consciousness

1.8.1 Factors responsible for growth of Nationalism

1.8.2 Effects of nationalisms

OBJECTIVES

The point of this unit is to introduce you different stages of colonialism and changes in the administrative structure which were introduced by the British Govt. to perpetuate the British rule in India. Another objective is to assess the different uprisings against the British rule. Various associations which were formed before 1885 are also discussed in the Unit. After studying this Unit you should be able to:

- Trace the various phases of colonialism in India.

- Learn different administrative changes introduced by the British.
- Know different approaches to Nationalism.
- Understand the nature of the Revolt of 1857 .
- Familiarise the causes behind the result of 1857.
- Learn the result of 1857 revolt.
- Know about different political Association formed before 1885
 - .Know the growth of Indian Nationalism

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INTRODUCTION

As a result of British rule, India was transformed by the end of the 19th Century into a classic colony. It was a major market for British manufactures, a big source of raw materials and food-stuff, and an important field for the investment of British Capital. Its agriculture was highly taxed for the benefit of imperial interests. The bulk of the transport system, modern mines and industries, foreign trade, coastal and international shipping, and banks and insurance companies were all under foreign control. India provided employment to thousands of middle-class Englishmen and nearly one third of its revenues were spent in paying salaries to Englishmen. The Indian army acted as the Chief instrument for maintaining the far-flung British Empire and protecting and promoting British imperial interests in East, South-East, Central and West Asia and North, East and South Africa.

Above all, Indian economy and social development were completely subordinated to British economy and social development. Indian economy was integrated into the world capitalist economy in a subordinate position and with a peculiar international division of labour. During the very years after 1760 when Britain was developing into the leading developed, capitalist country of the world, India was being underdeveloped into becoming the leading backward, colonial country of the world. In fact, the two processes were interdependent in terms of cause and effect. The entire structure of economic relations between

Britain and involving trade, finance and technology continuously developed India's colonial dependence and underdevelopment.

1.2 Nature of Colonialism in various stages of British Rule

From 1757 the British had used their control over India to promote their own interest. But it would be wrong to think that the basic character of their rule remained the same throughout. It passes through several stages in its long history of nearly 200 years. The nature of British rule and imperialism, as so its policies and impact, changed with changing pattern of Britain's own social economic and political development. To begin with that is even before 1857, the English East India Company was interested only in making money. It wanted a monopoly of the trade with India and the East, so that there would be no other English or European merchants or trading companies to compete with it. The company also did not want the Indian merchants to compete with it for the purchase in India or sale abroad of Indian products. In other words, the company wanted to sell its products at as high a price as possible and buy Indian products as cheaply as possible so that it could make the maximum profits. This would not be possible if there was ordinary trade in which various companies and persons competed. It was easy enough to keep out its English competitors by using bribery and various other economic and political means to persuade the British Government to grant the East India Company a monopoly of the right to trade with India and the East. But the British laws could not keep out the merchants and the trading companies of other European nations. The East India Company had therefore to wage long and fierce wars to achieve their aim. Since the trading areas were far away across many seas, the company had to maintain a powerful navy. It was also not easy to prevent competition from the Indian merchants since they were protected by the powerful Mughal Empire. In fact, in the 17th Century and the early part of the 18th Century the very right to trade inside India had to be secured by humbly petitioning the Mughal emperors and their provincial Governors. But as the Mughal Empire became weak in the early 18th Century, and the far-flung coastal areas began to get out of control, the company increasingly used its superior naval power to maintain

its trading presence along the Indian Coast and to drive out the Indian merchants from coastal and foreign trade. There was another very important consideration. The Company required large amounts of money to wage wars both in India and on the high seas and to maintain naval forces and armies and forts and trading posts in India. Neither the British Government nor the East India Company possessed such large financial resources. At least a part of the money, therefore, had to be raised in India. The Company did this through local taxation in its coastal fortified towns such as Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Gradually it became necessary to expand its territories in India in order to be able to levy more taxes over larger areas and increase their financial resources.

1.2.1 The Rise of British Capitalism

About this time British capitalism was also beginning to enter its most vigorous phase of development. To develop more and more, it needed immense capital for investment in industries, trade and agriculture. As the resources for such investments were limited in Britain at that time the capitalists began to look to the plundering of foreign countries for finding the necessary capital for the development of British Capitalism. India was reputed to be rich and was therefore, seen as capable of playing an important role in this respect.

Both the objectives- the monopoly of trade and control over financial resources were rapidly fulfilled and beyond the imagination of the East India Company when Bengal and South India rapidly came under the Company's political control during the 1750's and 1760's. The East India Company now acquired direct control over the state revenues of the conquered areas and was in a position to grab the accumulated wealth of the local rulers, nobles and zamindars. It appropriated large part of this wealth and state revenues entirely for its own benefit and for that of its employees and for financing its further expansion in India. For example, from 1765 to 1770 the Company sent out of Bengal nearly 33 percent of its net revenue in the form of goods. Moreover, the officials of the company sent

out large sums out of their illegal incomes extorted from Indian merchants, officials and zamindars. The wealth drained out of India played an important part in financing Britain's capitalist development. It has been estimated that it constituted nearly two percent of Britain's national income at that time.

2.2.2 Monopoly of Indian Trade

All the same time the company used its political power to acquire monopolistic control over Indian trade and production. The Indian merchants were gradually squeezed out, while the

weavers and other craftsmen were compelled either to sell their products at uneconomic rates or to hire themselves out to the company at low wages. An important feature of British rule in this first stage was that no basic changes were introduced in the administration, the judicial system, transport and communication, the methods of agricultural or industrial production and business management, or in the educational and intellectual fields. At this stage British rule was not very different from the traditional companies which collected agricultural surplus from its territories, though it was much more efficient in doing so. Following in the footsteps of their predecessors, the British felt no need to penetrate to the villages so long as their economic surplus was successfully sucked out through the traditional machinery of revenue collection. Consequently whatever administrative changes were made applied to the top of the structure of revenue collection and were geared to the single aim of making the collection of revenue more efficient.

Spread of Modern Ideas

In the intellectual field no attempt was made to spread modern ideas which were changing the entire way of life in the west. Only two new educational institutions were started during the second half of the 18th century, one at Calcutta and the other at Benaras. Both were centers for traditional Persian and Sanskrit learning. Even the Christian missionaries were kept out of the Company's dominions. It should also be remembered that India was conquered by the East India Company at a time when the era of the great merchant trading corporations was already

over in Britain. Within British society the company represented the dying and not the rising, social forces.

1.2.3 New Trade Policy

Immediately after the East India Company became a territorial power in India an intense struggle broke out in Britain as to whose interests the newly acquired empire would serve. Year after year the Company was made to yield ground to the other commercial and industrial interests in Britain by 1813 it was left with a mere shadow of economic and political power in India, the real power was now wielded by the British government in the interests of the British capitalist class as a whole. Britain had in the meantime undergone the Industrial Revolution. This made her the leading manufacturing and exporting country of the world. The industrial Revolution was also responsible for major changes inside Britain itself. The industrial capitalists became in course of time the dominant elements in the British economy with powerful political influence. The colonial administration and policy in India were now to be necessarily directed to their interest. Their interest in the empire was however, very different from that of East India Company, which was only a trading Corporation. Consequently British rule in India entered its second stage.

The British industrialists did not gain much from the monopolization of the export of Indian revenues. On the other hand, they needed foreign outlets. A vast and highly populated country such as India was a standing temptation. At the same time British industries needed raw materials and the British working men needed food-stuff, which had to be imported. In other words, Britain now wanted India as a subordinate trading partner, as a market to be exploited and as a dependent colony to produce and supply the raw materials and food-stuff Britain needed. With the passage of the impact of the British Raj emerged in clearer outline and the clash and contradiction between the aims and objectives of British rule and the interests of the Indian people became clear and obvious. More and more Indian realized that the British ruled India to promote their own interests, that in doing so they did not hesitate to sacrifice Indian interest to those of the British nation in

general and those of British capitalists in particular and that colonialism had become the major cause of India's economic, social, cultural and political backwardness. Different classes and groups of Indian society gradually discovered that British rule was hampering

their development in all basic aspects.

1.2.4 Impact on Peasantry

The Peasantry was perhaps the chief victim of British colonialism. The Government took away a large part of its produce in the form of land revenue and other taxes. It was soon it caught in the firm clutches of the landlord and the money lender. The peasant found himself master

neither of his land nor of the crops he produced; not even of his own Labour power. And when the peasants organized political and economic struggles against the zamindars, landlords and moneylenders, the Government brought into action against them the entire police and judicial machinery in the name of law and order after brutally suppressed their struggles. In time the peasants became aware of the role of imperialism and saw that it was in main responsible for their plight. The artisans and craftsmen had also suffered much at the hands of imperialism. Their centuries old sources of livelihood had been taken away without the development of any new, compensating avenues of employment. Their condition was extremely precarious and wretched by the end 19th century. Consequently, they took a very active part in the anti-imperialist struggle of the 20th century.

The Rise of a New Class

With the growth of modern industries was born a new social class in India- the working class though tiny in number and forming a very small part of the population, this class represented a new social outlook. It did not have to carry the burden of centuries of tradition, customs and ways of life. Its outlook and interests were from the beginning all-India in character" Moreover the workers were concentrated in factories and cities. All these factors gave their political actions significance far greater than their numbers would suggest.

Indian workers worked and lived under highly unsatisfactory conditions. Till 1911 there were no regulatory provisions regarding their hours of work. There did

not exist any kind of social insurance against sickness, old age, unemployment, accident of sudden death. There were no provident fund schemes and maternity benefit scheme though a highly unsatisfactory one comes into operation only in the 1930s. Real wages of factory workers declined during the period 1889 to 1929 and it was only after the development of a militant trade union movement that they rose in the 1930s to the level prevailing between 1880 and 1890, and this when labour productivity went up by more than 50 percent. The result was that the village workers lived below the margin of subsistence. Summing up the conditions of the Indian workers under British rule, Prof. J. Jurgen Kuczynski, the well-known German economic historian wrote in 1938: "Underfed, housed like animals without light and air and water, the Indian industrial worker is one of the most exploited of all in the world of all in the world of industrial capitalism." conditions in the tea and coffee plantations were even worse. These plantations were situated in thinly populated areas with an unhealthy climate, but the planters would not pay adequate wages to attract labour from outside. Instead, they used false promises and fraud to recruit labour, and coercion and violence-physical torture being a common method to keep them on the plantation as virtual slaves. The Government gave full help and passed penal laws to enable to keep the plantation workers under oppressive subjugation. In course of time the Indian class came to adopt militant anti-imperialist.

1.2.5 Rise of Middle Class

Another major social section of the population that came to form the backbone of the nationalist movement was that of the middle and lower-middle classes. New opportunities opened to these groups in the first half of the 19th century when the British recruited an entire army of petty Government servants and by opening new schools and law courts created new jobs and professions. Also, the sudden growth in internal and foreign trade led to the expansion of the merchant class at all levels. But the logic of an underdeveloped colonial economy soon asserted itself. By the end of the 19th century even the limited number of educated Indians-fewer in the whole of India than at present in a small territory such as Delhi-were faced with growing unemployment. Moreover, even those who found jobs discovered that most of the better-paid jobs were reserved for the

English middle and upper-classes. In particular, employment prospects became increasingly bleak for those who were forced to drop out from the universities without getting a B.A. degree. The middle and lower middle class Indians soon realized that only a country that was economically developing and socially and culturally modern could provide them economic and cultural opportunities to lead a worthwhile and meaningful life and, above all save them from rapid impoverishment, unemployment, and loss of socio-economic status.

1.2.6 Indian industrial capitalist class

The Indian industrial capitalist class developed after 1858. It soon entered into competition with the British capitalists and realized that its growth was checked by the official trade, tariff, transport, and financial policies of the Government. While struggling for independent economic growth, it came into conflict with imperialism on almost every basic economic issue. The Indian capitalist class needed active and direct Government help to compensate it for its initial weakness and handicap in competing with the firmly established industries of western Europe. The contemporary industries of France, Germany and Japan were being developed with active and massive Government help. Such help was denied to Indian capitalists. Most of all Indian industry needed tariff protection so that cheaper foreign goods would not outsell its products. Such protection was not given; instead, free trade was introduced more completely than in any other country of the world.

A sympathetic bureaucracy could have helped and assisted the Indian capitalists in innumerable ways. In Western Europe the bureaucracy was as pro-capitalist in outlook as the capitalists class itself. Hundreds of links bound the two together. In India, the higher bureaucracy was foreign. It dined and wined with British capitalists. Its natural sympathy lay with its compatriots and their industrial ambitions whether in Britain or in India. On the other hand, it was unsympathetic and even hostile to Indian industrial efforts. The Indian capitalists feared above all

domination and suppression by the far stronger foreign capital. Their instinct for survival was in particular aroused after 1918 when a large-scale inflow of foreign capital investment into Indian industry began to occur and the giant British industrial corporations started forming subsidiaries in India. In order to take advantage of the tariff protection granted during the 1920s and 1930s, the cheaper Indian labour and the nearness of the market. The Indian capitalists now raised the slogan, Indian dominion of Indian markets.

The Indian capitalists thus increasingly found themselves in open contradictions with the colonial economic structure, administrative machinery and policies. They gradually realized that they needed a nation-state and a government favourable to indigenous capitalists. The rapid development of Indian trade and industry could not occur so long as foreign imperialism dominated the country of course, as men of property and members of a weak though developing class, they did not immediately come into open and direct confrontation with the foreign rulers on whom they depended for so many administrative favours. But after 1918 they began to support, mostly financially, the rapidly developing nationalist movement and individual nationalist leaders.

1.2.7 Modern Intelligentsia

The most important and creative role in the rise of nationalism was played by the modern Indian intelligentsia. It was the first social group in the country to recognize the fact that the establishment of British Power in India marked a sharp break with the past and the beginning of a new historical era. Its initial response to British rule was very positive. In the beginning of the 19th century, men such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy had clearly seen that blind patriotism would not do, that the causes of the defeat of such a vast country as India by a handful of foreigners lay in the weakness of its internal, social, economic, political and intellectual make-up, and that Britain did at the time represent a superior culture and civilization. They made a frank and ruthless analysis of the contemporary Indian social set-up and organization which, they said could not serve as the basis for the future

development of India. They therefore set out to modernize their society and country.

In the economic realm they were attracted by modern industry and the prospects of economic development and prosperity. They hoped that Britain, economically the most advanced country of the time, would introduce modern science and technology and economic organization in its dependencies, including India. In the political realm they were attracted by modern thought and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people leading to democracy, freedom of speech, the press, association and the right of publicly criticize the rulers. They also witnessed before their very eyes the process of the unification of India and the welding of the Indian people into one common nation. They hoped that Britain would help to complete the process. As opposed to faith, they were attracted by the force of modern rationalism. They also began to see that literature and the

arts must be made popular and no longer cater only to the elite. For this purpose they advocated the spread of modern education through the medium of the English language, on the one hand, and the development of modern Indian languages, on the other. In the social field, they were attracted by social liberty and the humanistic conception of society and the individual that every individual should be prized for his own sake.

Thus for nearly half a century, the modern Indian intellectuals believed that the re-shaping and transforming of Indian society could and would occur under British rule, because Britain was the most advanced country of the time. Consequently, they supported British rule and even described it as providential. This support they gave even during the Revolt of 1857. However, in time, gradual and general disillusionment set in when developments during the first three quarters of the 19th century did not bear out their expectations in any field. They now began to see that their expectations were misplaced and were based on a wrong understanding of the nature and character of British rule. Thus, in practice, the British did not transfer modern technology and industry to India. The series of devastating famines that held India in their grip from 1866 to 1901 shattered the day-dream of guided development and brought home to the intellectuals the stark poverty of

the people and the process of the economic underdevelopment of the country. They realized that so long as the imperialist control of the Indian economy continued India would not be able to develop economically, that instead it will continue to underdevelop further. In the political field, British Officials and political leaders had discarded the slogan of training Indians for self-government and declared that the political aim of British rule was to establish a permanent benevolent despotism. Indians, they said, were unfit for self-government or democracy. Freedom of press which had so attracted the Indian intelligentsia soon began to be tampered with. Even elementary civil rights, the freedom of thought, speech and association were increasingly violated and restricted. Law and order which had earlier appeared to them as the prime condition for peaceful development and modernization increasingly became a strait jacket on political and economic protest. Far from completing the unification of India and its flowering into a single nation, the

British tried to maintain their hold over the country by setting into motion the divisive forces of communalism, casteism and regionalism and by bolstering up the decadent princely order. In the cultural field the Indian intellectuals noted that the progressive impulse had withered rather quickly. The British Indian Government spent less than three percent of its budget on education, completely neglected the education of the masses and women and turned hostile to higher education and the spread of modern ideas. After 1858 the British rulers abandoned all attempts at social reform and began to ally themselves with the most backward, traditional, obscurantist, cultural, religious and social forces. Consequently, the modern Indian intellectual began the hard task of examining and understanding afresh the basic character of British rule. Their understanding took time to develop. But by the end of the 19th century they had come to realize that what had appeared to them earlier as the modernization of India was in fact its colonialisation. They now set out to build up a nationalist political movement against imperialism. Three other social groups- the zamindars, landlords and princes, the higher bureaucracy and the traditional intelligentsia had an unsure, two-sided attitude to imperialism. The zamindars, landlords and princes were as a class loyal to foreign rule since their interests coincided with those of the rulers. Similarly the Indian members of the higher bureaucracy shared with the rulers the benefits of a high standard of living in a poor country and the feel of administrative power and high social status. They remained by and large loyal instrument of British rule to the end. But even from

these two social strata many individuals joined the national movement moved by the prevailing spirit of patriotism.

The Traditional Intelligentsia

The traditional intelligentsia consisting of religious thinkers, functionaries, and preachers and teachers in the traditional educational system was torn by conflicting pulls. Their conservative social and religious outlook inclined them towards political conservatism. They had also a long historical tradition of loyalty to the powers that be. At the same time most of the traditional intelligentsia at the lower levels suffered a sharp decline when the spread of modern schools and colleges led to the closure of the traditional pathshalas, madrasas and the traditional centers of higher learning. Many of the traditional intellectuals were also bitterly hostile to modern culture and thought and the religious and social reform movement, both on ideological grounds and because they undermined their own society. The aggressive proselyting propaganda of the Christian missionaries also aroused their anger. The result was that in the end two opposite trends emerged among the traditional Intellectuals. The followers of one trend favoured actively joining the national movement while maintaining their aversion to modern ideas, the followers of the other trend supported the foreign rulers in the hope of maintaining their traditionally dominant position in society. The Government actively encouraged the latter trend.

That left the control of temples, maths, mosques, dargahs, gurudwaras and other religious institutions firmly and undisturbed in the hands of the traditional intelligentsia. The Government also began to extend patronage to the traditional Intelligentsia through pensions, financial rewards and bestowal of titles and honours. It also now took steps to keep alive artificially the traditional education system. As we have seen earlier, it also abandoned the policy of social and cultural reform and thus acquired responsibility in the eyes of the orthodox. In order to prevent the spread of modern ideas of nationalism, democracy and economic development, the British even propagated the view that the traditional ideas and institutions of India suited them well and that Indians should concentrate on their philosophic and religious heritage and the so-called spiritual aspects of their life,

leaving the British to manage their economy and politics and administration. This division of labour also attracted the traditional intelligentsia.

Another major factor that aroused all the higher bureaucrats and the clerks, the rich and the poor to nationalist favour was the exhibition of racial arrogance by the rulers. The British in India had always kept their distance from Indians and left themselves to be racially superior. But a qualitative change occurred during the second half of the 19th century when the social and racial gulf between the two was widened. A wave of racialist doctrines preaching the inherent superiority of the whites over the blacks spread over Europe as a part of the resurgence of imperialism and imperialist ideologies. The British in India now openly proclaimed that Indians were an inferior race and asserted the privileges of an occupying power. Even such a high personage as May, the viceroy, wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in 1870: "Teach your subordinates that we are all British gentlemen engaged in the magnificent work of governing

an inferior race." Indian felt insulted and humiliated and was aroused to nationalist activity.

Conclusions

To sum up, the basic colonial character of British rule and its destructive impact on the lives of the Indian people led to the rise and development of a powerful anti-imperialist movement in India. This movement was a national movement because it embraced within its field all the different classes and groups of Indian Society. These classes had their own contradictions with imperialism which brought them together in a common national movement. They sank their reciprocal differences and united against the common enemy.

1.3 CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND POLICES

Introduction

Having acquired vast empire of India, the East India company had to devise suitable method of government to control and administer it. Its main objects were to increase the Company's profit to enhance the profitability of its Indian possessions to Britain and to maintain and strengthen the British hold over India; all other purposes were subordinated to there aim. The administrative machinery of the Govt. India was desired and developed to serve the ends.

1.3.1 Revenue Administration

All British policies aimed at the financial benefit of the Company. The revenue administration Was no exception' Rather the peasants were the hardest pressed people during the rule of the Company because the ultimate burdens of all taxation were of conquest and cost of administration Fell on them. Besides as the Company's trade policy destroyed the handicrafts and cottage Industries of India, the population shifted-to villages, land was fragmented and therefore cultivation hardly provided even means of bare existence to the majority of presents. when the company received the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mughal emperor in 1765, it did not assume direct responsibility of revenue admnistration. Clive, the Governor of the company, appointed two Indians as Naib Diwans. The company was simply interested in getting maximum revenue while the responsibility of collecting it was left to Naib Diwans. The experiment failed miserably. The agriculture of Bengal was ruined, land was left uncultivated which turned into forests and in 177A, Bengal suffered from a terrible famine in which nearly one-third of the population of Bengal perished. When, in 1772, Warren Hastings came to India, he came with specific instructions from the Directors that "the company was to stand forth as the Diwan". He therefore, put the revenue administration in the hands of the company. The land was handed over to the highest bidder for five years and it was expected that the successful bidder i.e. Zamindars, would give pattas (deeds of agreement) to the cultivators. The supervisors were appointed as collectors, districts were organized into six divisions, one revenue- council was established in every division, an Indian officer, Rai Raian and an Auditor- General were also appointed. The five years settlement

with the landlords was, however, converted into annual settlement in 1778 because of the instructions of the Directors of the company. Some administrative changes were made in 1786 when Warren Hastings left India. The five years settlement or the one year settlement introduced afterwards brought no relief to the cultivators. The company gave the land to the highest bidder for a fixed period who in turn, extracted as much as he could from the cultivators to increase his margin of profit, thus, the revenue administration of Warren Hastings brought no relief to the cultivators. It did not serve the purpose

of the company, as the contractors, in most cases, failed to pay the amount which he had agreed to pay. The next Governor-General Cornwallis, therefore, introduced the permanent settlement in Bengal.

The permanent settlement of Bengal

Cornwallis's name ranks pre-eminent because of the galvanising reforms introduced by him in land revenue which came to be known as the permanent settlement. The erstwhile arrangement was that Zamindars were given a right to collect revenue on a temporary or periodic basis. Since they had no permanent right over the land, they would collect as much as they could. This entailed oppression and coercion upon the cultivators, who naturally became indifferent to cultivation and as a result the output was small. Cornwallis came from the landed aristocracy in England and so he could diagnose the malady. The cure prescribed by him was the permanent settlement in 1793 with Zamindars. The Zamindars were required to "pay eighty nine per cent of the revenue and retain eleven percent of the revenue. The system was not a rose without thorns. It had both advantages and disadvantages.

Merits of the permanent settlement

The permanent settlement had several advantages. First, since the Zamindars were entrusted with the collection of revenue, the officers of the company were now relieved of the burden of revenue settlement and they could be engaged in the more

important administrative and judicial functions of the company. Suddenly it improved the status of the Zamindars who enjoyed a secure position in the sense that they could not be deprived of their position so long as they paid revenue to the company. As a result they could give more interest and attention to their land, since they got the position of the owner of the land. Thirdly, the system removed the erstwhile practice of hiding the revenue and resultant evasion of the revenue. The result was that the revenue of the company increased. In this connection Bipin Chandra Pal wrote. "lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement in Bengal was clearly moved by one single object, namely to ensure a fixed land revenue and relieved the Government of the East India Company of the troubles of collecting it from a large number of individuals enjoying land tenures. It certainly contributed to develop the agricultural wealth of Bengal to an extent not found in any other Indian province. It saved Bengal from the increasingly exactions of periodical settlements that have been not of the causes of the poverty of the other provinces as compared to Bengal. Owing to this permanent settlement in Bengal we never had the painful necessity of special measures like, for instance, the Bombay Agricultural Relief Act. "The net result was that Bengal gained material prosperity out of the permanent settlement. As Roberts rightly observed. "The permanent gave popularity and stability to the British Government and has helped to make the province of Bengal wealthiest and most flourishing in India." Bipin Chandra Pal also held identical views: "One of the indirect results of the permanent settlement in Bengal has certainly been the premier position which this province attained in the matter of the new English education and modern culture."

The Ryotwari Settlement

In the south and south west India there were zamindars with large estates with whom the settlement could be made by the company. Many British officials believed that the permanent settlement put the company to a financial loss as it could not raise the demand of revenue. Some of them also argued that the permanent settlement was oppressive to the cultivator as they were left to the mercy of the zamindars. A few held that a direct settlement with the cultivators

would mean continuation of the affairs that had existed in the past. Munro said: It is the system which has always prevailed in the past. But, the primary consideration to devise a settlement directly with the cultivator was the motive of financial gain to the company. It resulted in the Ryotwari system. The system was introduced in parts of Madras and Bombay presidencies. Under this system, the government fixed the revenue directly with the cultivators. The revenue was collected with the help of local hereditary village officers who were recognized by the government. The state demand was mostly kept at fifty percent of the produce.

The Ryotwari system protected neither the rights of the cultivators nor put them to any financial gain. The state remained the owner of the land. The cultivator had to pay regular revenue otherwise they could be dispossessed of their lands any time. The demand of revenue by the government remained very high. Besides, it had the right to enhance the revenue as it pleased. The cultivators were, thus, not sure of greater advantage for their better produce. For them the state stood as a zamindar which was more powerful than the zamindars under the permanent settlement or the Mahalwari system.

Thus, the revenue policy and the difference systems introduced in India by the British for collecting the revenue were not in the interest of the cultivators. The demand of the state always went on increasingly while the intermediaries or the government officials oppressed the tillers of the soil. The British policy proved advantageous only to the government or a privileged section of the society at the cost of the cultivators who were the rightful owners of their lands and claimants of the larger share of the produce.

1.3.2 Judicial System

The British laid down the foundation of a new judicial system by establishing a hierarchy of civil and criminal courts. The beginning was made by Warren Hastings while Cornwallis established it. The Regulating Act made the provision of establishing a Supreme Court in Bengal. The powers and jurisdiction

of which were specifically defined by the Act of 1781. It also continued along with courts established by Hastings and Cornwallis though, afterwards, it decided the cases concerning Europeans only. The one important measure of Cornwallis was that criminal jurisdiction was taken from the hand of the Nawab and handed over to the company. Another useful measure of Cornwallis was the codification of laws. The Cornwallis code systematized the laws and their procedure of implementation. Yet, another remarkable measure of Cornwallis was the separation of the executive and the judiciary and the making of civil servants legally responsible for the acts

done in their official capacity. Commenting on it M.P. Jain writes: "The principle of rule of Law and administration according to law or in other words the sovereignty of law was definitely transplanted in this country." Wellesley appointed three regular judges to preside over the Sadar Nizamat Adalat. Later on this number was increased further. A few measures concerning the judicial organization were taken by William Bentick. The most remarkable work done during the period of Bentick was the codification of laws which was first taken up by Lord Cornwallis. In 1833, the commission headed by Lord Macaulay started its works and its labour resulted in the Indian Penal Code, codes of civil and criminal procedures and other codes of laws.

The British, thus, introduced a new system of justice and law in India. Separate Courts for civil and criminal cases were established, a new system of law was evolved, the laws were

codified, attempts were made to separate the judiciary and the executive thought given up during the period of William Bentick because of financial consideration and efforts were made to establish the rule of Law and equality before law in India. All these efforts were, probably, well-meaning and saved the people from the arbitrary powers of local Zamindars, and native rulers and customary laws based on Hindu Shastras and Muslim Shariat as interpreted by the pandits and the Maulvis respectively. Yet, the judicial system of the British remained far from satisfactory. In 1833, the Governor-general-in-Council was given all law making powers. Thus, the arbitrary powers of the native rulers were transferred to a foreign

agency. For the people, it meant simply change of hands and not the basis of laws. The British bureaucracy and the police also enjoyed arbitrary powers and interfered with the rights and the liberties of the people. The system discriminated between the Europeans and the Indians as the Indian system had discriminated between the Hindus and the Muslims or between a Brahman and a Surdra. Justice, during the British period becomes costly affair. The poor people could not afford it. Besides, Courts were often situated in distant towns and law suits dragged on for years. Thus, the common people remained sufferers as before and in practice. The system failed to achieve its objectives of establishing the 'rule of Law' and 'equality before Law.'

Police

Warren Hastings attempted to establish a new Police system consisting of the Faujdars and Thanedars. But he did not succeed and gave it up in local zamindars. Cornwallis, the next Governor-General, however succeeded in his attempts. He devolved the zamindars of their rights and duties of police functions and (Police Posts), each of which was kept under a Daroga or Superintendent assisted by fifteen to twenty constables. The Darogas were appointed and controlled by District Magistrates. But the measures of Cornwallis failed to maintain peace and order because the Police force was not adequate and the Darogas remained mostly corrupt. In 1807, an effort was made to restore the duties of the Police to the zamindars but it did not succeed. However in 1814, the Police force was established in Bombay and Madras and the hereditary village officers were given the Police duties. The first successful attempt regarding the Police was made by Sir Charles Napier in Sindh in 1834. The functions of the Magistrates and Superintendent of Police were separated. Police force was increased and a reasonable degree of discipline was enforced. The system was later on adopted in other provinces as well.

The Police in India always served a limited purpose. It failed to protect the life and honour of the common people in India. It however, remained loyal to its masters and served better the cause of British bureaucracy and imperialism. It

therefore, became an instrument of oppression of the people particularly during the period of struggle for independence.

1.3.4 Civil Services

The servants of the company who were employed to carry on its trade assumed administrative functions as well when it became a territorial power in India. They proved thoroughly corrupt. They exploited the Indian artisans, merchants, zamindars etc., took bribes and presents from the Indian Rajas (Kings) and Nawabs and made huge profits by engaging themselves in private trade. Both Clive and Hastings attempted to root out the corruption rampant among them but failed

Cornwallis was the first Governor-General who tried to organize different branches of Public Service and thus brought the Civil Service into existence. He strictly enforced the rules against private trade, increased the salaries of the civil servants, stopped them from taking bribes and presents and lay down that promotion in the services would be on the basis of seniority. Lord Wellesley, when he came to India, realized that while the civil servants enjoyed wide powers and governed extensive areas, most of them came to India at an immature age of eighteen or so and without any training. Therefore, he established the college of Fort William at Calcutta for their education and training. The Directors disapproved of his action and, in 1806 established the East India College at Haileybury in England for imparting two years training to the young officers nominated for the service in the East. The college at Fort William, however, survived as a language school for the Bengal civil servants till 1854. The appointments to civil services were made by the Directors of the Company till 1853. By and large they filled up these posts with their favourites by nomination. But the charter Act of 1853 withdraws this privilege from them. It was decided that all recruits to the civil services were to be selected through a competitive examination. In 1858, after the transfer of government of India from the company to the crown, it was decided that the appointments to the civil services would be made by the secretary of State-in-Council with the advice and help of the Majesty's

Civil Service Commissioners, of course, on the basis of a competitive examinations.

Cornwallis seriously doubted the honesty and ability of the Indians. Therefore, since his days an Indian was employed to a high post in civil service. Another special feature of the Indian civil service was that it was the most highly paid service in the world and its burden fell on the Indian people. The Indian civil service became one of the most powerful and effective civil services in the world. It has been often called the steel frame which sustained British rule in India. In course of time it developed its own traditions of work, assumed fairly extensive independence and became a firm opponent of all that was progressive in Indian life. It, therefore, became the target surprisingly enough, it has kept all its powers and privileges even after the Indian independence. Its mode of working has not changed. The only change for the Indian masses is that now there are brown masters in place of their white masters.

1.3.5 Military Administration

The beginning of the British Army was made in 1746 when Major Stringer Lawrence called the father of the British Indian army organized a small band of Indian soldiers at Madras. The wars of conquests and the gradual extension of the empire led to the enlargement of the Army. The army consisted of three types of soldiers, viz-the Indian recruits, the European recruits and the Royal Regiments. In the beginning, the presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta and their separate armies under separate Commander-in-Chiefs but afterwards, the Bengal army

became the Army of the Central Government and its Commander became the Commander-in-

Chief of the Indian Forces. Local regiments were also raised afterwards as was the case in Punjab and Oudh. The number of the Indian soldiers went on increasing in the Army and it grew so disproportionate that Lord Dalhousie took recourse to

check their numbers. Besides he increased the number of the English Officers and Soldiers. No Indian was assigned an Officer post in the Army. All officers of the Army were British. The highest rank which an Indian could receive was that of a Subedar and in 1856, there were only three Indians getting rupees three hundred per month as salary in the Indian Army.

yet, the Indian soldiers served their masters well. India was mostly conquered for the English by the Indians. Primarily, two factors were responsible for it. One, the Indians lacked the spirit of nationalism. The Indians at that time had no concept of belonging to one country. Second, the Indian soldiers had a long tradition of loyal service to those who regularly paid their salaries. The Indians therefore proved very good and loyal mercenary soldiers for their British masters.

1.3.6 Educational System

The charter Act of 1813 directed the company to spend rupees one lakh a year on the education of Indians. But, no steps could be taken before the arrival of William Bentick as the Governor-General in India for the education of the Indians. The Minutes of Macaulay started the ball rolling efforts began for the education of Indians through medium of English language. But the company concentrated mainly on the school and college education. The primary education remained neglected by the government. Particularly in Bengal and Madras, the government struck to the theory of filtration viz. the education would spread from the top towards the bottom.

But in Bombay and North-Western province experiments were conducted in the use of the mother tongue for the spread of western science and knowledge. In Bombay, the Anglicist view was supported by Sir George Kruskine Petty while Mr. Jervis and Jagannath Shankarseth argued

that if the object was to improve the minds of the native India as a people then it must be done by imparting knowledge to them in their own language. The Bombay government decided to continue the policy of imparting western knowledge through mother tongue by an order of the Governor in April 1848. The Bombay

government, however, emphasized on school and college education. On the contrary the government of North-Western province though emphasizing the use of mother tongue, concentrated its efforts more on elementary education through village schools and tahsildari school (schools at the headquarters of every tahsil). But the apathy of the government of India to education other than the English and the utility of the English language in getting government employment restricted the growth of the systems adopted by the governments of Bombay and North-Western province. Then came the educational despatch of 1854, known as Wood's despatch, which marked another important step in the development of education in India. The secretary of state Mr. Wood directed the Indian government to assume the responsibility of educating the Indian masses, encouraging private bodies to start school and colleges with the government subsidy, appointing school Inspectors and directors of education in each province and establishing universities in presidency towns, i.e. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The despatch emphasized the study of Indian languages along with the education of English and also female education. Dalhousie, the then Governor-General took all possible measures to implement the suggestions given in the despatch.

Little progress was, however, made in the field of education prior to 1858 and, whatever

was done the larger credit of it goes to the missionary societies or voluntary organizations of the Indians and cannot be ascribed to the efforts of the government. The efforts of the government were limited because it did not want to spend money on education. The system neglected the education of the masses and particularly those of females. There remained lack of scientific, technical and vocational institutions in India as the government paid least attention to their establishment and growth. The use of English language retarded the development of Indian languages, uprooted the educated classes from their cultural heritage, dried up the sources of inspiration and dampened original thinking and creative spirit as Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad has put it. He writes: The worst consequence was psychological differentiation between the intelligent and the illiterate masses, and loss of contact between the two which prevented national integration both socially and politically; The reason behind all these defects

was that the English masters were not interested in educating the Indians for the sake of imparting knowledge. They were interested in it because of some other motives. One was cultural imperialism and the other was to get low paid clerks. Yet, another was to develop the taste of English manufactures among the Indians with a view to expand their market in India and so on. Then how cold that education or the system is advantageous for the Indians? Whatever advantages were drawn by the Indians were drawn indirectly and those too remained limited only to the educated middle class.

1.3.7 Relation with colonial interests

The transformation of India began during the preceding period, continued during the third stage. It became even more important that British administration should reach out to every nook and corner of India and the Indian society and that every port and every town and village be linked with the world economy for Britain's profit. But as before, this transformation remained severely limited or partial. This was so for reasons inherent in the nature of British colonialism in India. First the cost of administrative, economic and cultural change had to be met from the Indian revenues just as earlier the cost of British conquest had been met from Indian revenues. But India was a poor country and colonialism impoverished it further. While an economically developing country could easily provide increasing revenues, in India such an increase involved a higher level of taxation. There were however obvious political limits to this process. Growing taxation in a stagnant economy invariably carries with it the penalty of popular revolt. Moreover, India could not simultaneously pay for the costly administrative and military structure and the development of education irrigation, the transport system and modern industries. This was in fact one of the central contradictions of colonialism in India. While further extension of colonial exploitation required some internal development the very process of this exploitation made further extension impossible by keeping India backward.

Secondly, the colonial authorities were led to put checks on the process of modernization in India when they observed its consequences. Even a limited amount of change produced social group forces that began to oppose imperialism

and the mechanism of its exploitation of India. The colonial authorities were therefore caught on the thorns of another dilemma, the very transformation needed to make India a paying colony endangered colonial rule by producing at the same time the social forces of nationalism that organized a struggle against colonialism.

The roots of social reform went back to colonial policies. In order to make Indians better customers for their goods and more legal subjects of the Raj, the British made every effort to impose on India the culture of Britain, the metropolis. British writers and statesmen also used their criticism of Indian culture and society to justify British political and economic domination over India. They declared that because of their inherent social and cultural defects Indians were destined to be ruled perpetually by foreign masters. Both these factors produced a strong reaction in India. Many Indians felt it necessary to prove their fitness for self government by glorifying their remote past. Others held up the imitators of western culture to ridicule and opposed the very introduction of modern ideas and culture.

They believed that the way to preserve cultural autonomy was to look inwards once again. Even though this trend of thought remained in a minority, it had a certain influence over the people especially the urban lower middle classes.

British rule brought the entire geographical area of the century under a single administration. It also unified the country by introducing a uniform system of law and government. The introduction of modern methods of communication like railways, telegraphs, a modern postal system, development of roads and motor transport produced the same unifying self sufficiency and the growth of internal trade created conditions for the rise of a unified Indian economy. Modern industries were all-India in their scope for both the sources of the raw materials and their markets embraced the entire country. Even their labour force was recruited on a wide inter-regional basis. Increasingly the economic lot of the Indian people was getting inter-linked and India's economic life was becoming a single whole. A common pattern of education and the acquisition of modern ideas by the people all over country also gradually gave birth to an all-India intelligentsia with a

common approach and common ways of looking at society. Similarly, the two new classes born in this period, namely, the capitalist class and the working class were all-India in character and stood above the traditional divisions of caste, region and religion.

In addition to all this, the very existence of a common enemy that oppressed all the Indian people irrespective of their social class, caste, religion or region, bound them together as one. In its turn the anti-imperialist struggle and the feeling of solidarity born in its course provided the emotional and psychological bond that knit the people together and led to the emergence of a common notional outlook.

Effects

The economic policies followed by the British led to the rapid transformation of Indian economy whose nature and structure were determined by the need of the British economy. In this respect, the British conquest differed from all previous foreign consequents. The previous conquerors had overthrown political powers but made no basic changes in the country's economic structure. The peasant, the artisans, and the trader had continued to lead the same type of existence as before. The basic economic pattern that of the self sufficient village economy had been perpetuated. Change of rulers had merely meant change in the personnel of those who appropriated the peasant surplus. But the British conquerors were entirely different. They totally disrupted the traditional structure of the Indian economy. Moreover, they never became an integral part of Indian life. They always remained foreigners in the land, exploiting India's resources and carrying away India's wealth as tribute.

1.4 APPROACHES TO NATIONALISM : CONCEPTUAL DEBATES

Introduction

There is different approach among the historians as to the rise and sporadic growth of nationalism in India. A group of Historian headed by Lajpat Rai, R.C. Manjundar, R.G. Pradhan and Girija Mukherjee called nationalist Historians expounded the exploitative character of British Imperialism. The Marxist School emerged on the later seence and popularized by R. Pame Dutt and A.R. Desai. The conservative and colonial administration and the imperialist School of historians, popularly known as the Cambridge school mainly demy the existence of colonialism as an economic, political, social and cultural structure in India.

1,4.1.Nationalist Approach

Nationalist Historian :

The nationalist approach is one of the major approach in Indian Historiography. In-the colonial period, this school was represented by the political activitiest such as Lajpat Ray, A.C, Majumdar, R.G. Pradhan, pattavi Sitharamya, Surendranath Banerjee, C.F. Adrevs and Girija Mukharjee. More recenfly, B.R. Nanda, Elisweswa!" Prasao and Amlesh Tripathy have made distinguishing contribution within the frame work of this approach. The nationalist historians especially the more recent ones, show an awareness of the exploitative character of colonialism. On the whole they feel that the nationalist movement was the result of the spread and realisation on Liberty. They also take full cognizance of the process of India becoming a nation, and see the natural movement as a movement of the people.

1.4.2 Weakness of Nationalist Historians

Their major weakness, however, is that they tend to ignore or, at least, underplay the inner contradiction of Indian society both in terms of class and caste. They tend to ignore the fact while the nationalist movement people or the nation as a whole (that is, of all class vis-a-vis colonialism) it only did so from a particular class perspective and that consequently, there was a constant struggle between different social, ideological perspective for hegemony over the movement. They also usually take up the position adopted by the right wing of the nationalist movement and equate it with the movement as a whole. Their treatment of the strategic and ideological dimensions of the movement is also inadequate.

1.4.2 Marxist Approach

Marxist Historians

The Marxist school emerged on the scene later. Its foundations, so far the study of the nationalist movement is concerned, were laid by R. Palme Dutt and A.R. Desai, but several others have developed it over the years. Unlike the imperialist school, the Marxist historians clearly see primary contradiction as well as the process of nation making and unlike the nationalist, they also take full note of the inner contradiction of Indian society. According to the Soviet historian, the foundation of the Indian National Congress was inseparably connected with the rise of an indigenous Indian Capitalist industry. According to the theory of economic determinism, changes in the structure of the economy produced new social relationships, transforming society from a status-based to a contract-based one, and set in motion a large scale social mobility which had never taken place in India before. The political struggle for freedom was a culmination of the social change which started in Bengal during the second half of the eighteenth century a product of the disruption of the old economic and social order proceeding from the growth of a market society. The penetration of British trade in the interior and the British land settlements which made land a saleable and alienable commodity, helped the growth of a market economy in India and as a result a new social class of traders, merchants, subordinate agents of the company and Private British Traders, middlemen and money-lenders sprang up.

The political development of modern India since the beginning of the nineteenth century can be considered as the history of the struggle of this class to find a new identity.

B.B. Mishra, a non-Marxist historian, has also expressed the view that radical changes under British rule, emanating from progress of education and advancement of technology, led to the growth of a middle class whose component parts exhibited an element of uniformity in spite of being heterogeneous and even mutually conflicting at times. Mishra also specifies the economic process by which these social developments were brought about. Modern capitalism in India

developed from the import of foreign capital and skill as part of the transformation of India as an

appendage to the imperial economy, for producing raw materials to feed British industry. The export of agricultural products created a trade surplus which paid for the construction of railways and other public works, as well as for the import of capital goods and machinery which began to process locally the raw materials earlier developed for export.

K.M. Panikkar, another non-Marxist historian, also emphasized the central role of the new middle class in the national movement, but instead of specifying any decisive economic change behind their emergence, he pointed to a shift in the centre of power and influence within Indian society as a result of the administrative and political impact of the British Raj. Panikkar uses the term class rather loosely. Sometimes using it almost as a synonym for caste. Marxist historians have used the concept in a more rigorous manner and have attributed the emergence of new classes in Indian society to specific economic progress. R.P. Dutt whose *Indian Today* still remains the most authoritative Marxist work on modern India, wrote that the growth of modern industry in the second half of the nineteenth century led to the rise of the bourgeoisie, together with a new educated middle class of lawyers, administrators, teachers and journalists. The writings of

quite a few Marxian historians and sociologists echoed the same view before and after Independence.

But gradually there was a shift of emphasis from R.P.Dutta's bourgeoisie to intermediate groups variously designated as the educated middle class the Petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. A.R. Desai's work on Indian nationalism took up in this respect the earlier threads woven into the brilliant analysis of M.N. Roy. With the growth of modern industries, wrote Professor Desai, new classes of modern bourgeoisie and a working class came into existence, along with the professional classes. The intelligentsia, drawn from the professional classes, developed before the industrial bourgeoisie and led the national movement in each phase. The more recent work of the soviet historians has followed the lines indicated by A.R Desai.

N.M. Goldberg, a leading soviet ideologist, has introduced a somewhat tentative distinction ! the class basis of the moderate and extremist movements within the Indian National Congress. In his view the native capitalist class, weak and tied to foreign economic interests, was irresolute on the demand which its express leaders; but the petty bourgeois i.e., who lay behind the extremist movement, were more forthright. In a complementary study of urban Maharashtra in the late nineteenth century, V.I. Pavlov observes that India's national industrial bourgeoisie first developed in Bombay by accumulating capital in comprador activities associated with European merchant capital operating in the overseas cotton trade and the opium trade with China.

Bipan Chandra, who exhibits this new reaction, assigns the most important role in the rise of Indian nationalism to the formulation of an ideology by the Indian intelligentsia, though he allows some weight to the growth of the Indian capitalist class. To him, the problem concerns the real nature of imperialism and how it contradicted the true interests of all classes of Indian people. In his view, the realization of this problem by the intelligentsia and their consequent propagation of an anti-imperialist ideology, which represented the common interests of all classes of India, gave rise to Indian nationalism.

In any case, Bipan Chandra points out. It was not until after the First World War that they received any support from leading men of commerce and industry. Sumit Sarkar also expresses similar doubts about the simplistic version of the class-approach used by R.P Dutta and certain soviet historians. He point to the inconvenient facts of indifference and even hostility shown towards swodeshi by the bulk of the professional trading community in Bengal and the lukewarm attitude of the industrial bourgeoisie of Bombay and Gujarat. He also observes that the glib talk the urban betty-bourgeois character of the swodeshi movement obscures the link which so many of the participants had with land through some form of Zamindari or intermediate tenure.

Shortcomings

However, many of them and Palme Dutta in particular are not able to fully integrate their treatment of their primary anti-imperialist contradiction and the secondary inner contradictions, and tend to counter pose the anti-imperialist struggle to the class of social struggle. They also tend to see the movement as a structured bourgeois movement, it not the bourgeoisies movement and miss its open-ended and all-class character. They see the bourgeoisie as playing the dominate role in the movement- they tend to equate or conflate the national leadership with the bourgeoisie or capitalist class. They also interpret the class character of the movement in terms of its forms of struggle (i.e., in its non-violent character) and in the fact that it made strategic retreats and compromises. A few take an even narrow view. They suggest that access to financial resources determined the ability to influence the course and direction of nationalist politics. Many of the Marxist writers also do not do an actual detailed historical investigation of the strategy, programme, ideology, extent and forms of mass mobilization and strategic and tactical maneuvers of the national movement.

1.4.3 Imperialist Approach

Main advocator:

The Imperialist School first emerged in the official pronouncements of the viceroy, Lord Dufferin, Curzon and Minto and the secretary of state, George Hamilton. It was first cogently put forward by V. Chitambar, the Rowlett (Sedition) committee report, Verney Lovett and the Franks-Chelmsford report. It was theorized for the first time, by Bruce T. McCully, an American scholar, in 1940. Its liberal version was adopted by Reginald Coupland and after 1947, by Percival Spear, while its conservative version was refurbished and developed at length by Anil Seal and J.A. Gallagher and their students and followers after 1968. Since the liberal version is no longer fashionable in academic circles, we will ignore it here due to shortage of space.

The conservative colonial administrators and the imperialist school of historians, popularly known as the Cambridge School, deny the existence of colonialism as an economic, political, social and cultural structure in India. Colonialism is seen by them primarily as foreign rule. They either do not see or vehemently deny the economic, social, cultural and political development of India required the overthrow of colonialism. Thus, their analysis of the national movement is based on the denial of the basic contradiction between the interests of the Indian people and of British colonialism and causative role this contradiction played in the rise of national movement.

Consequently, they implicitly or explicitly deny that the Indian National Movement represented the Indian side of this contradiction or that it was anti-imperialist, that is it opposed British imperialism in India. They see the Indian struggle against imperialism as a mock battle (mimic warfare), a Dassehra duel between two hollow statues, locked in motiveless and simulated combat. The denial of the central contradiction vitiates the entire approach of these scholars though their meticulous research does help others to use it within a different framework.

The imperialist writers deny that India was in the process of becoming a nation and believe that what is called Indian in fact consisted of religious, castes, communities and interests. Thus, the grouping of Indian politics around the concept of an Indian nation or an Indian people or social classes is not recognized by them. There were instead, they said, pre-existing Hindu- Muslim, Brahmin, Non-Brahmin, Aryan, Bhadrak (cultured people and other similar identities).

They say that these prescriptive groups based on caste and religion are the real basis of political organization and as such, caste and religion based politics are primary and nationalism a mere cover. As seal puts: what from a distance appear as their political strivings were often, on close examination, their efforts to conserve or improve the position of their own prescriptive groups. (This also makes Indian nationalism, says seal, different from the nationalism of China, Japan,

the Muslim countries and Africa). If the Indian National Movement did not express the interests of the Indian people vis-a-

visa imperialism, then whose interests did it represent? Once again the main lines of the answer and argument were worked out by late 19th century and early 20th century officials and imperialist spokesmen. The National Movement, assert the writers of the imperialist school, was not a peoples movement but a product of the needs and interests of the elite groups who used it to serve either their own narrow interest or the interests of their prescriptive groups. Thus, the elite groups and their needs and interests, provide the origin as well as the driving force of the idea, ideology and movement of nationalism. These groups were sometimes formed around religious or caste identities and sometimes through political connections built around patronage. But, in each case, these groups had a narrow, selfish interest in opposing British rule or each other. Nationalism, then, is seen primarily as a mere ideology which these elite groups used to legitimize their narrow ambitious and to mobilize public support. The national movement was merely an instrument used by the elite groups to mobilize the masses and to satisfy their own interests.

Gallagher, seal and their students have added to this viewpoint. White Dufferin, Curzon, Chirol, Lovett, Mc Cully, and B.B. Mishra ralked of the

frustrated educated middle classes using nationalism to fight the benevolent Raj, Seal develops a parallel view, as found in Chirol and the Rowlatt Committee Report, that the national movement represented the struggle of one Indian elite group against another for British favours. As he puts it. It is misleading to view these native mobilization as directed chiefly against foreign over lordship. Much attention has been paid to the apparent conflicts between imperialism and nationalism, it would be at least equally profitable to study their real partnership. The main British contribution to the rise and growth of the national movement, then was that British rule sharpened mutual jealousies and struggles among Indians and created new fields and institutions for their mutual rivalry.

Seal, Gallagher and their students also extended the basis on which the elite groups were formed. They followed and added to the view point of the British historian Lewis Namier and contended that these groups were formed on the basis of patron client relationships. They theorize that, as the British extended administrative, economic and political power to the localities and provinces, local potentates started organizing politics by acquiring clients and patrons whose interests they served, and who in turn served their interests. Indian politics began to be formed through the links of this patron client chain. Gradually, bigger leaders emerged who undertook to act as brokers to link together the politics of the local potentates, and eventually, because British rule encompassed the whole of India, all-India brokers emerged, To operate successfully, these all-India brokers needs province level brokers at the lower levels, and needed to involve clients in the national movement. The second level leaders are also described as sub-contractors. Seal says the chief political brokers were Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. And according to these historians, the people themselves, these whose fortunes were affected by all this power brokering came in only in 1918. After that, we are told their existential grievances such as war, inflation, disease, drought or depression which had nothing to do with colonialism were cleverly used to bamboozle them into participation in this factional struggle of the potentates.

Shortcomings

Thus, this school of historians treats the Indian national movement as a cloak for the

struggle for power between various sections of the Indian elite and between them and the foreign elite, thus effectively denying its insistence and legitimacy as a movement of the Indian people for the overthrow of imperialism and for the establishment of an independent nation state. Categories of nation, class, mobilization, ideology etc. which are generally used by historians to analyze national movement and revolutionary processes in Europe, Asia and Africa are usually missing from their treatment of the Indian national movement. This view not only denies the existence of colonial exploitation and under development and the central contradiction, but also any idealism on the part of those who sacrificed their lives for the anti-imperialist cause. As S. Gopal has put it Namier was caused of taking the mid out of politics: this school has goon further and taken not only the mind but decency, character, integrity and selfless commitment out of the Indian National Movement. Moreover, it denies any intelligent or active role to the mass of workers, peasants, lower middle class and women in the anti-imperialist struggle. They are treated as a child people or dumb creatures who had no perception of their needs and interests. One wonders why the colonial rulers did not succeed in mobilizing them behind their own politics.

Conclusions

A survey of the available literature of this type seems to indicate these fundamentally different lines of approach to the problem. There are also considerable difference of opinion within each line of approach which need attention. It is for the research dealing with segments of this history to now try and weave a complex web, of explanations bringing together economic force, institutional opportunities and government impulses in their proper sphere. The indirect pressure of class situation on the political situation in the long run, the local differences concealed by the regional uniformities of caste and community, the short term working of patrone-client linkages and their gradual dissolution, all need to be filled together into a more adequate framework of analysis. In this take,

perhaps it may be useful to keep in mind a two fold distinction: the distinction between the real lever of power held by the ruling British economic and administrative interest and the uncertain pegs gained by those Indian aspirant trying to replace there interests and the distinction between the long-term and common goal of the Indian aspirants and their short-term preoccupation and parochial interests. At one level, the Marxian method might seem appropriate, at another, the neo-traditional and the purely political approaches might throw light. The process of political change in India was after all very complex and would not easily fit into any ready-made or cut and dried explanations.

THE REVOLT OF 1857

1.5 Causes , Nature, Results

Introduction

The Revolt of 1857 created political convulsions in the entire Indian Peninsula. It was a result of the accumulated discontent among the various state of the old India Society who suffered the British political conquest, by the new economic forces and measures brought into operation by that conquests, and by the various social innovations introduced in the country by the British Government. It endangers the religion, honour, life and property of the Hindus and Muslims. A under current of discontent and resentment following which galvanized, the Indian, to destroy the existence of British rule. The utter dissatisfaction against the British rule found expression at Vellore in 1806 followed by the mutiny in Bangal Caalry. The Bareilly rising of 1816, the KollInsurrection of 1831, the santhal of 1856 where reflection at under current social and economic discontent against the British East India Company. This discontent explodes in 1857 which shook the existence of British Empire in India.

1.5.2 Nature and Character of the Revolt

There is a lot of controversy among the scholars regarding the character of the Revolt of 1857. Some historians described it as a well planned national struggle and first war of Indian Independence, the other described it a religious war against Christians a rival struggle between black and white for supremacy, a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the British rule. The English historians have described it as a mutiny of the army which did not command any support of the people in general. It shall be desirable to analysis their views, in some details to determine the character of the revolt. Both Vir Savarkar in his book 'The War of Indian Independence' and Ashok Mehta in his book "1857 the great rebellion" have tried to prove that the great mutiny of 1857 was an Indian National War of Independence. Both of them admit that the sepoys were mainstay of the rebellion. They bore the brunt of breaking chains that imprisoned India. They gave their backbone to the resistance and became its shield and spear. So it would be wrong to describe the rising as essentially a sepoy mutiny. The civil population was fully associated with this rising is borne out from the number of civilians killed during the mutiny and the attitude of non co-operation displayed by them. It is well known that when General Havelock wanted to ferry his soldiers across the river the boatman refused to oblige them. The speed with which the mutiny spread to various parts of the country further confirms the mass character of the rising. The Hindu-Muslim unity displayed during the mutiny is another pointer to the same direction. In support of his stand Mr. Mehta also refers to the letter written by Bahadur Shah to the Princess of Rajputana which said I have no desired left of ruling over India.. I am willing to resign my imperial power and authority in the hands of any confederacy of native princess who were chosen to exercise it. On the basis of the above evidence Mr. Mehta tries to assert the national character of the mutiny. Even Disraeli, the leader of the Conservative Party in England termed it as the "National War of Independence" which he said the Revolution witnessed by an imperialism did not take place as a result of minor cause like that of greased cartridges. Such type of rebellions is due to the combination of higher factors. It was due to the National character of the Great Revolt that the Indians celebrated

the centenary 1857 with a great pomp and show Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his introduction to Dr. Sen's book entitled Eighteen-fifty seven says in the light of the available evidence, we are therefore forced to the conclusion that the uprising of 1857 was not the result of careful planning nor were there any master mind behind it. This was due not to the conspiracy of a few individuals or groups but to the growing discontent of large number of people Patriotism had to be reinforced by an appeal to religious passion before the people rose. Dr. Sen is of the opinion that what began as a fight for religion ended as war of Independence, for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien Government and restore the old order of which the kind of Delhi was the rightful representative.

It is difficult to agree with LER Rees that the Revolt was a war of fanatic religionists against Christians. During the heat of the rebellion the ethical principles underlying the various religions had little influence on the combatants" Both sides quoted their religious scriptures to cover their excess over the party. The Christians ultimately won but not Christianity. The Hindus and Muslims were defeated but not their respective religions. The Christian missionaries had no astounding success in the war of Missionary propaganda.

T.R. Holmes is of the opinion that Revolt of 1857 was a conflict between civilizations and

barbarism. The explanation smacks of narrow racialism. During the rebellion both the Europeans and Indians were the guilty of excess. If the Indian were guilty of the murder of European women and in some cases children in Delhi, Kanpur and Lucknow, the record of the British was equally tarnished by the dark deeds which were no less heinous and barbaric than those of the Indians. James Outram advocates the view that the out-break was the result of a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy. The Muslims made Capital out of Hindu grievances. However, the view cannot be fully

substantiated, hence does not find favour with the recent scholars. The English Scholars are not willing to consider the revolt as anything more than a sepoy

mutiny. For example, Sir John Lawrence says it was essentially a sepoy uprising. It broke out as a result of the cartridge incident, but was made use of by the other elements which being disgusted with the British in India, were in search of some such opportunity to reassert their position. Rawlinson refuses to consider the revolt as national war of Independence and argues. It would be inaccurate to describe the Mutiny as national revolution for nationalism was not as yet a factor in Indian Politics. According to Seely the Mutiny was a wholly unpatriotic and selfish sepoy mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support. According to Prof. Roberts who shares the view with Seely and Lawrence the rising was mainly military in origin, but occurred at a time when, for various reasons, there was much social and political discontent and the mutineers were promptly joined by the Interested adventurers, who tried to give it a particular direction to suit their own scheme. Fortunately for the British dominion in India there was no single national cause to which the agitators could appeal. The fabric of the British power was built over the ashes of warring factions and race enmities.

According to Thompson and Garret it is a poor complement to Indian courage and ability to treat the revolt as an organized national movement because it was suppressed with the help of a handful of soldiers. He says, The Mutiny may be considered either as a military revolt, or as a bid for recovery of their property and privileges by the dispossessed princes and landlords or as an attempt to restore the Mughal Empire, or as a peasants war. From every aspect it was localized, restricted and un-organized. Only one of the three provincial armies rebelled, and it is doubtful if a quarter of the Sepoy were in arms against the Governments. No important prince threw in his lot with rebels, and many like Patiala actively helped the Government. R.C. Majumdar in his book entitled the Sepoy Mutiny and the revolt of 1857 gave his analysis of the revolt of 1857. He gives facts and figures to prove that the leaders of the mutiny had their own axes to grind and were not inspired by any feeling of Indian nationalism as such. There was no cordiality between the Hindus and Muslims. Bahadur Shah did not heartily cooperate with the mutineers. Rani of Jhansi did not side with the mutineers at the beginning and joined them only when she was faced with a trial by the British Government.

The Nawab did not treat their Hindu subjects properly even during the day of mutiny. There was absolutely no concerned action among the people of India. On the basis of the various facts Dr. Majumdar comes to the conclusion that there is nothing in the conduct of the behavior of the Sepoy which could justify as in the belief or even assumption that they were inspired by love for the country or fought the British with definite idea of freeing their motherland

Another important question concerning the revolt is whether it was national war of Independence or not. Dr. Majumdar says that it cannot be accepted as a national war because the revolt remained limited to a part of India. Only the territory consisting of Modern U.P. and its neighbouring areas were the center of revolt. Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan, large part of Panjab, Madhyapradesh and the territory south of River Narmada remained unaffected by the revolt. Some rulers like those of Patala, Sind, Mabha and Bhopal gave active support to the British. Except Bengal army most of the native soldiers were loyal to the English while Sikhs and Gurkhas provided positive support to them. The educated Indians were not a party to &e r6rdt and therefore were the object of hated of Mutineers. The English Historians Kayee praised the Indians for supporting the English during the period of revolt. The London Times in July 1857 also reported the general population has exhibited protection has been afforded to fugitives.

Similarly relation between the Hindus and Muslims did not remain cordial during the period of Revolt. Of course, both fought together against the British. Yet there was no such feeling among them which could be recognized as national feeling in the contrary both the communities had serious doubts against each others intention. The Indian thus were divided on the basis of religious differences. These differences were so acute that Muslims of Hyderabad hated the Marathas because of the some reason. The Rajputs and Marathas were adverse to the establishment of fi4ughal rule in India. Therefore Dr. Majumdar contends that it was not a national revolt.

He further argues that every struggle or fighting of the Indians against the English can not be accepted as a war of Independence" The only criterion of accepting a struggle of the native against the foreigners as war of Independence is that it should be motivated simply by the desire of turning out the foreigners from India. The revolt of 1857 was not fought on these criteria. Even at the central places of the revolt, many people were not in favour of mutineers. The Hindus and Muslims were not inspired to fight against the foreigners but to protect their respective religions. The events during the period, in no way, prove that the aim of the mutineers was to turn out foreigners to gain Independence.

Therefore, Dr. Majumdar refuses to accept the revolt of 1857 as the war of Independence. He concludes that "it is difficult to avoid to the conclusion that the so called National War of Independence of 1857 is neither first, nor national nor a war of Independence.

1.5.2 An Assessment of Causes

Political Cause

The policy of imperial expansion followed by the East India Company created political

earth-quake in India and it ignited the Indian people to raise their sword against the British rulers. The Dalhousies annexation and doctrine of lapse had created a spirit of uneasiness and suspicious throughout India. The Hindu Rajas were debarred from adopting a son, for the purpose of religious ceremonies after their death. This was considered as a direct encroachment by the British upon their religious practices. The Punjab, Pegu and Sikkim were annexed by their policy of conquest. Satara, Jaypur, Sambalpur, Bhagalpur, Udayapur, Jhansi and Nagpur were annexed to the British dominion by means of application of the Doctrine of Lapse; Oudh was annexed under the pretext of the betterment of the people. Nana Saheb, the adopted son of Baji Row II was deprived of the pension that originally was granted to

Peshwa Baji Row-II. It created a cloud of suspicion among the native states. Thus in the eyes of Indians all the ruling princes were in danger and the annexation of all the states in India was considered only a question of some time to the question of insecurity

among the princes created war hysteria against the East India Company.

The Muslim populations of India were alienated as a result of the hostile policies of the British Government. From the very beginning the Muslim had usurped the power of the Mughal Empire. Dalhousie and Canning's policy annihilating the successors of the Mughal Royal family further alienated the Muslim population. Bahadur shah, the Mughal emperor had become old and was likely to die at any moment. Dalhousie was not in favour of the creation of an imperium in imperio. He was accepted Fakir- Ud-Din as the successor of the Mughal emperor. He died in 1856. But Lord Canning proclaimed that the next successors of Fakir-Ud-Din would be deprived of even their titular dignities and they would not be allowed even to sit in the royal palaces in Delhi. This means titular sovereignty of the Mughals was also come to an end. This proclamation on the part of Canning struck a great blow to the ambitions of the Indian Muslims. So the entire Muslim population in India having been disgusted with the attitude of Dalhousie and Canning towards the Mughal Emperor Bhadur Shah decided to take steps against the Company and they decided to enter into an alliance with the rebels.

Further, the annexation of Indian states created bitterness among the higher strata of Indian Society. Because by annexation means replacement of the kings and other-ministers but restricted the scope of the Indians to get high administrative post. Bentick's resumption of rent free lands brought a lot of money to the Government. But reduced to poverty many land owners, whose title- deeds had been lost or who had held land by long prescriptive right after the mutiny the famous Inam Commission in Bombay confiscated about 20,000 estates. After the annexation of Oudh, Jackson examined the titles of the Talukdars or hereditary revenue collectors and most of them were left with no means of subsistence. The

native army was disbanded and about 60,000 men lost their livelihood. These discontented soldiers and Talukdars joined the mutineers to get rid of their grievances. The Thugs, the Pindaries and the irregulars of the Indian army who as a matter of fact depended upon only loot and plunder as the only means of subsistence either crushed and defeated by the East India Company. When they were deprived of their only means of livelihood they began to swell into antisocial activities. So when the Mutiny came up they joined in large numbers to redress their grievances.

Economic

The primary motive of political domination of India by the British was her economic exploitation. The political changes prior to the advent of the British, the rise and fall of the Empires in Delhi, had little or no effect upon the economic structure and life of the people. The reason for this was that the wealth of the country remained in the country, and whatever power ruled over the country. With the advent of the British, the Indian wealth began to flow out of the country. Indian economy began to be fashioned to meet the needs of Industrial England. The Industrial Revolution further stimulated the commercial ambition of England. Now England was transformed into a manufacturer of the world. Raw materials for her factories and markets for her finished goods became a land of exporting raw material and importing finished goods. English capital flowed into the country and it carried away both interest and profits, the results were ruinous. India became a milch cow to feed England while her own sons were gradually pushed to the starvation.

The British land Revenue policy further strangled the Indian people. The unscrupulous reassumption of land and rent free tenures and the destruction of landed aristocracy, the Zamindars and Talukdars had far reaching economic and social effects. The people saw with wrath and horror and the once-rich houses reduced to beggary. The Zamindars and landed aristocrats had major voice in the

contemporary society. Their agony and grievances compelled them to raise arms and became leader of the revolt.

In the wake of every annexation of states followed the collapse of the social-economic

structure. Upon the extinction of Indian states write Johan Sullian, a member of the Madras

Council in his plea for the princes of India. An Englishman takes the place of the sovereign under the name of Commissioner. Three or four of his associates displaced as many as dozen of the native official, aristocracy while some hundreds of our troops take the place of the many thousand the native chief supports. The little court disappears, trade languishes, the capital decays. The people are impoverished, Englishman flourishes and acts tike J sponge, drawing of riches from the Bank of the Ganges and squeezing them down upon the Banks of the Themes. The process adversely affected both the pockets and pride of the people and filled them with deep seated discontent against the Englishman.

The racial bitterness between the English and the Indians was getting wider day by day. The British officers living in India were considering themselves as next to God and had developed a sort of hatred for the Indians. They considered the Indians their social inferiors and behaved towards them in an autocratic and insolent way. Even some of the British Officers tike Bird and Thompson were hurling disgrace upon the Indians. While advocating cause of the Indians for their recruitment in the Indian administration, Sir Thomas Munroe had remarked the foreign conquerors had definitely treated the Indians very cruelly but never was such a humiliating treatment meted out to them as we have done unto them. Never have they been charged that their whole nation was dishonest and was not worthy of confidence and would never get any job in the administration unless there was no way out for the British East Indian Company. The charter Act of 1833 had provided for the absorption of Indians in the administration. But non-

implementation of this charter created a very bad feeling in the minds of the Indians and consequently contributed for the Mutiny.

The defective judicial system irritated the Indians. The principles of civil equality were not applied to the Europeans and Indians uniformly. The Indians thought that it was deliberate attempt on the part of the English to reduce the Indians to poverty and humiliation. On the other hand the court had become tyranny and oppression in the hands of the clever and rich people because the latter could manage to produce false evidence to prove false cases. Hence it resulted in a lot of discontent against the Britishers and as such formed another cause of the Mutiny.

Social and Religious Causes

One of the Primary objectives of the English people in India seems to have been to convert Indians to Christianity. Both the army and civil population were under fear that the Government intended to make every Indian a Christian. Spread of Christian ideology and Missionary activities was extended by the Englishmen to all part of the Country. Mr. Mangles, the Chairman of Court of Directors of -East India Company made following statements in the House of Commons. Providence has entrusted the extensive empire of Hindustans to England in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of the India to the other. Every one must exert in all his strength that there may be no dilatoriners on any account in continuing in the country, the grand work of making all Indians Christians, Vir Savarkar has expressed the view that, the military and civil officers of the East India Company used to abuse Ram and Mohammad and used to put pressure on the Indian citizen to embrace Christianity sepoys were promised promotions, if they accepted the true faith. The Missionary were given ample facilities and American Missionary Society at Agra had set up an extensive printing press. Thus English attempt at conversion of the people to Christianity were as systematic and sustained as their policy of territorial aggression.

The hatred of European officers towards Indian soldiers was also reflected in their social

behaviour. The rulers followed a policy of contempt towards the Indian and described the Hindus as barbarians with hardly any trace of culture and civilization and the Muslims were dubbed as bigots, cruel and faithless. The Indian was spoken as nigger and addressed as a sugar or pig, which was resented by the Muslims. European officers and European soldiers on their hunting sprees were often guilty of indiscriminate criminal assault on Indians. In these cases the European juries, which alone can try such cases, acquitted European criminals with or no punishment.

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According to Hindu Law of property was changed with a view to facilitate the conversion of the Hindus to Christians. A convert from Hindu was not allowed to inherit his ancestral property. But in 1856 the religious disability Act was passed to facilitate the conversion of Hindus to Christians. By this act they declared that even on the conversions of Hindus to Christianity, he could still inherit the property of his father. This created a cloud of suspicion in the mind of Hindus. That was further emboldened by the other administrative measures. The introduction of railway, telegraph and postal system was regarded by the Indian as an attempt to Europeanise them. The introduction of the teaching of the Bible also was considered by the Indian as an attempt by the Christians to convert them to Christianity. The activity of the Christian Missionary and introduction of female education among the Indians by the Dalhousie convinced them that under the pretext of introducing western system of education in India, the English were really trying to put an end to the Indian civilizations and culture.

Military Causes

It is a strange thing that the Indian sepoys, who were mainly responsible for the company to conquer whole of India, suddenly led a violent revolution against

it. This fact itself reveals pent up grievances of the Indian Sepoys which reached a flash point by the year 1857.

The Military discipline of the British army had degenerated since the British disaster in the first Afghan War. Dalhousie had written clearly to the authority in England that the military discipline right from the top to bottom and from officers to soldiers were weakest and full of shame. The army services in Bengal were hereditary. The Bengal army mostly consisted of recruits taken from Oudh and North Eastern province. Many of them belonged to high class Brahmins and Rajput families. These high caste Indian recruits did not like that military discipline of the British authority in India which treated them as equals to the recruits of the inferior castes be imposed upon them. It was on account of this, Charles Napier had said I have no faith in these high caste recruits and mercenary soldiers. It should however be noted here that the sentiment of the Bengal army were the same as those of the citizens of the Oudh. According to Maulana Azad after the annexation of Oudh, in the whole of the Indian army and specially the Oudh army and attitude of insubordination and rebellion had gained ground because of the great blow that they sustained at the hands of the British of the East India Company. They suddenly felt that the power of the East India Company had obtained in India through the sacrifice of the Indians, who was being utilized against the Mughal Emperor. Because Oudh was home to sepoy and when it was annexed in 1856 about 60,000 sepoy rendered idle on account of disbanding of the state army. '

The Canning Government in 1856 passed General Service Enlistment Act. According to this it was decided that no Sepoys who was enlisted under the act

could refuse to fight across theseas" Even if this was not applicable to old Sepoys it created a lot of discount among them against the British people with the extension of British dominion, the conditions laid down on the new recruitments in their services in the army department exercised so tight and irritating a control over the soldiers that they could not further tolerate the high handedness to which they were subjected by the British Officers. The self respect of the Sepoys was trampled upon at every step. Further, service in the army was no more promising. The highest pay attainable by a Sepoy as Subedar of the infantry was less than the minimum pay of raw European recruits. The Sepoys were disallowed Batta which they used to get while away from their homes on active duties. Moreover, the soldiers who had gone to Afghanistan to take part in the first Afghan war were excommunicated from their society. The soldiers who were considered disqualified for soldiers service abroad, were not pensioned off to go their homes, rather they were to perform their duties in the British cantonments. Similarly, with the passing of Post Office Act of 1854, the old privileges of sending letters to their relatives freely were taken away. Promotions were given to those Indian soldiers who became Christians. In 1824, the Sepoys at Barrack Pore refused to go across the sea to fight in Burma. Similarly in 1844 the four Bengali regiments did not yield to the pressure of the British Governor to go to war towards Sindh for fighting purpose till the request for the additional grant of Batta was allowed.

The Indians got inspired by the disparity between the Indians and British troops. In 1856 as against 2,33,000 native soldiers there were only 45,322 British soldiers. The disparity was further reduced following the employment of large number of army officers in administrative posts in the newly annexed territories by Dalhousie. Some of the British soldiers were also sent to Crimea to fight against the Russians in Parsia. This naturally encouraged the Indian soldiers to take of their poor numerical strength.

Finally, the introduction of greased catridges which the soldiers were required to bite with their mouth provided the immediate cause for the Sepoy Mutiny. In January, 1857 a story got currency that the greased catridges contained the fat of the pig and cow and were deliberately introduced to defile the religion of the Hindus as well as Muslims. The Military Officers without proper investigation

issued immediate denials regarding use of fat of cow or pig. But subsequent enquiries provided that, the fat of cow or pig had really been used in cartridges. An effort of British to pacify the Indian Sepoys failed and they rose against them from Sutlej to Narbada. Hence it can be said that the great rising of 1857 was not result of a chance cause only. The greased cartridges merely precipitated in crisis.

The Course of Mutiny

The refusal of the Sepoys to use the greased cartridges was treated by the English as an act of the insubordination and severely punished. On 29th March, 1857 a Sepoys named Mangal panday at Barrackpore not only refused to use the greased cartridge, but also killed the adjutant. The English retaliated and disbanded the regiment (34 N.I) punished the guilty Sepoy. In May, 1857, 85 Sepoys at Meerut refused to use the greased cartridge. All of them were court martialled and punished with long term imprisonment.

This was greatly resented by the other Sepoys and on May 10, 1857 they not only shot dead their officers, but also released their fellow sepoy, thereafter, they marched towards Delhi. The European forces under the command of General Hewitt, who were present in Meerut failed to deal with the situation. On May 12, 1857 the revolts reached Delhi and captured the same after encountering some resistance from Lieutenant Willoughby, the officer in-charge. At Delhi, the sepoy shot dead a number of Europeans inhabitants. They also proclaimed Bahadur Shah II, the Mughal Emperor, as the Emperor of India. The capture of Delhi by the rebels gave a serious set back to the prestige of English. Soon the Mutiny spread to cities like Lucknow, Bareilly, Kanpur, Agra, Jhansi, Central India and many other places. In almost all other places, the sepoy put a large number of Europeans to death and released the Indian prisoners. Some of the important Indian leaders who led the mutineers included Nana Saheb, Rani Laxmi Bai, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh, Alimullah Khan and Ahmad Shah etc.

During the initial period of mutiny, the English were on the defensive. But subsequently they made adequate arrangements to deal with the situation effectively. In addition to recruiting about 3,10,000 they requisitioned 1,12,000 soldiers in India. Luckily for the English, the mutiny did not spread beyond Narmada. The Sikhs in Punjab and Salajang in Hyderabad rendered great service to the English in suppressing the revolt. With the help of the Sikh soldiers from Punjab, the English captured Delhi from rebels in September, 1857. The emperor was arrested and large numbers of inhabitants were put to death. In this way, the Englishmen succeeded to

suppress the revolt.

1.5.3. Causes of failure of the mutiny

Though the revolt was popular and spread to different parts of the country it ultimately

failed due to many factors. The revolt was narrow in character and major part of the Indian-Sub-continent remained unaffected. It was never all-India character but was localized, restricted and poorly organized. The areas affected were the Panjanb, United provinces, Rohilakhand, Oudh, the territory between Narmada and Chambal and the western parts of Bengal and Bihar on the North East. Rajaputana was loyal, Afghanistan was friendly under Dost Ahamad and Sindh was quiet. The area where the revolt was most sporadic was western Bihar, Oudh, Rohilakhand, Delhi, and territory between the Chambal and Narmada. India South of the River Narmada made no movement of importance. The Bombay and Madras army remained loyal. Central and eastern Bengal was undisturbed and Nepal rendered the British valuable assistance in putting down the revolt. The unrivalled superiority of British imperialism played a major part in suppressing the revolt. Fortunately, for the Crimean war came to an end by 1856. So they were able to raise their forces from Crimean to other parts of the world. It is estimated that they brought 1,12,000 Soldiers to India. They also raised 3,10,000 soldiers were supplied with guns and musket. On the other hand the Indian soldiers did not

posses sophisticated weapons and fought with sword and spears. The introduction of Electric telegraphic also helped the English a great deal in planning the strategy. Usually they received full information about the movement of Indian troops in advance through electric telegraph. The loyalty of a large number of princes also greatly helped the English. The rulers of Nabha patiala, Kapurthala rendered every possible help to suppress the rising. Sindhia, Holkas, Sir Dinkar Rao and Sir Salar Jang not only maintained peace within their territories but also extended valuable service to the English.

The revolt of 1857 was poorly organized. The leaders of the revolt were not lacking in bravery but were poor in experience, organizing ability and concerted operations. Surprise attacks and guerilla tactics could not win their lost Independence. They had no positive and comprehensive plan to defeat the British. The trial of Bahadur Shah II rather proved that the rebellion was as much as surprised to him as to the British. The mutineers were handicapped because they did not possess sufficient number of good general. The leaders of the revolts like Rani Laxmi Bai, Tantia Tope were brave but lacked rich experience. On the other hand the English possessed Nicholas, Havelock Edwards and Campbells, vastly experienced military officials.

The lack of any common ideals before the mutineers also proved a big drawback and hampered a concerted action. While the Muslims were mainly fighting for the restoration of the Mughal Emperor, the Hindus were primarily concerned with the restoration of 'Nana Sahab and Rani Laxmi Bai. The personal jealousies of the Indian leaders always stood in the way of collective action

under one supreme leader. As Maulana Abul Kalam Azad writes as I read about the event of 1857, I am forced to the conclusion that Indian National character had sunk very low. The leaders of the revolt could not agree. They were mutually jealous and continuously intriguing against each other. In fact these personal jealousies were largely responsible for the Indian defeat. As against this, the English had advantage of one supreme leadership, not less heroic and undaunted than the rebel leaders. Thus, the mutual jealousies amongst the native leaders were

another cause which seriously undermined their solidarity and ultimately led to their defeat.

1.5.4 Effects of the mutiny

Though the revolt of 1857 was successfully suppressed by the English yet it left far reaching impact on the course of Indian history.

Constitutional Charges

First and the most important result of the revolt were the end of the East India Company's rule and direct administration of the Indian territories by the crown. The Act of 1858 which effected this change declared India shall be governed by and in the name of the Queen. According to Cunningham this change was Formal rather than Substantial. He says that all real power had already passed from the court of Directors to the Board of control. The charter Act of 1833 had deprived the Directors of all power of patronage by throwing open the civil service to competition.

It also reduced the number of Directors from 24 to 18, out of which six were the nominees of the crown. The Act of 1858 merely completed the process begun by the Charter Act of 1833. In place of the President of the Board of Control it provided for a Secretary of State. The Secretary of state was to be assisted by a Council of fifteen members, eight of whom were to be appointed by the Crown and seven by the court of directors. All future vacancies in the council were to be filled by the Council itself. Rawlinson considers this change as a great significance. He says the one great result will be change of name, which may enable us to condone the past the immediate past and to set out from a fresh starting point into a fresh career of empire.

The Governor General of India was to bear two separate titles which dealing with the

administration of territories directly under his control. He was to know as Governor General of

India while dealing with Indian princes he was to be known as Viceroy of India. Company with the rulers of the Indian States would be honoured by it and there was no need to renew them.

Change in Policy towards Indian States

There was also a change in policy towards the Indian States. The policy of subordinate

isolation followed by the East India Company was substituted by the policy of subordinate union. In her proclamation of 1st November, 1858 the Queen assured the India Princes that their territories would not be annexed. The British Government disclaimed all desire for intension of territory and promised to respect the dignity and honour of the native princes. The Indian Princes were given the right of adoption and succession. They were issued Sanad and certificates in recognition of their rights. Though the native Princes were guaranteed existence the rights were greatly restricted and clearly put in black and white. Henceforth the Princes were not having any relations with the foreign powers or with one another except through the British Government. Their military forces were also greatly limited. Though the Princes were given full control over the internal affairs at their states, yet, the British Government enjoyed the right to temporarily take over the administration of the state if the native Government was not able to manage those things properly and internal disturbances threatened the peace of the area.

Equal opportunities for Indians

The proclamation of 1858 guaranteed equal rights and opportunities to the Indians. The proclamation said our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge. In order to give concrete shape to this assurance the Indian Civil Service Act was passed in 1861. Under this Act an annual competition was to be held at London for recruitment to the covenanted civil services and was open to all subjects. However, in actual practice the Indians could not enter the higher services and the same continued to be the preserve of the Englishmen.

Military Reforms

As the Indian army was mainly responsible for the revolt of 1857, a number of military

reforms were introduced. Realising that the low proportion of the European forces in India had been one of the cause of mutiny, it was decided to increase the strength of the European troops. Their number was increased from 40,000 to 65,000. On the other hand the strength of Indian troops was reduced from 215,000 to 140,000. All important military posts were reserved for the Europeans. For the next fifty years no Indian was given any important position. The appointment of European military officers naturally led to increase in expenditure and army because they were paid four to five times the salary paid to the Indians. The British also introduced the policy of counterpoising of natives against natives. The policy was explained by the Punjab Committee on Army Organisation in its report of 1858 thus To preserve that distinctiveness which is valuable, and which while it lasts makes the Mohammedan of one country fear and dislike future be provincial, and adhere to the geographical limits within which differences and rivalries are strongly marked.

Additional of Local Element in Legislative Councils

With a view to attain greater contact between the ruler and the ruled, it was decided to associate the native element with the Legislative Councils. It was felt that such a contact would help the rulers to acquaint themselves with the sentiments and feelings of the Indian and avoid chances of misunderstanding. This marked the beginning of the introduction of the representative institution in India.

Social Impact

In the social sphere the impact of the mutiny was rather unfortunate. On the one hand it greatly widened the gulf between the Europeans and the two started suspecting each other. On the other hand it also created some sort of misunderstanding between the Hindus and the Muslims. As the Muslims had taken more active part in the mutiny, the English dealt with them sternly. This naturally caused some resentment in the mind of the Muslims towards the Hindu and gave a set-back to the Hindu-Muslim unity.

Financial Impact

The Mutiny left a deep financial impact on the Indian economy. The mutiny not only caused large-scale destruction of the crops and property, but also resulted in neglect of agriculture because a large number of cultivators left their homes to save their lives. As a result the production greatly dropped and the cultivators were not able to pay their revenue. The things were made further worse by the famine in the Agra province, and the decision of the Government to shift the entire financial cost of the mutiny on the shoulder of Indians. As a result the Indian debt increased to over 40 million sterling.

With a view to tide over the situation the Government appointed a Committee under James Wilson (who had added as Finance Secretary to the Treasury as well as Vice-President of the Board of Trade). This Committee recommended imposition of certain new taxes, and reduction of expenditure on civil and military administration. The Committee recommended imposition of income tax at the rate of 5 percent on income of Re.500 or more per annum, license tax on different trades and profession, and a tax on tobacco grown in India equal to the custom duty charged on the import of tobacco in the country. For reduction of expenditure in civil military administration, the policy of retrenchment was recommended. The Government could not fully implement the recommendations of the future financial policy.

judicial Changes

The mutiny also led to certain judicial changes. New Civil and Criminal procedure code were passed by Canning. The judiciary was reorganized under the Indian High Courts Act to 1861. Chartered High Courts were established at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in place of the Sadar Courts and Crown's Supreme Courts, which existed before the mutiny. The exclusive jurisdiction of any Court over the British subjects was done away with. However under the criminal procedure code due provision was made for their protection.

CONCLUSIONS

The Revolt of 1857 Is a glorious landmark in History. Though it is a desperate effort to give India in the old way and under traditional leadership, It was the first great struggle of the Indian people for freedom from British Imperialism. The heroic and patriotic struggle of 1857 left an unforgettable impression on the

minds of the Indian people and served on a perennial source of impression in their later struggle of freedom.

Growth Of National Consciousness

INTRODUCTNON

Indian Nationalism is a modern Phenomenon. It came into being during the British period as a result of the action and interaction of subjective and objective forces which developed within the Indian Society. The process of the growth of the Indian nationalism has been very complex and many sided. The advanced British nation for its own purpose, radically changed the economic structure of the Indian society, established a centralized state, and introduced modern education, modern means of communication and other institution" This resulted into the birth of modern Indian nationalism. The work is an attempt to assess and evaluate the role of numerous elements comprising the social background and portray the process of the rise of nationalism in India.

Consequence of Foreign Domination

Basically, modern Indian nationalism arose to meet the challenge of foreign domination. The very conditions of British rule helped the growth of national sentiment among the Indian people. It was British rule and its direct and indirect consequences which provided the material, moral and intellectual conditions for the development of a national movement in India. The root of the matter lay in the clash of the interests of the Indian people with British interests in India. The British had conquered India to promote their own interest and they ruled it primarily with that purpose in view, often subordinating Indian welfare to British gain. The

Indians realised gradually that their interests were being sacrificed to those of Lancashire manufacturers and other dominant British interests. They now began to recognize the evils of foreign rule. Many intelligent Indians saw that many of these evils could have been avoided and overcome if Indian and not foreign interests had guided the policies of the Indian government.

Every class, every section of Indian society gradually discovered that its interests were suffering at the hands of the foreign rulers. The peasants saw that the government looks away a large part of his produce as land revenue; that the government and its machinery- the police, the courts, the officials-favoured and protected the Zamindars and landlords, who rack-rented him, and the merchants and money-lenders, who heated and exploited him in diverse ways and who took away his land from him.

All these three classes of Indian society- the peasants, the artisans, the workers constituting the overwhelming majority of Indian population- discovered that they had not political rights or powers, and that virtually nothing was being done for their intellectual or cultural improvement.

Other sections of Indian society were no less dissatisfied. The rising intelligentsia the educated Indians- used their newly acquired modern knowledge to understand the sad economic and political condition of their country. In fact, economic exploitation by Britain was increasing Indians poverty. In brief they could see that Britain was reducing India to the status of an economic colony, a source of raw materials for British industries, a market for British manufactures, and a field for the investment of British capital. Consequently, they began to realize that so long as imperialist control of the Indian economy continued, it would not be possible to develop it, especially so for as industrialization was involved.

Moreover, the Indian intelligentsia suffered from growing unemployment. Thus, educated Indian found that the economic and cultural development of the country and its freedom from foreign control alone could provide them with better

employment opportunity" The rising Indian capitalist class was slow in developing a national political consciousness. But it too gradually saw that it was suffering at the hands of imperialism. The Indian capitalists too therefore realized that there existed a contradiction between imperialism and their own independent growth, and that only a national government would create conditions for the rapid development of Indian trade and Industries. The Zamidars, landlords, and princes were the only section of Indian society, whose interests coincided with those of the foreign rulers and who, therefore, on the whole supported foreign rule to the end. Moreover, policies of racial dominance and discrimination appalled and aroused every thinking and self-respecting Indian to whichever class he might belong. Most of all, the foreign character of the British regime in itself produced a nationalist reaction, since foreign domination invariably generates patriotic sentiments in the hearts of a subject people.

To sum up, it was as a result of the intrinsic nature of foreign imperialism and of its harmful Impact on the lives of the Indian people that powerful anti imperialist movement gradually arose and developed in India. This movement was a national movement because it unit people from different class and sections of the society who sank their mutual difference to unite against the common enemy.

Administrative And Economic Unification of the Country

Nationalist sentiments grew easily among the people because India was unified and welded into a nation during the 19th and 20th centuries, The British had gradually introduced a uniform and modern system of government throughout the country and thus unified it administratively. The destruction of the rural and local self - sufficient economy and the introduction of modern trade and industries on an all India scale had increasingly made India's economic life a single whole and inter - linked the economic fate of people living in different parts of the country too' Similarly the products of a factory in Bombay were sold far north in Lahore or Peshawar. Furthermore, introduction of the railways, telegraphs, and unified postal system had brought the different parts of the country together and promoted mutual contact among the people, especially among the leaders . Here

again, the very existence of foreign rule acted as a unifying factor. All over the country people" saw that 'they were suffering at the hands of the some enemy-British rule. Thus anti imperialist feeling was itself a factor in the unification of the country and the emergency of a common national outlook.

Western Thought and Education

As a result of the spread of modern western education and thought during the 19th century, a large number of Indians imbibed a modern national, secular, democratic and nationalist political outlook. They also began to study, admire, and emulate the contemporary nationalist movements of European nations. Rousseau, Paine, John Stuart Mill, While Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Trzaist nationalist leaders became their political heroes.

This educated Indians were the first to feel the humiliation of foreign subjection. By becoming modern in their thinking, they also acquired the ability to Study the evil effects of foreign rule. They were inspired by the ream of a modern, strong prosperous and united India. In course of time, the best among them became the leaders and organizers of the national movement.

Modern education also created a certain uniformity and community of outlook and interests among the educated Indians. The English language played an important role in this respect. It became the medium for the spread of modern ideas. it also became the medium of communication and exchange of ideas between educated Indians from different linguistic regions of the country. All the educated Indians of the past also possessed a common language in the form of Sanskrit and later on Persian as well. Nor was English essential for the acquisition of modern scientific knowledge and thought. In fact English soon became a barrier to the spread of modern knowledge among the common people. It also acted a well separating the educated urban people from the common people, especially in the rural areas. Consequently, it came about that modern ideas spread faster and deeper in many countries where they were propagated through indigenous languages than

in India where emphasis on English confined them to a narrow urban section. This fact was fully recognized by the Indian political leaders. From Dadabhai Naroji, Sayyid Ahmed Khan, and Justice Randade to Tilak and Gandhiji, they agitated for a bigger role for the Indian languages in the educational system. In fact, so far as the common people were concerned, the spread of modern ideas occurred, the developing Indian language, the growing literature in them, and most of all the popular Indian language press. The books prescribed in the new schools and colleges tended to give the students a common political and economic outlook. Consequently, educated Indians tended to have common views, feelings, aspirations and ideals.

The Role of the Press and Literature

The chief instrument through which the nationalist minded Indians spread the message of patriotism and modern economic, social and political ideas and created an all India consciousness was the press. Large numbers of nationalist newspapers made their appearance during the second half of the 19th century. In their columns, the official policies were constantly criticized, the Indian point of view was put forward, the people were asked to unite and work for national welfare and ideas of self government, democracy, industrialisation etc. were popularized among the people. Some of the prominent nationalist newspapers of the period were the Hindu patriot, the Amrita Bazar Patrika, the Indian mirror, the Bengalee, the Som Prakash and the Sajivani in Bengal, the Rast Gaftar, the Native Opinion, the Indu Prakash, the Maharatta, and the Kesari in Bombay, the Hindu, the Swadesamitram, the Andhra Pradra Prakashika, and the Kerala Patrika in Madras, the Advocate, the Hindustani and the Azad in U.P. and the Tribune, The Akhbari - I AmBARI and the Koh Noor in the Punjab.

National literature in the form of novels, essays and poetry also played an important role in arousing national consciousness. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindra Nath Tagore in Bengalee, Lakshminath Bazbarua in Assamese, Vishnu

Shastri ChiplunKar in Marathi, Subramanya Bharati in Tamil, Bharatendu Harischandra in Hindi and Altaf Husain Hali in Urdu were some of the prominent nationalist writers of the period.

Rediscovery of India's Past

Many Indians had fallen so low as to have lost confidence in their own capacity for self- government. Moreover, many British officials and writers of the time constantly advanced the thesis that the Indians had never been able to rule themselves in the past, that Hindus and

Muslims had always fought one another, that Indians were destined to be ruled by foreigners, that their religion and social life were degraded and uncivilized making them unfit for democracy or even self-government. Many of the nationalist leaders tried to arouse the self-confidence and self-respect of the people by countering this propaganda. They pointed to the cultural critics to the political achievements of rulers like Asoka, Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, and Akbar. In this task they were helped and encouraged by the work of European and Indian scholars in rediscovering our national heritage in art, architecture, literature, philosophy, science and politics. Unfortunately, some of the nationalists went to the other extreme and began to glorify India's past uncritically ignoring its weakness and backwardness. Great harm was done, in particular, by the tendency to take up only to the heritage of ancient India while ignoring the equally great achievements of the medieval period. Moreover, in meeting the challenge of cultural imperialism

of the west, many Indians tended to ignore the fact that in many respects the people of India were culturally backward. A false sense of pride and smugness was produced which tended to prevent Indians from looking critically at their society. This weakened the struggle against social and cultural backwardness and led many Indians to turn away from healthy and fresh tendencies and ideas from other people.

Racial Arrogance of the Rulers

An important though secondary factor in the growth of national sentiments in India was the tone of racial superiority adopted by many Englishmen in their dealings with Indians. Many Englishmen openly insulted even educated Indians and sometimes even assaulted them. A particularly odious and frequent form taken by racial arrogance was the failure of justice whenever an Englishman was involved in a dispute with an Indian. India newspapers often published instances in which an Englishman had hit and killed an Indian but escaped very lightly, often with a mere fine.

Racial arrogance branded all Indians irrespective of their caste, religion, province, or class with the badge of inferiority. They were kept out of exclusively European clubs and were often not permitted to travel in the same compartment in a train with the European passengers. This made them conscious of national humiliation and led them to think of themselves as one people when facing Englishmen.

Progressive character of Social-Religious Reform Movement

In the 19th century educated Indians began to examine afresh their religious beliefs and customs and their social practices in the light of new knowledge of western science and philosophy which they had acquired. The result was various religious and social reform movements in Hindu religions like the Brahma Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission

and the Theosophical Society. Similar movements reformed Muslim, Sikh and Parsi societies also. In the religious sphere the reform movement combated religious superstition, attacked idolatry, polytheism and hereditary priesthood. In this social sphere, these movements attacked the caste system, untouchability and other social and legal inequalities. These movements were progressive in character

for they sought reorganization of society on democratic lines and on the basis of ideas of individual equality, social equality, reason, enlightenment and liberalism.

Most of the religious societies had no political mission, all the same whosoever came under their influence rapidly developed a sense of self respect and spirit of patriotism. Since many reform movements drew their inspiration from India's rich cultural heritage, these promoted pan- Indian feelings and spirit of nationalism.

Immediate Factors

During Lytton's Viceroyalty from 1876-80 most of the import duties on British textile imports were removed to please the textile manufacturers of Britain. This action was interpreted by Indians as proof of the British desire to ruin the small but growing textile industry of India. It created a wave of anger in the country and led to widespread nationalist agitation. The second war against Afghanistan aroused vehement agitation against the heavy cost of this imperialist war which the Indian Treasury was made to bear. The Arms Act of 1878, which disarmed the people, appeared to them as an effort to emasculate the entire nation. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was condemned by the politically conscious Indians as an attempt to suppress the growing nationalist criticism of the alien government. The holding of the Imperial Durbar at Delhi in 1877 at a time when the country was suffering from a terrible famine led people to believe that their rulers cared very little even for their lives. In 1878, the government announced new regulations reducing the maximum age limit for sitting in the Indian Civil Services Examination from 21 years to 19. The new regulations further reduced their chances of entering the civil service. The Indians now, realized that the British had no intention of relaxing their near-total monopoly of the higher grades of services in the administration. If Lytton fed the smouldering discontent against British rule, the spark was provided by the Ilbert Bill Controversy. In 1883, Ripon who succeeded Lytton as the Viceroy, tried to pass a law to enable Indian district

magistrates and session judges to try Europeans in criminal cases. It was a very meager effort to remove a glaring instance of racial discrimination. The Europeans in India organized a vehement agitation against this Bill which came to be known after Ilbert, the law member. They poured abuse on Indians and their culture and character. They declared that even the most highly educated among the Indians were unfit to try a European. Some of them even

organized a conspiracy to kidnap the Viceroy and deport him to England. In the end, the Government of India bowed before the Europeans and amended the Bill to meet their criticism.

Conclusions

It is clear from the above analysis that birth and growth of Indian nationalism was result of a combination of number of factors. No doubt the British imperialism was one of the important factors in the process of development of Indian national movement. According to Prof. Iswari prasad, the consciousness of the French that their troubles were due to Bourbuons led to the- French Revolution, of the English that their troubles were due to the unrestrained pregorative of The crown led to the civil war and of the Indians that their troubles were due to British rule led to the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, whose object was to secure India's liberation. So all these factors contributed to Indian nationalism.

POLITICAL ASSOCIATION BEFORE 1885

Introduction

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the flowering of national political consciousness and the foundation and growth of an organized national movement. During this period the modern Indian Intelligentsia created political Associations to spread political education and to initiate political work in the country.

This work was to be based on new political ideas, a new intellectual perception of reality, new social, economic, and political objectives, new forces of struggle and resistance and new techniques of political organization. It was to represent a turning point in ideology, policy, organization and leadership. The task was difficult, since Indians were utterly unfamiliar with modern political work. Even the notion that people could organize politically in opposition to their rulers was novel one. Consequently, the work of these early associations and of the early political workers, proceeded rather slowly and it took more than half a century to bring the common people within the fold of modern politics.

Role of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the first Indian leaders to start an agitation for political reforms. He fought for the freedom of the press, trial by jury, the separation of the executive and the judiciary, appointment of Indians to higher offices, protection of the ryots from Zamindari oppression, and development of trade and industries. He based his entire public activity on the hope that a period of British rule would be followed by the emergence of a free India. He took keen interest in international affairs and everywhere he supported the cause of liberty, democracy and nationalism.

Rammohan's tradition was carried on after his death by the radical Bengali youth known as the Derozians, so named after their famous Anglo-Indian teacher Henry Vivian Derozio. Derozio inspired his pupils with a fierce love of the liberty

and patriotism based on the ideas of the French Revolution, Tom Paine, and Jeremy Bentham. The Derozians started numerous public associations to discuss modern ideas and their application to India and a large number of newspapers and journals to propagate the ideas. Thus the germs of modern political consciousness were sown in the 1820s and 1930s by Ram Mohan Roy and Derozians.

Landholders Society

The first political association to be started in India was the Landholders Society at Calcutta in 1838, but it was started with the narrow aim of protecting the class interests of the Zamindars of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In 1843, the Bengal British Indian Society was organized with wider political objectives. In 1851 came the British Indian Association. Simultaneously, the Madras Native Association and the Bombay Association were established in 1822. Many similar

associations and clubs were established in smaller cities and towns all over the country. Almost

all of them were dominated by wealthy commercial and zamindari elements and were local in

character. They presented political and economic demands before the British Indian Government and the British Parliament and worked mainly for administrative reforms, larger employment of Indians in administrative services, the spread of education, association of Indians with the government and the encouragement of Indian trade and industries.

The failure of the Revolt of 1857 made it clear that the traditional political resistance to

British rule under the leadership of the landed upper class Zamindars, Princes and land lords could no longer succeed and that resistance to colonialism must

flow along new channels. On the other hand, as we have seen earlier, the character of British rule and policies underwent a major change after 1858. It became more reactionary. The Indian intelligentsia gradually but increasingly became more critical of British policies and began to grasp the exploitative character of British rule. It may be named that the reaction of the modern Indian intelligentsia to colonialism, in contrast with the instinctive reaction of the peasantry was hesitant, less militant, and less scientific. The understanding of the Indian intelligentsia took time to develop. But the process once begun' based as it was on modern thought, probed deeper into the real nature of imperialism and was ultimately transformed into modern political activity. The Politically conscious Indians realized that the existing political associations were too narrowly conceived to be useful in the changed circumstance. For example, the British Indian Association had increasingly identified itself with the interest of the Zarnindars and consequently with the ruling power. But the new politics had increasingly to be based on a critical attitude of British rule. And so they groped their way toward a new type of nationalist political organization.

East India Association

In 1866 Dadabhai Naroji organized the East India Association in London to discuss Indian questions and to influence British public opinion. Branches of the Association were organized in major Indian Cities. Dadabhai Naroji was soon to be known to his contemporaries and to the succeeding generations of Indians as a grand old man of India. Born in 1825, he became a successful businessman but he dedicated his entire life and wealth to the national movement. His greatest contribution came in his economic analysis of British rule. He showed that the poverty and economic backwardness of India were not inherent in local conditions, but were caused by colonial rule which was draining India of its wealth and capital. All his life Dadabhai kept in touch with youth and continuously developed his thought and politics in a radical direction.

Poona Sarvajanika Sabha

Justic Mahadev Govind Rande, Ganesh Vasudev Joshi, S.H. Chiplunkar and other organized the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in 1870. The Sabha carried on active political education for the next thirty years. The openly reactionary and anti-Indian measures introduced under Lytton's Viceroyalty from 1876 to 1880 quickened the pace of Indian nationalist activity. The removal of import duties

on British textiles to appease Lancashire manufactures, jealousy of the rising of Indian textile industry, the aggressive and expansionist war against Afghanistan, whose expense was thrown on the Indian exchequer, the Arms Act which was intended to make it impossible for the Indian people to offer any kind of resistance or even train themselves for defence, the Vernacular Press Act which sought to curb the growing criticism of British rule, the holding of the imperial Durbar at

Delhi at a time when millions were dying of famine, and lastly the reduction of the maximum age of competition for the Indian Civil Services examination from 21 to 19 which further reduced the chances of Indians entering the civil service- all these steps were visible manifestations of the exploitative and colonial character of British rule. Spontaneous protests against these measures were organized all over the country. The doctrine of Swadeshi was first preached during the 1850's as a method of protecting Indian industries against the onslaught of British manufacturers.

The Indian Association

The new political mood among the young Indians was first noticed in Bengal. The conservative and pro-zamindar politics of the British India Association did not suit the new middle class and the intelligentsia, who now staked their claim to be the champions of the people in competition with the zamindars. They also refused to accept the doctrine that India must be ruled by Britain forever. Led by Anand Mohan Bose and Surendra Nath Banerjee, they

founded the Indian Association in July 1876. The first issue taken up by the new association for agitation was that of the reform of the system of the civil service examinations. The association sent Surendra Nath Banerjee as a special delegate to other parts of the country to canvass support for the agitation. He was perhaps the first modern Indian to gain all-India popularity. In order to bring the common people into the current of the broad political movement, the leaders of the Indian

Association organized agitations in favour of the rights of the tenants, the zamindars and the plantation workers against the foreign tea planters. The Association also opened branches in different towns and villages of Bengal and in many cities outside Bengal.

Madras Mahajan Sabha

The younger elements were also active in other parts of India. In 1884, M. Viraragha Vachari, G. Subramania Iyer, Ananda Charlu and others formed the Madras Mahajan Sabha. In Bombay, Pherozeshah Mehta, K.T. Telang, Badruddin Tyabji and others formed the Bombay presidency association in 1885.

The politically conscious Indians were increasingly becoming aware of the need for an all-India organization not only to provide a common forum for the meeting of minds and the formulation of a common programme of activity, but also to carry on public education with a view to creating in time a broad-based freedom struggle. The social basis for such an organization was now well

laid and enough experience had been gathered. Many Indians from different parts of the country- Dada bhai Naroji, Justice Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta, K.T. Telang, Rahimutullah, Mahammed Sayani, Jhaverilal, Umashankar Uajnik, and Badrudin Tyabji in west India, G. Subramania Iyer, S. Subramania Iyer, and Ananda Charlu in south India and W.C. Bannerjee, Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose, Lal Mohan Ghose and Kali Charan Banerjee in Eastern India had simultaneously begun to plan the setting up of an all-India Nationalist organization. The India association had already in December 1883 sponsored an all-India Nationalist conference. But the attempt had not been very successful. The idea

was given a more concrete shape by the Bombay group of nationalist political workers who co-operated with A.O. Home, an Englishman and a retired civil servant, to bring together at Bombay in the last days of December 1885 political leaders from different parts of the country. These leaders decided to start the Indian National congress to be presided over in the first instance by W.C Banerjee.

Unit-11

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives.
- 2.1. Introduction.
- 2.2 Early congress
 - 2.2.1 Main objectives of the Congress
 - 2.2.2 Main programmes of the Congress
 - 2.2.3 Attitudes of the Congress
 - 2.2.4 Evaluation of the moderates
- 2.3. Rise and Growth of extremism
 - 2.3.1 Factors responsible for the growth
 - 2.3.2 Birth of extremist party
 - 2.3.3 Programmes
 - 2.3.4 Decline

- 2.3.5 Impact
- 2.4 Revolutionary terrorism movement early phase
 - 2.4.1 Objectives
 - 2.4.2 Revolutionary activity in Maharashtra
 - 2.4.3 Rand murder at Poona
 - 2.4.4 Shyamji Krishna Varma and establishment of India House at London
 - 2.4.5 Revolutionary movement in Bengal
 - 2.4.6 Alipore Conspiracy case
 - 2.4.7 The Ghaddar movement
- 2.5 Swadeshi Movement in Bengal
 - 2.5.1 Anti partition Movement
 - 2.5.2 Swadeshi and Boycott
 - 2.5.3 Role of women, Muslims and Masses
 - 2.5.4 All India Aspect of the Movement
- 2.6 Extremist Moderate Conflict
 - 2.6.1 Causes of growth
 - 2.6.2 Events leading to Conflict
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- 2.7 Home Rule Movement
 - 2.7.1 Formation
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 - 2.7.3 Programmes
 - 2.7.4 Decline of the Movements

2.8 Gaddar Movement

2.8.1 Formation of the Party

2.8.2 Activities

2.8.3 Decline

2.8.4 Conclusion

2.9 Non –Cooperation Movement

2.9.1 Issue of Non –Cooperation Movement

2.9.2 Issue of Khilafat Movement

2.9.3 Programmes of the Movement

2.9.4 Success of the Movement

2.9.5 Suspension of the Movement

OBJECTIONS

The purpose of Unit-II is to familiarise you to the main factors responsible for the growth of Indian National Congress in India. The Birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and its development up to the year 1906 have been discussed in the unit. Home rule movement and Non –Cooperation movement also discussed in this movement. After reading this unit you can:

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- Learn main objectives of the Congress.
- Understand the issue issues of the early Congress

- Know the factors behind the growth of revolutionary terrorism and extremism.
- Discover the issue of Swadeshi Movement.
- Explain the spread of Swadeshi Movement.
- Learn the growth of extremist and moderates.
- Understand the main issues which rocked Surat session of INC in 1907.
 - Know about Home rule Movement
 - Know about causes and failure of the Non-Cooperation Movement

INTRODUCTION

FORMATION OF CONGRESS:

ITS IDEOLOGY AND PROGRAMMES IN EARLY PHASES

Introduction

Many Indians were planning to form an all India organization of nationalist political workers. But the credit for giving the idea a concrete and final shape goes to A.O Hume, a retired English Civil servant. He got in touch with prominent

Indian leaders and organized with their cooperation the first session of Indian National Congress at Bombay in Dec 1885. It was presided over by W.C Banerjee and attended by 72 delegates.

2.2.1 .The aim of the National congress, were declared to be

- (a) Promotion of friendly relation between nationalist political workers from different parts of the country.
- (b) Development and consolidation of the feeling of national unity irrespective of caste, religion or province.
- (c) Formulation of popular demands and their presentation before the government
- (d) Lastly, training and organization of public opinion in the country.

So, A.O. Hume is called the father of the Indian National congress. one of the main aims of Hume in helping to found National Congress was to provide a safety valve' to the increasing popular discontent against British rule. Hume felt that the chief cause for the growing tension between the British government and the Indian people was lack of proper machinery to throw the view of the people. He was convinced that, this tension could be greatly reduced and the cordial relations be established between the two of proper channels of communication between government and the people could be provided. To quote Hume, a safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces generated by our own action was urgently needed and no more efficacious safety valve than our congress movement could possibly be devised so the idea was not only to save the British rule from any danger that threatened, but even to strengthen it. So Humes view of safety valve theory is not correct. In 1885 Indian National congress shared the aspirations of politically conscious Indian to set up a National platform for political and economic development. So, No one man or group of men can be given credit for creating this movement. The Indian leaders who helped Hume in starting this National Congress were patriotic men of high character, who willingly accepted Humes help as they did not want to animate official hostility towards their efforts at such an early stage of political activity.

In the first session of Indian National congress Surendranath Banerjee had not participated because he was busy with the second National conference at Calcutta. The second session of Indian National congress was held at Calcutta in 1886 under the president ship of Dadahai From this session the National conference merged with Indian National Congress. From this session the National Congress became the whole country's Congress. Its delegates were elected by different organizations and groups. Its delegates consisted mostly of lawyers, journalists, traders, industrialists, teachers and landlords. Gradually Indian women participated in the session and in 1890 Kadambini Ganguly addressed the congress session.

The Indian National Congress up to 1905 was dominated by leaders who often had been described as moderates. Some of the prominent leaders of the moderates are Dadabhai Naroji, Badruddin Tyabji, pherozsah Mehta, S.N Banarjee, Gopal Krishna Gokale and Ramesh Chandra Dutta. The programme of moderates during the early phase (1885- 1905) can be divided under various heads.

2.2.2 Main Programmes

Economic reforms

The moderate leaders highlighted the prevailing poverty and economic backwardness of India. So Dadabhai Naroji declared in 1881 that British rule was an everlasting, increasing and everyday increasing foreign invasion that was utterly, though gradually, destroying the country. The moderates blamed the British for destruction of Indians cottage and handicraft industries. The chief remedies suggested for eradication of India's poverty was popularization of idea of Swadeshi means, use of Indian goods and boycott of British goods as a means to protect Indian industries' They also advocated for reduction of military expenditure. The moderates also popularized the drain of wealth of India to

England and demanded for its remedies. They also carried on persistent demand for reduction of land revenue demand in order to lighten the burden

of taxation upon the present. They also agitated for the improvement in the condition of different plant laborers' With the passing of time the moderates woke up that Economic exploitation and impoverishment of the country and perpetuation of the poverty became perpetual part of colonial

rule.

Constitutional Reforms

The period from 1885 to 1905 was dominated by moderates and during this period they demanded larger share in the Government of their country. Their demand was extremely moderate They hoped to achieve their goal through gradual steps. From 1885-1892, they demanded greater representation and reform of the legislative councils. They demanded membership of the councils from elected representatives of the people. In 1892 the British Government passed the Indian

Council Act of 1892. This acts increased the number of members in the Imperial Legislative councils as well as provincial councils. The members could be elected indirectly by the Indians but officially majority remained. By this Acts the annual budget was discussed in the council but members could not vote on them. But the moderates were not satisfied by this Act. They demanded larger representation for Indians in the councils. Moreover, they demanded Indian control over the public Finance and raised the slogan no taxation without representation. But by the beginning

of the 20th century, the moderates advanced the demand for Swarajya, or self Governing colonies like Australia and Canada.

Administrative Reforms

The congress under the leadership of the Indian Liberals from 1885 to 1905 fought for administrative reforms such as separation of judicial and Executive functions, the right of the Indians to be admitted to Public Services on equal terms and subsequently for the Indianisation of services, for the rescinding of the Arms Acts etc. were highlighted by the Moderates. In 1892, the congress passed the Resolution of Pandit Malaviya asking the government for helping the resuscitation of declining handicraft industries. The nationalist leaders also spoke up in defence of labourers migrated to foreign countries such as South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius where they subjected to racial discrimination. They also demanded to save the peasant from the clutches of the money-lender and development of agricultural lands.

Civil Right

The moderates high priority to freedom of speech and press during their struggle for freedom. In 1897 B.G. Tilak was arrested and tried for spreading disaffection against the British Government by his speeches and writings. They were sentenced long-term imprisonment. In Poona Nattu brothers were deported without trial. All over the country people protested against the act of this Government. Tilak, hitherto known largely in Maharashtra, became overnight All-India leader. In fact Tilak's arrest and consequent mass movement in India was an important milestone in the press movement.

Method of work

The political method of moderates was constitutional agitation within four walls of law and slow, orderly political progress. They wanted to develop strong public opinion in India to raise political consciousness and national spirit of the country. The moderates also tried to persuade the British Government to introduce

reform for the benefit of the people. Similarly, apart from educating the public opinion in India the moderates desired to educate the public opinion in

England. For this purpose a British committee of the Indian National Congress was founded. Its main purpose was to carry active propaganda in Britain.

2.2.3 Attitude of Government

The British authority was very skeptical towards the activities of the National Congress. So they developed hostile attitude towards the Congress. The British officials branded the nationalist leaders as disloyal babus, seditious Brahmins, and Violent villains. In 1887, Duffrein attacked the National Congress as it representing only a microscopic minority of the people. In 1900, Lord Curzon informed to the secretary of state that the congress is tottering for its fall, and one of my greatest ambitions while in India is assist for Its peaceful demise. The British authorities also followed the policy of divide and rule and tried to divide and weaken the congress. They encouraged sayyed. Ahmed Khan, Raja Shiva Prasad of Benaras and other Pro-British individuals to start an anti-Congress movement. However the British authority failed to check the popularity of the congress.

2.2.4 Evaluation of the Moderates -

The Moderates were the architect of the first All India Political Organization. They infused national consciousness among sections of the Indian people, disseminated among them democratic conceptions and popularized the idea of representative institutions. They exhorted them to feel as Indians irrespective of all provincial and communal distinctions. Most of all the Moderates helped the people to realize the economic character and content of British imperialism. So the moderates made a humble but correct beginning. They planted the sapling of

freedom, watered it meticulously, but constantly and steadily, which in the fullness of time was bound to grow as it has actually grown.

2.3 Rise And Growth Of Extremism

INTRODUCTION:

The period from 1885 to 1905 is called moderate phase of Indian Nationalism. The moderates had made large number of people conscious of the evils of foreign domination and of the need for fostering patriotism. They believed in purely constitutional methods and agitated for piecemeal reforms in the Indian administrative system. They had imparted the necessary political training to Indian people. The moderates also succeeded to create democratic temper among the people. But during these very years of the congress, certain developments in India and abroad produced among the younger section of the nation, a group of people, who began to question the wisdom of the method of prayers and petitions followed by the moderates in order to achieve their political objectives. They were called extremists or militant nationalists. The following factors were responsible for the rise of extremists in the Indian politics.

2.3 1 Factors for the rise of extremism:

Firstly, some of the congress leaders, specially the younger element was greatly disappointed with the attitude of the British Government towards their demand. The Indian council Act of 1892 which was enacted as a sort of concession to the people of India did not concede anything substantial. Even the moderates who had faith in the British sense of justice and fair-play were greatly disillusioned. Accordingly the younger leaders felt that the policy of prayers and petitions would not lead them anywhere because this was interpreted by the British as a sign of weakness. Therefore, they advocated direct action. For example, Bal

Gangadhar Tilak said political rights will have to be fought for the Moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that they can only be obtained by strong pressure.

Secondly:

The misery and suffering caused by the famines of 1896 -98 and 1899-1901, and bubonic plague around the same time also greatly dissatisfied with the measures taken by the Government to deal with the situation. The people felt that if there had been a national Government in the country, it would have taken appropriate measures to deal with the situation and their miseries would have been considerably reduced. The famines were attribute to the anti-Indian economic policies of the British. Even moderate leaders like R.C. Dutta, Naroji, Ranade were disillusioned with the British sense of justice and were extensively on the ill-effect of British economic exploitation. The resentment of the people against the Government found outlet in the murder of Mr. Rand, the plague commissioner. The Government held the nationalist leaders like Balgangadhar Tilak and other responsible for murder and imprisoned them. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was even denied the right to make an appeal to the Privy council as permissible under the existing rules. All these greatly agitated the people.

Thirdly:

The ill-treatment meted out to Indians in foreign countries, especially in South Africa, also gave fillip to the extremist movement. In the beginning of the present century the South African Govt. enacted a number of discriminatory laws-which-imposed restrictions on travel, trade etc.

The British Government did not exert any pressure on the South Africa Government to withdraw these measures nor did take any retaliatory measures against the citizens of south Africa. This convinced the Indians that they were

being subjected to humiliating treatment because they were a slave nation and citizens of an independent country certainly get a better treatment.

Fourthly:

The partition of Bengal in 1905 also contributed to the growth of extremism. Curzon divided the province of Bengal into two provinces, Western province dominated by the Hindus and the Eastern province dominated by the Muslims. Though disensible Curzon took this step on the plea of administrative efficiency but his real purpose was to draw wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims to check the growing wave of nationalism. This was strongly resented by the Indians

in general and the Bengali in particular. A number of meetings were organized in Bengal at other places against the partition of Bengal. This was a clear sign of the growing strength of nationalism in India. The Indians were determined to get the partition cancelled by peaceful methods, if

necessary. In view of the agitation generated by the partition of Bengal, it has been contended by scholars that extremism and terrorism in India chiefly own their origin to the partition of Bengal.

Fifthly:

The imperialist policies followed by Lord Curzon during his viceroyalty from 1899-1905 gave a further fillip to the extremist movement in India. Lord Curzon was a staunch advocate of an efficient administration and strong opponent of the Indian association with administration because he had no faith in the capacity of Indians to rule them. He, therefore, enacted a number of measures which evoked strong resentment from the Indians and helped the extremist leaders to exploit the situation. Some of the controversial measures adopted by Lord Curzon which were

universally condemned by the Indians include Official Secrets Act, Calcutta Corporation Act, the Indian Universities Act. According to Surendra Nath Banerjee, he (Curzon) has built better than he knew he had laid broad and deep foundations of our national life; he has stimulated those forces which contribute to the up-building of nations, he has made us a nation and the most reactionary of Indian Viceroy will go down to the posterity as the architect of Indian life.

Finally

Certain events in foreign lands during the closing years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century also provided inspiration, to the Indian and imparted great vigour to the national movement. In 1896 Abyssinia and African kingdom, succeeded in defeating a powerful country like Italy. In 1904-05, Japan, a tiny Island country inflicted a defeat on Russia, one of the largest state. These victories of the countries of East against the West interpreted in

India as an indication of the rise of the East against the West and demolished the myth that West was invincible. The nationalist movement in Egypt, Turkey and Persia also encourage the Indians to wage more vigorous struggle.

2.3.2 The birth of Extremist Party

As a result of the cumulative effect of the above mentioned causes, a left wing of the Congress began to be formed under the leadership of Lokmanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. The adherents of this school held their inaugural sitting in the Congress pandal at Benares in 1904 during the annual session, when the party may be said to have been formed. During the 1905 session, differences between the two wings of the Congress became quite apparent. Before the session commenced, Lala Lajpat Rai and Gokhale had just returned from England, disappointed. The session was held at a time when the wounds caused by the partition of Bengal were still fresh and Bengal was very much agitated. Gokhale

presided over this session. The Prince of Wales was to visit India in 1906, The Government was keen that the Royal visitor should not be shown any discourtesy. The Moderates wanted to pass a resolution welcoming the Royal party. The Extremists and especially the Bengal delegates were opposed to it. The resolution welcoming the prince of Wales and his party was allowed to be passed in the absence of the Bengal delegates. Gokhale, in his presidential address, expressed resentment against the attitude of the Government, condemned the partition and approved the movement for Swadeshi. The sacrifices of Bengal in the cause of nationalism were placed on record. Lokmanya Tilak wanted a resolution to be passed for starting passive resistance movement against the Government, but this was not done. Thus 1905 session ended with a good deal of estrangement.

In the 1906 session held at Calcutta, the relations between the Moderates and the Extremists were still very tense. The Secretary of State, in the meanwhile, had declared the partition was a settled fact. When the 1906 session met, the extremists wanted to propose the name of Lokmanya Tilak for the Presidential Chair. This was too bitter a pill for the Moderates to swallow. The difficulty was tided over by proposing the name of Dadabhai Naroji, the grand old man of India, who was universally loved and respected. In a way, the 1906 session was triumph for the Extremists. They compelled the Moderates to pass a resolution on all the four important planks in their programme 'i.e. Swaraj, Swadeshi, boycott and national education. For the first time in the history of the Congress it was resolved that self government like that of the United Kingdom or Colonies was the goal of India. The outcome of 1906 session was evidently not to the liking of the Moderates.

2.3.4 The extremist programme of Action:

The extremists advocated Boycott of Foreign goods, use of Swadeshi goods, National Education and passive Resistance. Economic boycott of British made goods and use of Swadeshi or home-made products was designed to encourage Indian industries and provide the people with more opportunities for work and employment. Lata Lajpat Rai explained that the original idea behind boycott of British goods was to cause pecuniary loss to the British manufacturers and thus

secure their sympathy and help for getting the partition of Bengal annulled. Soon it was discovered that economic boycott might prove a powerful weapon against economic exploitation by the foreigners. Further, it proved a most effective weapon for injuring British interests in India. Besides, it was believed the newly-rising Indian manufacturing class would liberally provide funds for the congress and thus strengthen it. Lajpat Rai Summed up: we desire to turn our faces away from Government House and turn them to huts of the people. This is the psychology, this is the ethics and this is the spiritual significance of the boycott movement. A national scheme of education was to replace the boycott of Government-controlled universities and colleges. The extremists tried to enlist the students in their service. When the Government threatened to take disciplinary action against the students, the national leaders advocated national universities independent of Government control. Guroodas Banerjee headed the Bengal council of National Education. Bengal National collage was established at Calcutta and large number of national schools sprang up in East Bengal. In Madras the Pachaiappa National collage was setup. in the Panjab the D.A.V. movement made considerable head way.

Tilak preached non-cooperation. in 1902 at Poona he said, you must realize that you are a great factor in the power with which the administration of India is controlled and you are yourselves the great lubricants which enable the gigantic machinery to work so smoothly. Though downtrodden and neglected, you must be conscious of your power of making the administration impossible if you but choose to make it. The extremists also encouraged cooperative organizations; voluntary associations were set up for rural sanitation, preventive police duties, regulation of fairs and pilgrim gatherings for providing relief during famines and other national calamities. Arbitration committees were set up to decide civil and non-cognizable disputes.

The Surat split:

Before the 1907 session was held, Lord Minto started negotiations with the Moderates for further reforms. The extremists were offended by these negotiations, because they doubted the capacity of the Moderates to take up a bold stand. Hence

they decided to capture the congress during the ensuing session. At the Surat session, there developed a difference of opinion regarding the election of the president. According to a convention, the president of the reception committee

of the last session was generally voted to the chair. Hence, the Moderates wanted to propose the name of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, who the extremists opposed for his moderate views. The extremists wanted to have an open election and desired to propose the name of Lala Lajpat Rai who declined to stand. Under such circumstances, the name of Dr. Rash Behar! Ghose was eventually proposed for the chair, the extremists opposed and the meeting was adjourned by the chairman to avoid an unruly scene. On the following day the congress met again, only to be dispersed again. Thus, the Surat session ended in a complete rupture between the two wings. As the extremists were in a minority, they left the congress. A committee was appointed by the Surat congress to draft a constitution for the congress to avoid such unseemly wrangles in the future, in the constitution drafted by the Committee. It was clearly laid down that the method followed by the congress must be strictly constitutional. The constitution also lay down that in future only those who submit to the constitution in writing would be admitted as delegates. Thus all threats of passive resistance and boycott as means for achieving the end of the congress, on which Tilak and his followers were so keen, were permanently ruled out. There was a clear attempt to step down, even from the position taken up in 1906, regarding the boycott and the national education.

Stern repression and eclipse of the extremists:

It was clearly the policy of the Government to crush the extremists by force. Early in May 1907 , Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh of the Punjab were deported to Mandalay without trial. Even Gokhale openly criticized the government vehemently for this act. Lala Lajpai Rai was released after about 6 months. He went to England and returned to join the Surat session. Sardar Ajit Singh decided to stay outside India and returned only in march 1947, after staying outside for about 40 years. The Newspaper (incitement to offences) Act of 1908 was passed to

throttle the voice of the press. The Criminal Law Amendment Act, was placed on the statute book, wherein a special form of trial was prescribed for the terrorist offences. Many leaders were deported out of India under the regulation III of 1818, Lokmanya Tilak was sentenced to 6 years rigorous imprisonment in 1908 on the basis of some writings in the Kesari. The Seditious meetings Act, 1911 was passed, giving the authorities arbitrary powers to stop persons from addressing certain meetings and even to refuse permission for-the holding of those meetings. In Bengals many persons were tried, convicted and even executed for terrorist activities. Many editors, printers and publishers were similarly rounded up, Lord Morley confessed that the Indian government was following the Russian argument of packing off train- loads of suspects to Siberia to terrify the Anarchists out of their wits.

Effect of Extremist Movement on National struggle:

It must be admitted that the birth and growth of the extremism had a very healthy effect on the fortunes of the national movement in India. The Moderates were, no doubt, honest and sincere in their love for the country, but their method lacked effectiveness and vigour. Simple requests and petitions would have taken India nowhere. Some sanction was necessary to back up the national demand and this was supplied by the Extremists. It was to prevent the national movement from falling into the hands of the Extremists that the Morley- Minto reforms were

hastened. During 1907-1916 the Extremists remained a hidden danger for the bureaucracy. Any thing worthwhile is seldom achieved, unless it is backed up by willingness to make a sacrifice. The Moderates were not prepared for making sacrifices. The Extremists supplied a crop of martyrs to the national movement.

It should also be noted that the terrorists and the revolutionaries, though honest and sincere patriots, were wrong and sometimes misguided in their methods. Secret time is generally responsible, although its use can be understood when the government is ruthless, repressive and wrong. It should also be noted that at least from 1917 onwards, the congress had completely passed into and remained in the

hands of the extremists, under whose guidance the whole of the national struggle has been carried on to a fruitful termination. Mahatma Gandhi was an extremist par excellence. He was even a revolutionary in a sense he insisted on non-violence and truth, while adopting the creed of the extremists.

2.4 Revolutionary Terrorism Movement (EARLY PHASE)

Introduction:-

The revolutionaries were those who believed in overthrowing the British government in India by means of mass uprising. They wanted to organize a rebellion against the foreign government and even tampering with the loyalty of the army and guerilla warfare for overthrowing the foreign rule. This movement was a by product of repressive policy followed by the government towards the extremist in the wake of congress split at Surat. By the closing of 19th and beginning of 20th centuries certain events in the foreign countries profoundly influenced the revolutionary idea in the country. The large number of political assassinations in Europe, Emperor of Italy, prime minister of Spain, president of France, convinced young Indians that they can also achieve some objective by violence and force. Their conviction was further emboldened by the failure of the moderates.

2.4.1 Objectives-

Their main objective was to overthrow the colonial rule by armed revolution. They openly preached sedition, disloyalty and evolution and sought the support of Indian soldiers in organizing insurrection. Through sheer courage and self sacrifice the young revolutionaries were able to inspire a large number of people. They organized a number of Secre societies to fulfill their objective. They therefore tried to create a revolutionary spirit among the people of the country and impart necessary training to prepare them for any strike. The society met their requirements of arms either by manufacturing them secretly, or by looting

government armoury. Naturally these activities invited for heavy punishment but the revolution accepted this with open heart. The revolutionary movement was not confined to any particular part of the country, but flourished in different parts of India as well as foreign lands.

2.4.2 Revolutionary Activities in Maharashtra:-

The authority of the sedition committee report, 1918, observed the first indications of revolutionary movement in India in Maharashtra and among the Chitpavan Brahmins of the Poona district. These Brahmins were descendants of the Peshwas (chief ministers under Chhatrapati Shahu and later rulers of Maharashtra) which was overthrown by the East India Company under Lord Hastings. These Brahmins kept their love and devotion to swaraj and a certain discontent and longing for a return to power naturally remained. B. G. Tilak's (a Chitpavan Brahmin) inauguration of the Ganapati festival in 1893 and the Shivaji festival in 1895 injected some Pro-Swaraj and anti-British bias in the politics.

2.4.3 The Rand Murder at Poona, 1897

But the Maharashtra produced two Chepkar brothers (Damodar and Balkrishna) who founded society for removal of obstacles to Hindu religions. Initially, this society merely provided physical and military training but later resorted to terrorist activities. They committed first political murder on 22nd June 1897. They targeted Mr Rand, the plague Commissioner of Poona. Their main grievance was that the Plague Commissioner was sending soldiers to inspect the houses of the plague-afflicted people. The Chepkar brothers were brought, convicted and hanged. Tilak who praised the two brothers had written in his new papers Maharashtra "Plague is more merciful to us than its humane prototype now reigning in the city" Subsequently Tilak was implicated for writing against the British Government. Shyamji Krishna Verma was another revolutionary in Maharashtra. Krishna Verma was connected with the Rand murder case and went to England to avoid punishment. In 1905, he started India Home Rule Society which is popularly known as India House in London. He also started a monthly journal called

Indian Sociologist to spread his views. Later on he instituted a fellowship to enable Indian youngmen to go abroad to train themselves for missionary activities. A group of Indian revolutionary including VD Savarkar, Hardyal and Madan Lal Dhingra became member of the Indian House. VD Savarkar along with Shyamji Krishna Verma continued vigorous revolutionary propaganda till 1905 and they shifted to Paris, due to the fear of British Police. In May 1907, the India House celebrated the golden jubilee of the Indian revolt of 1857 and V D Savarkar described it as, a war of Indian Independence. His idea and philosophy were published in his book entitled The Indian war of Independence.

VD Savarkar established a Abhinav Bharat Society in India. The member of the society in India did a commendable job during the Swadeshi movement. The Society continued to impart training to the members in arms and ammunitions. The society grew very popular in short period of time and branches were established all over Maharashtra. The Society inspired the people for revolutionary movements.

Another important member of India House was Madan Lal Dhingra. In 1909 he shot dead Col William Curzon, Political A D C to India Office. Dhingra was arrested and hanged. In 1909, the unpopular District Magistrate Mr Jackson was shot dead by Annant Laxman Kanhera. The Ahmedabad Bomb case, the Satara conspiracy case were important terrorist activities in western India. Despite repressive policy of British Government, Maharashtra continued to be an important centre for revolutionary movements.

2.4.4 Revolutionary Activities in Bengal

Bengal was another important centre for strong terrorist activities. Growing education, unemployment, and growth of hostile attitude provided a climate for terrorist activities. Its early history is associated with the name of Pramatha Mitra. When Surendra Nath Mitra was imprisoned for defamation, he hatched a plot to rescue him from jail. For this purpose, he organized it. He proceeded to Barisal but waited in vain for the promised signal from the leaders in Calcutta. He also organized a secret revolutionary society, named Anusilan Samiti. The members of the Samiti were young, were trained in young students in military drill, sword play. Boxing, wrestling and other kinds of activities. There were various branches of Anusilan Samiti and they were probably several secret societies acting

independently of one another. Another group of revolutionary movements was formed by Barindra Kumar Ghose. The chief means of propaganda was the publication of books and periodicals to preach the gospel of revolution. The first book was Bhawani Mandira published in 1905, gives detailed plan of establishing religious society as basic centre of revolutionary activities. Another book was written by Abhinab Chandra Bhattacharya entitled "Bartaman Rananiti". It was published in 1907. This book was an eloquent plea for military training and necessity of war for achievements of Indian Independence. It discusses various military details, specially for those guerilla warfare, which the youths will gradually become fearless and experts in sword play and other tactics. The Yugantar (New Era) started in March 1906, openly preached sedition and disloyalty in order to create revolutionary mentality among the people. A number of select articles from the Yugantar were published in the form of a book entitled Mukti Koan Pathe (Which ways salvation). It denounces smallness and lowness of ideals of the National Congress. It further exhorts its readers to obtain the help of native soldiers

Barindra Kumar Ghosh and his friends were engaged in manufacturing bomb with a view to killing the British Government officials. The first bomb was prepared with the object of killing Sir Bamfylde Fuller for his oppressive measures. Prafulla Chaki was specially deputed to carry out the operation. But the plan was failed. Next an attempt was made to blow up the train in which the Lt Governor of Bengal was travelling on 6th December 1907. The train was actually derailed by a bomb near Midnapur.

2.4.5 The Muzaffarpur Murders and Alipore conspiracy case:

On 30 April 1908 an attempt was made to murder Mr. Kingford, the judge of Muzaffarpur (now in Bihar) who earlier as chief presidency Magistrate had awarded severe punishment to some young men for trivial offence. Prafulla Chaki and Kudiram Bose were charged with the duty of bomb-throwing. The bomb was by mistake thrown on the carriage of Mr. Kennedy, killing two ladies. Prafulla Chaki and Bose were arrested, Chaki shot himself dead which Bose was tried

and hanged. The Government searches for illicit arms at Maniktala Gardens and elsewhere at Calcutta lead to arrest of 34 persons including the two Ghose brothers, Arobindo and Barindra who were tried in the Alipore conspiracy case. During the trial Narendra Gosain, who had turned approver, was shot dead in the jail. In February 1907 the public prosecutor was shot dead in Calcutta and

on 24 February 1910 a Deputy Superintendent of police met the same fate while leaving the Calcutta High Court. B.G. Tilak lauded the Bengal terrorist for their higher aim. In the Kesari of 22 June 1908 he wrote there is considerable difference between the murders of 1897 and the bomb outrage of Bengal. Their (Chapekar brother) aim was specially directed towards the oppression consequent' ,po the plague, that is to say, towards the particular act. The Bengali bomb party had of course their eyes upon an extensive plain brought into view by the partition of Bengal.

After two days the Muraepukkar garden was searched by the police. Thirty two persons including Arbindo Ghosh, Barindra , and his principal associates were arrested and tried in the Alipore Conspiracy case. The accused in the Alipore conspiracy case were regarded as martyrs of the country. Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram who lost their lives became heroes of folk songs sung all over the country. During their trial, Narendra Gosain, who had first divulged the secret to the police and turned out to be approver was murdered inside the jail, by two revolutionary prisoners, Kanai Lal Datt and Satyam Bose. The news of this death was hailed all over Bengal, and his murderers were regarded as heroes and martyrs. Bal Gangadhar Tilak praised the Bengal terrorist throughout the paper Kesari.

2.4.6 Revolutionary Movement in Madras Presidency

In Madras province , the people were excited by the eloquent speeches of Bipin Chandra Pal .Chidram Pilai openly speak of complete Independence. His arrest led to serious riot in Tuticorin and Tinnevely in which police opened fire in a defiant crowd. As he, who had ordered the firing at Tinnevely, was assassinated by Vanchi Aiyar shot himself.

2.4.7 Revolutionary Movement in Other Provinces:

The educated classes in the Punjab were affected by revolutionary ideas. The Punjab Government's proposals for modification of tenures in the Chenab Canal colony and the Bari Doab had spread widespread discontent among the rural masses. The Government of India acted promptly by vetoing the Canal colony legislation and arresting and deporting Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh under provisions of Regulation III 1818. Ajit Singh was released after 6 months and later fled to Persia. Lal Chand Folak and Bhai Parmanand were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonments. In December 1912 a bomb was thrown on Lord Harding on his state entry in Chandni Chowk, Delhi, killing his attendants.

Bihar, Orissa and the U.P. were scenes of the Muzaffarpur and Nimez murders and the Benaras conspiracy case though these provinces were comparatively less attested by revolutionary movement.

2.4.7 The Ghadr Movement:

Hardayal, an intellectual giant and a fire brand revolutionary from the Punjab, was the moving spirit behind the organization of the Ghadr party on November 1913 at San Francisco in the U.S.A. He was actively assisted by Ram Chandra and Barkatulla. The party also published a weekly paper, the Ghadar (Rebellion) in commemoration of the Mutiny of 1857. The Ghadar in its premier issue asked the questions. What is our name? Mutiny. What is our work? Mutiny. Where will Mutiny break out? In India. The Ghadar party highlighted the point that Indians were not respected- in the world abroad because they were-not free. Consequently upon complaints made by the British representative, the U.S. authorities launched proceedings against Hardayal, compelling him to leave the United States.

With the outbreak of World War 1, Hardayal and other Indians abroad moved to Germany and set up the Indian independence committee at Berlin. The committee planned to mobilize Indian settlers abroad to make all efforts - send volunteers to

India to incite rebellion among the troops, to send explosives to Indian revolutionaries, and even organize an invasion of British India - to liberate the country.

The Komagata Maru case created an explosive situation in the Punjab. One Baba Gurdit Singh chartered a Japanese ship Komagata Maru for Vancouver and sought to carry 351 Sikhs and 21 Punjabi Muslims at that town. The Canadian authorities refused permission to the ship to land and the ship returned to Budge, Calcutta on 27 September 1914. The inmates of the ship and many Indians believed that the British Government had inspired the Canadian authorities. The Government of India ordered all the passengers to be carried direct by train to the Punjab. The already explosive situation in the Punjab worsened with a band of fresh malcontents. Large-scale political disturbances were committed in the Jalandhar, Amritsar and Ludhiana districts of the Punjab. The Lahore conspiracy trials revealed that Punjab had come within an ace of widespread bloodshed.

The Government of India unleashed repressive legislation to meet revolutionary activities. The prevention of seditious meetings Act (1907), the explosive substances Act (1908), The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, (1908) The Newspaper (incitement to offences) Act, 1908, the Press Act, 1910 and above all, the obnoxious multi-fanged Defence of India Rules, 1915. A temporary respite in revolutionary activities came towards the close of World War I when the Government released all political prisoners arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Further, the discussion about the new scheme of constitutional reforms (Government of India Act 1919) also created an atmosphere of conciliation and compromise. More so, Gandhiji's emergence on the national scene with promise of big achievements through non-violent methods also halted the pace of violent revolutionary activities.

2.5 SWADESHI MOVEMENT' IN BENGAL

2.5.1 Anti Partition Movement

The Indian national movement took a major leap forward with the start of the Swadeshi movement at the turn of the century, for the first time women, students and large section of the urban and rural population of Bengal and other parts of India actively involved in politics. The richness of the movement was not confined to politics alone. The period saw a break through in Indian art, literature, music, science and industry. Indian society, as a whole, was experimenting and the creativity of the people expanded in every direction. The Swadeshi movement had its genesis in the anti-partition movement which was started to oppose the British decision to partition Bengal. There is no questioning of the fact that Bengal with a population of 78 million had become administratively unwieldy. Equally, there was no escaping the fact that real motive for partitioning Bengal was political. On July 1905, Lord Curzon issued an order dividing the province of Bengal into two parts: Eastern Bengal and Assam with a population of 31 Million and rest of Bengal with a population of 54 million. It was said that the existing province of Bengal was too big to be efficiently administered by a single provincial Government. However, the official who worked out the plan also other ends in view. They hoped to stem the rising-tide of nationalism in Bengal. Risley, the Home secretary to the Government of India, wrote in an official note on 6th Dec 1904.

Bengal united is a power; Bengal divided will pull several different ways

Curzon himself wrote in a similar vein in February 1905. Calcutta in the centre from which the congress party is manipulated throughout the whole of Bengal and throughout India. The Indian National congress and the Nationalist of Bengal firmly opposed the partition. Within the Bengal different section of the population- Zamindar, Merchant, Lawyer, Student, and even Women- rose up in spontaneous opposition to the partition of their province. The nationalists saw the act of partition as a challenge to Indian nationalism and not merely an administrative measure. They saw that it was a deliberate attempt to divide Bengali, and to disrupt and weaken nationalism in Bengal. It would also be a big blow to the growth of

Bengali language and Culture. They pointed out that administrative efficiency could have been better secured by separating the Hindi-speaking Bihar and the Oriya speaking Orissa from Bengali speaking part of the province. Moreover the official step had been taken in utter disregard of public opinion. Thus the vehemence of Bengali protest against the partition is explained by the fact that it was a blow to the sentiment of a very sensitive and courageous people. The Anti-Partition Movement or the Swadeshi and Boycott Movement.

The Anti-Partition movement was the work of the entire national leadership of Bengal and not of any one section of the movement. Its most prominent leaders at the initial stage were moderate leaders like Surendranath Banarjea and Krishna Kumar Mitra, militant and revolutionary nationalist took over in the later stages. In fact, both the moderate and militant nationalists cooperated with one another during the course of the movement. The Anti-Partition movement was initiated on 7 August 1905. On that day a massive demonstration against the partition was organized in the Town Hall in Calcutta. From this meeting delegate dispersed to spread the movement to the rest of the province.

The partition took effect on 16 October 1905. The leaders of the protest movement declared it to be a day of national mourning throughout Bengal. It was observed as a day of fasting. There was a hartal in Calcutta. People walked barefooted and bathed in the Ganga in the early morning hours. Rabindranath Tagore composed a national song for the occasion which was sung by huge crowds parading the streets. The streets of Calcutta were full of the cries of Bande Mataram which overnight became the national song of Bengal and which was soon to become the theme song of the national movement. The ceremony of Raksh Bandhan was utilised in a new way. On that day people of Bengal tied the Rakhi on one another's wrists as a symbol of the unbreakable unity of the Bengalis and of the two halves of Bengal .

In the afternoon, there was a great demonstration when the veteran leader Anadamohan Bose laid the foundation of a Federation Hall to mark the indestructible unity of Bengal. He addressed a crowd of over 50,000 and the

meeting passed a resolution pledging to do their utmost to maintain the unity of Bengal.

2.5.2 The Swadeshi and Boycott:-

The Bengal leaders felt that mere demonstrations, public meeting and resolutions were not likely to have much effect on the rulers. More positive action that would reveal the intensity of popular feelings and exhibit them at their best was needed. The answer was Swadeshi and Boycott. Mass meetings were held all over Bengal where Swadeshi or use of Indian goods and boycott of British goods were proclaimed and pledged. In many places public burning of foreign cloth were organized and shops selling foreign cloth were picketed. The swadeshi movement was an immense success. The Swadeshi movement gave a great deal of encouragement to Indian industries. Many textile mills, soap and match factories, handloom weaving concerns, National Banks, and Insurance companies were opened. Acharya P.C. Ray organized his famous Bengal Chemical Swadeshi stores. Even the great poet Rabindranath Tagore helped to open a Swadeshi store. The Swadeshi movement had several consequences in the realm of Culture. There was a flowering of National poetry, prose and Journalism. The patriotic songs written at the time by poets like Rabindranath Tagore, Rajani Kant Sen and Mukunda Das are sung in Bengal to this day. Another constructive activity undertaken at the time was that of National Education. National education institutions where literary, technical, or physical education was imparted were opened by nationalists who regarded the existing system of education as denationalizing and in any case, inadequate. On 15 August 1906, a National council of education was set up. A National collage with Aurobindo Ghose as principal was started in Calcutta.

2.5.3 The Role of Students, Women, Muslims and the Masses:

The prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation was played by the students of Bengal. They practiced and propagated Swadeshi and took the lead in organizing

picketing of shops selling foreign cloth. They were perhaps the main creators of the Swadeshi spirit in Bengal. The Government made every attempt to suppress the student. Orders were issued to penalize those schools and colleges whose students took an active part in the Swadeshi agitation: their grants- unsaid and other privileges were to be withdrawn, they were to be disaffiliated, their students were not to be permitted to compete for scholarships and were to be barred from all services under the government. Disciplinary action was taken against students found guilty of participating in the nationalist agitation. Many of them were fined, expelled from school and colleges, arrested and sometimes beaten by the police with lathis. The students, however, refused to be cowed down. A remarkable aspect of the Swadeshi agitation was the active participation of women in the movement. The traditionally Home- centred women of the urban middle classes joined processions and picketing from then or they were to take an active part in the nationalist movement. Many prominent Muslims joined the Swadeshi movement including Abdul Rasul, the famous barrister, Liaquat Husain, the popular agitator, and Gaznavi, the Businessman. Many other middle and upper class Muslims, however, remained neutral or led by the Nawab of Dacca, (who was given a loan of Rs.14 lakhs by the government of India) even supported partition on the plea that East Bengal would have a Muslim majority. In this communal attitude the Nawab of Dacca and others were encouraged by the officials. In a speech at Dacca, Lord Curzon declared 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 Musalman viceroys and Kings. In spite of the popular character of the anti-Partition movement and of the desire of the militant nationalists to take the national movement to the masses, the movement did not really affect and involve the peasant of Bengal. It was confined on the whole to the towns and to the upper and lower middle classes of the province.

2.5.4 All India aspect of the movement

The cry of Swadeshi and Swaraj was soon taken up by other provinces of India. Movement of support for Bengalis unity and boycott of foreign goods were

organized in Bombay, Madras and Northern India. The leading role in spreading the Swadeshi movement to the rest of the country was played by Tilak who quickly saw that with the inauguration of this movement in Bengal a new chapter in the history of Indian nationalism had opened. Here was a challenge and opportunity to lead a popular struggle against British Raj.

Conclusions:

With the subsiding of the mass movement, one era of the Indian freedom struggle was over. The movement made a major contribution in taking the idea of nationalism in a truly creative fashion, to many sections of people, hitherto untouched by it. By doing so, it further eroded the hegemony of colonial ideas and institutions. The Swadeshi influence in the realm of culture and ideas was crucial in this regard and has remained unparalleled in Indian history.

2.6 EXTREMIST- MODERATE CONFLICT SURAT SPLIT: 1907

Introduction

The extremist and moderate conflict was another fascinating and colourful chapter in the modern Indian history. From the beginning there was ideological rivalry between moderates and extremists. Though their objective was the same their methods were different. The split in the Congress in 1907 which developed in the Surat session of the Indian National Congress was due to several reasons:-

2.6.1 Causes of Growth

There were fundamental differences between the Moderates and the Extremists on the questions of the loyalty to the English throne and the continuance of British

rule in India. The moderates believed in loyalty to the English throne. They also believed that the continuance of the British rule was in the interests of the people of India. The view of the extremists was that the British rule in India was a curse and the question of loyalty to the English throne did not arise at all; To quote B.C Pal, the time has come when all lies must be conscientiously eschewed from above

political platform. Another difference between the two was regarding the emphasis on the ultimate goal as well as the actual form of ultimate goal. The moderates believed in a policy of conciliation and compromise. They were satisfied with the small concessions given by the British Government from time to time. The extremists did not bother about the petty concessions given by the British Government. They did not care for the petty reforms which they considered to be merely palliatives and not the final remedy. According to the extremists, Swaraj alone was the final remedy. They considered installments of constitutional reforms as more local applications. The extremists did not believe that the Indians could expect anything good from the Englishmen. They were convinced that the Englishmen will not treat the Indians in the same way as they were treating the people of Canada or Australia. There existed a perpetual conflict of interests, economic, intellectual and moral, between England and India which did not exist in the case of the colonies. ' The moderates believed in adopting strictly constitutional methods for agitation and that also of the feeblest type, so that there was not the slightest chance of any violence. They believed in reasoned and emotional appeals, lucid presentation of the case, irresistible statements of facts, irrefutable arguments and presenting petitions. The moderates were not prepared to resort to a policy of non- co- operation or passive resistance. They considered boycott as a vindictive act which was liable to create feelings of ill- will. On the other hand, the extremists were convinced that constitutional agitation will lead them nowhere. They believed that constitutional methods could not cut ice against the autocratic rule of a foreign nation. They also believed peaceful propaganda to go on and would intervene at every step to hinder and stop the progress of the nationalist movement. They believed in a policy of passive resistance which could make the government of India impossible.

Another point of difference between the Moderates and the Extremists was with regard to their approach and strategy. Under the moderates, the congress movement was not a popular movement. It had no touch with the masses. As a matter of fact, the Moderates depended for their success on the good will and sympathy of the Englishmen. The Extremists rejected such an approach. They believed that the people of India were the masters of their own destiny and not

any foreign power. Tilak pointed out that although Dadabhai Naroji had spent 25 years in England to convince the people of England that injustice was being done to India, nothing had come out of it. After a visit to England, Lala Lajpat Rai observed thus in 1905; the British democracy was too busy in their own affairs to do anything for them, that the British press was not willing to champion Indian aspirations, that it was hard to get a hearing in England and that the influence

and the credit of the Anglo-India was too strong to be met successfully by the necessarily inadequate agitation which the congress could set up in England. On his return to India the message he brought for his people was that if they really cared for their country, they would have to strike the blow for freedom themselves.

Another point of difference between the moderates and the extremists was regarding the fitness of Indians to rule themselves without depending upon the British Government. The moderates believed that the people of India were still not fit for self- Government. However, the extremists believed that the people of India were fit to rule themselves and self-Government could not be denied to them on the ground of their unfitness.

Another point of difference between the moderates and the extremists was while the moderate believed that they would get what they asked for without any suffering, the extremists were of the definite view that the salvation of India was not possible without sufferings and self- sacrifice. Lala Lajpat Rai pointed out that tyranny was like hell and could not be easily conquered.

Events Leading to Conflict -

The Surat session of INC -1907

On account of these differences, there were clashes between the Moderates and the Extremists even during the 19th century. However, events during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon aggravated the matters. There is no denying the fact that the Moderates were as much vehement in the extremists, but they had their own limitations and they could not go beyond them. The congress passed resolutions on boycott, Swadeshi and National Education in 1906 but there was opposition from the Moderates. The result was that some of them were shouted down by the audience. The Moderates did not approve of all that happened at the Calcutta session in 1906 and they tried to undo the same at the next session of the congress in 1907 at Surat. Hence the extremists were not prepared to allow them. Under these circumstances, an open clash between them was inevitable. When the congress met on 27 December 1907, the atmosphere was surcharged and there were all kinds of rumours. The name of Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose was proposed for the Presidentship. When Surendranath Banarjee got up to second the proposal, attempts were made to shout him down and pandemonium prevailed in the pandal. The meeting had to be adjourned. On the next day, Dr. Ghose was elected the president, but when he got up to deliver his presidential address the audience, he refused to submit to the ruling of the chair that he could not be allowed to address at that stage. While this tussle was going on the rank and file of the Extremists created trouble and there were lashes. All efforts to persuade Tilak failed. He stood with folded hands and refused to go to his seat unless he was bodily removed. Some persons from Nagpur and Poona rushed to the platform with Lathies in their hands. A shoe was hurled from the audience and it struck Pherozoshah Mehta. Pandemonium prevailed. Chairs were thrown at the dais and sticks were freely used. The session had to be suspended. On 28 December, 1907, a convention of the Moderates was held in the Congress pandal from which the Extremists were excluded although some of them willing to sign the necessary declaration. Those who did not wish to go back from the position taken at the Calcutta Congress

met at a separate place to consider what steps were to be taken to continue the work of the congress. It was in this way that the Surat session of the Congress ended. After the Surat fiasco, it was clear that the Moderates were not prepared to yield to the Extremists. They knew that once the plant of Extremism was planted it was bound to grow. They were not prepared for any compromise. Tilak was

ridiculed, abused and called a traitor. The moderates press wrote such things as the following Tilak has been feeding the flames which have burnt the congress to

ashes. He is not a patriot, but a traitor to the country, and has blackened himself. May God save us from such patriots In spite of the attack from the Moderates, Tilak was prepared to accommodate them. He wanted the Moderates and the Extremists to unite to carry on the work of the National Congress. The Moderates put the blame on the Extremists for the Surat split. Their contention was that they had no intention to drop or after the resolutions passed at the Calcutta session of the congress. What they Intended to do was nearly to modify or to use such words in those resolutions which would save them from chances of mis-construction. However, such a contention cannot be accepted. A critical study of the relevant record shows that what the Moderates intended to do was not only to save the Calcutta resolutions from mis-construction but also to resolution them

with a view to watering them down. If that had not been so, the Moderates would have reaffirmed the Calcutta resolutions in their Madras session held in 1908, but that was not done. At the Madras session, the resolution on boycott was entirely dropped. Instead of national education, the Moderates merely talked about supplementing the existing institutions and the efforts of the Government. In 1906, the congress had declared Swaraj or self-Government, not only as their Final goal but also demanded immediate steps leading to it. At the Madras session, the congress expressed deep and general satisfaction at the reforms proposals formulated in Lord Morley's Despatch At the Calcutta session in 1906, the Moderates had accepted the resolutions on Swaraj, national education, boycott and Swadeshi on account of the pressure brought on them from alt quarters. In their hearts, they did not accept the new resolutions. Their fear was that the growing

pace of the national struggle might lead to lawlessness and that would provide the British with an excuse to deny the reforms on the one hand and to crush all political activity on the other. They had no self- confidence. They did not believe that sustained and dignified national struggle was possible and desirable. They considered the Extremists irresponsible person who were likely to put in danger the future of the country. The British Government also tried to win over the Moderates

against the extremists. There were frequent meetings between the Moderates leaders and the viceroy before the Surat split. While the Extremists were roughly handled by the Government, the Moderates were shown all the favours. Lala Lajpat Rai, Sardar Ajit Singh, Titak and many leaders of Bengal were deported. Public meetings held all over the country to condemn the action of the Government. In Bombay the protesting crowd clashed with the military and police and many were killed. However there was no word of condemnation by the Moderates. On the other hand, the Moderates congress president observed thus in 1908 at the Madras congress session; the clouds are now breaking the time of the singing of the birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.

It cannot be denied that the Surat split not only weakened the Indian national congress, but it virtually destroyed its effectiveness till the Lucknow session in 1916. For the next 8 years, India's Nationalist Movement remained a house divided against itself, half constructional and half revolutionary in aspirations.

Tilak was out of Indian politics from 1908 to 1914 on account of his long imprisonment in Mandalay Jail in Burma. During his absence, the politics of the country was dull. The Moderates were nappy that their opponent was in Jail. Thing changed after the release of Tilak in 1914. Tilak was not in a mood to precipitate matters. He was willing to have a compromise the Moderates. It is true that when Gokhle started negotiations with Tilak, Pherozeshah Mehta disapproved of them and the result was that the negotiations broke down. Pherozeshah Mehta decided to have the next session of the congress at Bombay with a view to maintain his hold over it. Unfortunately, Pherozeshah Mehta died a few weeks before the congress session in 1915. Gokhale also died the same year.

The right of the Extremists to enter the congress was admitted at the Bombay session of the congress and its constitution was suitably amended. The Bombay session saw the ascendancy of the politicians of the Extremists school and the decline of the influence of the Moderates. With the passage of time, the Moderates in the congress were thrown in to the background and the congress

leaders like Tilak came to the forefront. With the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the politics of the country and the death of Tilak, the position of the Moderates became very weak and they continued to work under the banner of the Liberal Federation.

Impact-

The Surat split weakened the congress. The Moderates thought they were going to rebuild, to quote Pherozeshah Mehta, a resuscitated, renovated, reincarnated congress. But the spirit had gone out of the congress and all effort to restore it failed. They had lost the respect and support of the politically Indians, specially the youth and were reduced to small coterie. Most of the Moderate leaders withdrew into their shellings only Gokhale plodded in with the aid of small band of co-workers from the solvents of Indian society. After 1908 the national movement as a whole declined. In 1909 Arobindo Ghose noted the change when I went to Jail the whole country was alive with cry of Bande Matram, alive with the hope of a nation, the hope of millions of men who had risen out of degradation. When I came out of Jail I listed a silence. A hush had fallen on the country. But while the upsurge was gone; the aroused nationalist sentiment did not disappear. The people waited for the next phase. Tilak was released and he picked up the threads of the movement.

2.7 Home Rule Movement

In the inter-war period the Home rule movement came to existence. The founding father of this movement was Mrs Annes Besant, who had for long closely associated with the social and political regeneration of India. Lokamanya Tilak who had been demanding Swaraj for the country did not get positive response from the British Government. Similarly it was also considered impracticable by most of the nationalist leaders. The development which follow first world war, a war to make the world safe for democracy, Indian leaders started feeling that the Home rule could be a reality. Both Anne Besant and Tilak believed that the war had offered them a God sent opportunity to win freedom. Consequently at all the war conferences which were called to secure India help in the war effort, the leaders

demanded equal status for the Indians in the army and other high positions. In 1915 congress proposed that Home Rule League should be started. Tilak was in sympathy with this idea. According to them, the congress of those year rather life less, and a more dynamic and popular association was needed to galvanise the Indian people.

2.7.1 Formation

For achieving of Home rule, Balgangadhar Tilak formed a Home Rule League at Poona in April 1916. The objective of the League was declared as attainment of Home rule or Self- Government within the British empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion in the country. A little later Mrs. Annie Besant formed a similar Home Rule League . at Madras on 15 September 1 916. The main objective of her was to disentangle the nationalist extremist from the compromising alliance with the revolutionaries, to reconcile them to the position within the empire, and to bring them with the moderates into like in the united congress. Thus the year 1916 saw the Home rule league carrying on an intensive propaganda in favour of Home Rule or Self-Government. In one of his speeches Tilak said Home Rule is my birth right and I will have it. Mrs. Annie Besant argued that it was in the interest of British rulers to grant home rule to India. He also pleaded for full cooperation to the British government so that she could win the war which was being fought to make democracy safe.

2.7.2 Objectives

The two Home Rule Leagues worked in cooperation with each other and tried to vigorously plead the grant of home rule to India. The government did not

view the activities of the Home Rule League with sympathy and tried imposed restrictions and crush its activities. In 1916 it instituted a proceeding against Tilak for delivering objectionable speeches at the meetings of home rule league. He required to furnish a personal bond of Rs.20,000 and two securities of Rs.10,000 for his good behaviours for one year. On may 26, 1916 a Security of Rs.20,000 from new India , a paper run by Annie Beasant . In spite of negative attitude and restrictions from the government the two Home Rule Leagues continued their propaganda work with full vigour and succeeded in making the home rule league practically success in Indian politics.

2.7.3 Activities

Following the internment of Annie Beasant and her two associates, B.P. Wadia and Arumadale the home rule movement attained all India character. A wave of indignation spread through out the country against this action. Protest meetings were held all over the country to protest against the repression by the government. Even M.A Jinnah, the Muslim League leader joined the Home rule league. A joint meeting of the All- India congress committee and the council of Muslim league was held in July 1917 ,which condemned the negative attitude of the government and praised the work of Home rule league, it also made a representation to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India pleading for grant of substantial installment of self- government. In April 1918, Tilak along with other prominent leaders took part in the Delhi War Conference. while the Conference was considering the adoption of a resolution for recruitment of Indians in the a army, Tilak suggested that it would be better to promise Home Rule in the resolution with a view to create the enthusiasm of the people of India. But this proposal did not find approval of the government. So Tilak walked out of the meeting. On 16 June 1918, the Home Rule League celebrated the Home Rule Day and passed resolution disapproving the methods and measures of the government for the utilization of man power and resources of India.

Mean while, the publication to the Mesopotamian Commission, the government of India was severely criticized. Mr. Montague an ex-under-secretary of state for India supported Indian demand for an immediate declaration of British policy. He said if you want to use loyalty (of the Indians people) you must give them that higher opportunity of controlling their own destinities, not merely by council which can not act, but by control, by growing control of the executive itself

But due to the deteriorating war situation in Europe; England was keen on enlisting the support of Indians. Meanwhile, the British government impressed upon the Government of India to release Mrs. Besant and her associates on 15 August 1917. Montague the Secretary of State for India made the historic declaration regarding the ultimate goal of the British rule in India. The declaration said the policy of His Majesty Government with which the governments of India are in complete accord is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-government institution with a view to the progressive integral part of the British Empire.

But the Montague Chelmsford report failed to satisfy the Home Rule leaders. Mrs. Annie Beasant said that reforms were, unworthy of England to offer and India to accept, The Indian National congress also described it as inadequate and disappointing.

2.7.4 Decline of the Movement:

But the Home Rule Movement soon died because Mrs. Basant overnight became a near-loyalist in the late 1917 after Montagues promise of responsible government and Tilak became increasingly Involved in legal suit against valentine chirole and left for England to fight his case in September 1918. Above all, emergence of Gandhi totally eclipsed the Home Rule Movement.

Conclusion

The Home Rule Movement played a significant role in the history of the national struggle. The leaders of the Home Rule League placed before the Government a concrete proposal of Self-Government. It also produced a new set of political leader, who were prepared to devote their full time and energy for the cause of national struggle. Further it created a generation of ardent nationalist who formed the backbone of the national movement in the coming years when under the leadership of the Mahatma Gandhi; it entered its truly mass base. The Home Rule league also created Organizational link between town and the country side which were prove valuable in the later years. And further, by populating the idea of Home Rule or self-government, and making it a common place thing, it generated a wide spread pro- nationalist atmosphere in the country.

2.8 GHADAR MOVEMENT

Introduction

Since the Swadeshi movement the Indian nationalist movement was in a dormant state and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 gave a new lease of life to it. British difficulty was Indian Opportunity. This Opportunity was seized, in different ways and with varying succession by Ghadar Revolutionaries based in North America and by Lokamany Tilak, Annie Basant and their Home Rule Leagues in India. The Ghadarites attempted a violent overthrow of British rule, while the Home Rules Leaguers launched a nation-wide agitation for securing Home rule or Swaraj.

2.8.1Genesis

The west coast of North America had since 1904, become a home to a steadily increasing number of Punjabi immigrants. Many of those were land hungry peasant from the crowded areas of Punjab, especially the Jullandhar and Hoshiarpur Districts in search of some means of survival. Many among them were ex-soldiers whose service in the British Indian army had taken them to distant lands, but the Secretary of State for India had his own reasons for imposing restriction on immigrations.

He believed that the terms of close familiarity of Indians with white which would inevitably take place in America was not for British prestige. Further he was worried that the immigrant, would get contaminated by socialist ideas, and that the racial discrimination to which they were bound to be subjected would become the source of nationalist agitation in India. All these resulted in an effective restriction on Indian immigration in to Canada in 1909.

The discriminatory policies of the host countries soon resulted in a furry of political activity among the Indian nationalists. As early as 1907 Ramnath Puri, a political exile on the west coast,

issued a circular-e Azadi (Circular of liberty) in which he pledged to support the Swadeshi movement. G.D Kumar set up a Swadeshi Sevak Home which advocated social reform and also asked Indian troops to rise in revolts against the British. In 1910 Taraka Nath Das and G.D Kumar forced out of Vancouver and set up United India House in Seattle. Close lines also developed between the United India House group, consisting of radical nationalist and the Khalsa Diwan society. The result of this sustained agitation, both in Canada and United States was creation of solidarity and national consciousness among the immigrant India. Their inability to repeal the immigration law and other disability led to impatience and a mood of discontent which blossomed into a revolutionary movement.

2.8.2 Formation of Ghadar party

The first fill up to the revolutionary movements was provided by the unity of Bhaghan Singh to Vancouver in 1913. He openly preached the gospel of violent overthrow of British rule. The centre of revolutionary activity was soon shifted to the U.S, which provided a relatively free political atmosphere. The crucial role was now played by Lala Har Dayal, a political exile from

India. Har Dayal arrived in California in April 1911, though briefly at Stanford University and soon immersed in political activity. Meanwhile, the Indians on the west coast of the U.S had been in search of a leader and had been thought of inviting Ajit Singh, who had become famous in the agitation in Punjab in 1907. But Har Dayal was already there and after December 1912 showed himself willing to play an active political role. Soon Hindi association was formed in Portland in

May 1913. The first of the association held in the house of Kanshi Ram, and attended by many others like, Bhai Paramanada, Sohan Singh Bhakna, and Harmohan Singh. Har Dayal set forth his plan of action. Do not fought the Americans, but use the freedom that is available in the U.S to fight the British, the root cause of Indian poverty and degradation in British rule and it must be overthrown, not by petition, but by armed revolt; carry this message to the masses and to the soldiers in the Indian army; go to India in large number and enlist their support. Har Dayal found

immediate acceptance. A working committee was set up and the decision was taken to start a weekly paper, the Ghadar for free circulation and to set up Yugantara Ashram in San Francisco. The Ghadar movement had begun.

2.8.3 Activities

The Ghadar militantly immediately began on extensive propaganda. They toured extensively, visiting mills and farms where most of the Punjabi immigrant labours worked. The Yugantar Ashram became the name and headquarter and refuge of their political workers. The weekly journal, the Ghadar, sometimes called, the Hindustan Ghadar was first published on 1st November 1913 in San

Francisco. The first issue of this paper boldly declared what is our name? Mutiny. What is our work? Mutiny, where will Mutiny break out? In India. The time will soon come when rifles and blood will take place of pen and ink. This clearly foreshadowed the line of policy to be pursued by the paper.

Each issue of the paper had on its front page a set feature which was called Angrez Raj Ka Kachcha Chitta. (a transparent account of the British rule) it contained a long list of the crimes perpetrated by the British in India. The Ghadar sought to arouse the national self respect of the Indian by perpetually emphasizing the point, that they were not respected in the world because they were not free. The Ghader also kept Indian struggle for freedom in the forefront of world opinion.

Besides the powerful simplicity the chitha, the message was also conveyed by serializing Savarkar's Indian Independence. The Ghadar also contained references to the contributions, of Lokamanya Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, V.D Suvarkar, Madam Cama, Shyamji Krishna Verma and Ajit Singh, as well as daring deeds of Anusilan Samiti, the Yugantar group and the Russian secret Society.

The Ghadar became very popular particularly among the Indians living abroad. Its circulation rose by leap, and bound, but perhaps the most powerful impact was made by the poem, that appeared in the Ghadar soon published as Ghadar Di Goonj and distributed free of cost. The Ghadar was circulated widely among the Indians in North America and within a few minutes it reached groups settled in the Philippines, Hong Kong, Singapore Trinidad and of course India. It evoked unprecedented response becoming the subject of lively discussion and debate. The poems it carried were recited at gathering and were soon popular everywhere. In a brief time, the Ghadar succeeded in changing the self-image of the Punjabi immigrant from that of a loyal soldier of the British Raj to that of a rebel whose only aim was to destroy the British hold on his motherland. The

Ghadar consciously made Punjabi aware of his loyalist past, made him feel ashamed of it, in the name of the earlier tradition of resistance to oppression. The message went home and ardent young militant, began thirsting for action. Even Har Dayal was surprised by the intensity of response. He had on occasion. Spoken in terms of ten years or some years, when asked how long it would take to organize revolution in India. But those who read the heady exhortation of the Ghadar were too impatient, and ten years seemed a long one.

2.8.3 Decline of the Movement

Finally, in 1914, three events influenced the course of the course of the Ghadar movement; the arrest and escape of Har Dayal, the Komagata Maru incident, and the outbreak of the First World War. Har Dayal was arrested on 25 March 1914 on the ground of his anarchist activation. Released on bail, he used the opportunity to stay out of the country. With this his active association with the Gadar movement came to an abrupt end.

Meanwhile, in March 1914, the Komagata Maru case created an explosive situation in Punjab. Gurdit Singh, an Indian contractor living in Singapore, chartered a Japanese ship Komagata Moru for Vancouver and sought to carry 251 Sikhs and 21 Punjabi Muelim, to that town. the Canadian authority refused permission to the ship, to land and the ship returned to Budge Budge, Calcutta on 27 September 1914. The inmates of the ship and many Indian believed that British government had inspired Canadian authorities" The Government of India ordered all the passengers to be carried by train to the Punjab. On landing at Budge Budge near Calcutta, the harassed and irate passengers provoked by the hostile attitude of the authorities, resisted the police and this led to a clash in which eighteen passengers were killed, and 202 arrested. A few of them succeeded in escaping.

The third factor was the outbreak of 1st World War. A special meeting of the leading activist of the Ghadar movement decided that opportunity must be seized. The Ailan- e -jung or proclamation of war of the Ghadar party was issued and circulated widely. Mahammed Barkatulla, Ram Chandra and Bhagwan Singh organized and addressed meetings and exhort Indians, to organize armed revolt in India. The more important the Ghadar activist such as Kartar Singh Sarabha tater hanged by the British in a conspiracy case, later and Ragubar Dayal Gupta immediately left for India . The Government of India fully informed of the Ghadar plans. en arrival emigrants, were scrutinized of an estimated 8000 emigrants who returned to India, 5000 were allowed to proceed unhindered. Precautionary measures were taken for roughly 1500 men, up to February 1915, 189 had been interned and 704 restricted to their village, many who carne via Colombo and south India succeeded in reaching Punjab without being found out.

Finally, the Ghadarites did not find supprt of civilian population frantically, the Ghadar made an attempt to find a leader Rash Behari Bose the Sengal revolutionary who had become famous by his daring attack on Harding, the Viceroy, arrived in Punjab lo take the leadership. Bose established a semblance of an origination and sent out men to contact army unit, to start mutiny. The date for mutiny was set first for 19 and then for 21 February. However Government succeeded in taking pre-emptive measures and criminal investigation department succeeded in penetrating the organization. For all practical purposes the Ghadar movement was crushed. In what was perhaps the most repressive action experienced by the national movement thus far. Conspiracy trials were held in Punjab and Mandalay. Forty-five revolutionary sentenced to death and over 200 to long term imprisonment. An entire generation of the nationalist leadership of

Punjab was, thus politically beheaded.

Conclusions

The Ghadar movement was not a fiasco. The Ghadarites certainly contributed their share to the struggle for Indian freedom. Their successes are to be measured in terms of the deepening of nationalist consciousness, the evolution and testing of new strategy and methods of struggle, the creation of a tradition of resistance, of secularism, of democracy and of egalitarianism. Another marked feature of Ghadar ideology was its democratic and egalitarian content. It was clearly stated that by the Ghadarites that their objective was the establishment of an Independent Republic of India. Har Dayal's other contribution was the creation of a truly international outlook among the Ghadar revolutionaries. Ghadar militants were thus distinguished by their secular, egalitarian, democratic and non-chauvinistic international outlook. In spite of that, the Ghadar movement was suffered from many weaknesses. The major weakness of the Ghadar leaders was that they completely underestimated the extent and amount of preparedness at every level-organization, ideological, strategic, tactical, Financial- that was necessary before an armed revolt could be organized. Another major weakness of the movement was its almost non-existent organizational structure.

2.9 NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

Introduction

When Mahatma Gandhi arrived in India, the world war was on and India had already been declared a belligerent country. In those days Mahatma Gandhi was a professed loyalist. He once proudly spoke of his loyalty to the British Empire. He was a great admirer of British traditions and culture. He valued British connection with India. Hence, during the war, Gandhiji offered full co-operation without conditions" He was not in favour of even pressing the British Government for making a declaration that they would introduce responsible Government in India after war" He was even awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal for his great help in war.

The reception by Indians of the Reforms of 1919 was a mixed one. The Reforms caused a split in the congress ranks. The Moderate element in the congress had already formed the National Liberal Federation in November 1918 at Bombay under the leadership of Surendra Nath Banerjee. These Liberals, in their Annual conference held in 1919, whole heartily accepted the Reforms and found in them in fulfillment of the pledge given by the British Government in their declaration of 1917. The Indian National congress, in its annual session held at Amritsar in December 1919, declared the reforms as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, but at the same time decided to work the Reforms, so as to secure the earliest establishment of responsible government. The attitude of cooperation with the Reforms was exhibited by the Congress even after the tragedy of Jalianwala Bagh. All this was done mostly due to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, who till then believed in the wisdom of cooperation, with the Government. This was after the fashion of Gokhale in whom Gandhiji had found the right guide. The offer of cooperation was made even when Mrs' Besant had pronounced the Reforms as being unworthy of England to offer and India to accept. Tilak had characterized the Reforms as unsatisfactory and disappointing a sunless dawn.

But during the course of the following nine months, certain events happened, which changed the whole attitude of Mahatma Gandhi towards the British government. When a special session of the congress was held at Calcutta in September 1920, the entire outlook of the congress had transformed and it adopted the non-co-operation programme and decided to boycott the reformed councils. Mahatma Gandhi who had taken the lead in December 1919 at Amritsar in offering co-operation was now mainly instrumental in putting first time decided to adopt the policy of direct action i.e. non-co-operation and civil disobedience against the Government. The chain of events, which brought about his radical change in the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National congress towards the British Government, is described below.

2.9 ISSUES OF THE MOVEMENT

Agitation against Rowlatt Act

Various causes were responsible for the enactment of the Rowlatt Act. A.N Banerji has rightly described as the parent of the Non-co-operation Movement. During the war, the Government had dealt with the revolutionary crime under the Defence of India Act which was to expire at the end of the war' The Government of India wanted to arm itself with extra ordinary powers at least for some years more after the war especially because the war had intensified the force, nationalism. Moreover' as India was on the eve of future reforms, the bureaucracy wanted an additional weapon to deal with the non-co-operators with a stern hand. Besides an agitation for complete sovereignty had started in Afghanistan and the Government of India expected disorder in that region. And finally , was the fear of Russia creating trouble on the Indian frontier especially on the side of Afghanistan.

when Montague was about to leave India after his work in connection with the Mont. Ford Reforms' permission was taken from him to set up a committee with Justice Rowlatt as President to report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India and to suggest legislation, which was necessary to meet their danger. This committee was appointed on the 10th December 1917 and on the basis of its recommendations

two Bills were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council in February,1919, which are called Rowlatt Bills after the name of its President. The introduction of the Bills in the Assembly was a signal of an unprecedented agitation, which started in India to oppose them. In the Bills, the bureaucracy had taken up the position that it was impossible for them to maintain internal order, unless they were given the power to lock up, without trial, anybody they liked, for as long as they like. All the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council opposed the enactment of the Bills. The nationalist opinion feared that the Bills would provide convenient tools in the hands of the Government to beat down even legitimate political agitation and to harass political workers. In the teeth of a fierce countrywide agitation against the Bills which came to be nicknamed as Black Bills, one of these Bills was passed on March, 17, 1919. Mahatma Gandhi had already declared that he would start an agitation against the Bills, if passed and had advised the people to take a pledge for disobeying them without violence to life, persons and property.

After the Bill was passed, Mahatma Gandhi advised to people to stage a hartal on April 6 and to observe it as a day of mourning, on which day no business was to be transacted by way of popular demonstration against the high handed action of the Government, in enacting the Rowlatt Bill. The hartal was actually observed at Delhi on March 13, 1919- that being the day. Previously fixed for it, this led to minor violent clashes between the authorities and the public at some places. Gandhiji was invited by public leaders of Delhi to come and pacify the situation. There were similar troubles at other places especially in the Punjab. Orders were passed by the Government refusing the entry of Gandhiji in the Punjab and Delhi. Gandhiji disobeyed these order and started towards Delhi. On the way, he was arrested, taken back to Bombay and later released. The news of Gandhiji's arrest spread like wild fire, throughout the country and led to more violent outbursts by the public and further repression by the Government. The Jallianwala bagh tragedy was sequence of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act.

The Jallianwala Tragedy

An agitation was going on in the Punjab against the Rowlatt Bills, which had resulted inviolence by the public at places. The Government was particularly sensitive to the conditions prevailing in the Punjab, because of the large number of disbanded soldiers living there and because of its nearness to Afghanistan. Dr Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlu were the popular leader of Punjab at the time. Gandhiji was arrested on 9th April 1919. Sir Michail Dwyer, the Lt. Governor of the Punjab, addressed the deportation of Dr. Kitchlu and Dr. Satyapal to some unknown place.

This angered the people. A procession was taken out at Amritsar by the people to protest against the arrest of the popular leaders. This procession was fired at by the authorities, as a result of which some people died. The dead were taken up by the crowd on their shoulders and on their way back to the city, the processionists set fire to some public buildings and killed some Europeans. The civil administration

requested military authorities to take up the charge of the city. General Dyer, who commanded the Jallunder Division at that time, arrived at Amritsar on April, 12, 1919 to take up the charge only a day after i.e. on 13th the Jallianwala massacre was ordered by him. The inhabitants of Amritsar had started assembling in the Jallianwala Bagh from mid-day on April 13 to protest against the firing by the authorities on a peaceful crowd which had resulted in death and to protest against the deportation of their leaders, whose whereabouts were not known. General Dyer prohibited the meeting, scheduled to be held on the 13th. But the notice of prohibition order was not properly proclaimed. Some came even in spite of the knowledge of the order. On hearing the news of people assembling General Dyer proceeded to the scene with one hundred Indian and fifty British soldiers. He took a machine gun along with him, which however could not be taken to the place of the meeting, because the passage was too small for it. The people had assembled for making a protest. The meeting was perfectly peaceful. The leaders to a man were wedded to non-violence. The acts of violence that had occurred on the previous days were sporadic in nature. General Dyer did not give even a warning to the crowd for dispersal, 1650 rounds of 303 were fired. The firing stopped only when the entire ammunition was exhausted. According to the Government report as a result of firing, 379 persons were killed and 1137 wounded. The actual number was much greater. Dyer, after the massacre, heartlessly, left the dead and the wounded to their fate.

Jallianwala Bagh is an open space in the heart of the city enclosed on all sides by big walls of houses. A part from the only entrance was blocked by the military. Hence, during the course of the firing there was no way to escape. The place where bullets struck in those high walls and trees have been marked, as a standing testimony to the way in which the people were ruthlessly butchered. Martial law was declared in Amritsar. A reign of terror followed. In discriminate flogging, firing and bombing followed in its wake. In one of the streets, order was issued for the people to come and go from their houses, crawling as four-footed animals.

2.9.2 Issues of Khilafat Movement

Turkey fought in the World War-I against the allies. The Muslims of India had always

recognized the Sultan of Turkey as their religious Chief or Khalifa. The position of Muslims of India during the war was embarrassing indeed because their religious loyalty was to Turkey and political affiliation to Britain. Still the Mussalmans of India whole heartedly helped the British in the prosecution of the war because of British assurance regarding caliphate. When the war ended the news leaked out that the allies were thinking of disrupting and dividing the Turkish Empire. Muslims of India became naturally much agitated and perturbed over this ominous news. This led to the Khilafat agitation, whose objects were to stop the disruption of the Turkish Empire, to prevent imposition of peace terms on Turkey and to preserve the spiritual headship of the Sultan of Turkey. An all-India Khilafat Conference was held at Delhi on November 27, 1919 under the Presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi, who completely identified himself with the movement from its

very inception. Gandhiji objected to the way in which the Government was breaking its pledges to Mussalmans of India regarding the fate of Turkey after the war. He seized the occasion as a great opportunity to cement Hindu- Muslim unity and in return to win the sympathies of Musalmans

for the national movement. Mahatma Gandhi advised Hindus to join the Khilafat agitation and thus to help Muslims in their hour of need. On the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, a deputation met the Governor-General under the leadership of Dr. Ansari. But nothing came out of it. In March 1920 Maulana Mohammed Ali, along with his brother Shaukat Ali, was deputed to England to support this cause. They also returned empty handed.

The treaty was signed on August 10, 1920. The Turkish Empire was divided. It was to lose the whole of Thrace and the richest areas of Asia Minor. The Sultan was to become a virtual prisoner of Allied High Commission. Thus all the pledges given to Mussalmans during the war were broken. Turkey was subjected to imperialistic exploitation. In this hour of agony and despair of Muslims,

Mahatma Gandhi advised them to begin non-co-operation movement against the Government. This proposal of Gandhi was accepted by the Khilafat Committee on May 28, 1920. Two days later the All India Congress Committee decided to convince a special session of the Indian National Congress to consider the question of launching a non-co-operation movement at Calcutta. In 1920 the resolution was adopted.

Congress Decision Non-Co-operation

The decision of the Congress to start a non-co-operation movement against the Government was truly a revolutionary step. It was for the first time that the Indian National Congress, as a body, was embarking on the policy of direct action against the Government. It was a break from the method that the Congress had followed during the last 35 years from the year of its birth. The method of political mendicancy was discarded once for all. We may discuss the causes which led to this revolutionary change in the method of the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi, to start with was a loyalist, a co-operator, a true disciple of Gokhale as is shown by the attitude of the Congress in December, 1919 at Amritsar. Mahatma Gandhi stated that the report of the Hunter Committee regarding the Jallianwala Bagh happenings which

became final in May 1920 and terms of the Treaty of Sevres which became public also in that month changed his entire attitude towards the British Government. Hence, the two main immediate causes which were callous attitude of the Government towards the victims of Jallianwala bagh and their attitude regarding Turkey. The availability of a leader of the caliber of Mahatma Gandhi, who had already tested the efficacy of his weapon of non-violent civil disobedience on Satyagrah, was another factor which made it possible for the Congress to adopt this course. Moreover, the moderates had left the Congress in 1918. The Extremists were in complete charge of the Congress, at the time when the bold decision was taken in December 1920. Mahatma Gandhi was sure that whole hearted co-operation of Muslims would be forthcoming in any movement of non-co-operation against the Government because Muslims were bitterly against the Government on account of the Khilafat issue and the Hindus had given full

support Muslims. Mahatma Gandhi therefore considered the time ripe for taking up the resolution of non-co-operation at the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920. C.R. Das, B.C. Pal, Ft. Malviya, Ms. Anni Besant and Mr. Jinnah were opposed to it. Even Lala Lajpat Rai who presided over the session had no sympathy with it. Thus Gandhiji had to fight against heavy odds in getting the resolution for non-co-operations adopted by the Congress, which was eventually done by a narrow majority of 11 votes. This very resolution was later

reaffirmed by an overwhelming majority at the regular session of the Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920. The Nagpur session will remain memorable for making two vital changes in the constitution of the self Government within the British Empire. The goal was now declared to be the attainment of Swaraj which according to Gandhiji meant Swaraj within the British Empire if possible and outside, if necessary Swaraj was used as a compromising word between those who wanted to serve all connections with the British. Secondly till then according to the constitution, the congress could employ only constitutional means to attain its objective. It was laid down that the Congress could adopt all peaceful and legitimate means to achieve its end. This again was a compromise between those who wanted to stick to the constitutional means and those who advocated all

possible means for the attainment of the objective. The net result of the changes was that the constitutional method was finally declared to be adequate for attaining freedom for India.

With the death of Lokmanya Tilak on 31st July 1920, Mahatma Gandhi became the undisputed leader of the Congress. We may describe this event as the beginning of the Gandian Era in the political life of India. The sails of the Congress were now resolutely set for a clash with the Government. Never again was the Congress to be accused of political mendacity.

2.9.4 Programmes of the Movement

In the non-co-operation resolution passed by the Congress at Calcutta in September 1920 and ratified at Nagpur in December 1920, the Congress advised. The surrender of titles and honorary offices; Resignation from nominated seats in local bodies; Refusal to attend Government bodies, darbars and official functions held by the Government officials in their honour; Gradual withdrawal of children from school and colleges, owned, aided or controlled by the Government; Refusal on the part of their martial, clerical, and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits in Mesopotamia; Gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants;

Withdrawal by candidates from elections to the Reformed councils and refusal on the part of voters to vote for any candidate offering himself for the election; and Boycott of foreign goods. This may be described as the 'negative and destructive side of the programme', which in short, means the boycott of councils, court, colleges and the Government. Apart from this there was also a positive or constructive side of the programme. In place of Government educational institutions, the resolution advocated the establishment of national schools and colleges all over India. Private arbitration courts were to be established for the settlement of disputes with the aid of lawyers in place of the Government courts. The boycott of foreign goods was to be supported by a movement popularizing the swadeshi clothes and by the revival of Hindu/Muslim unity was also made. The removal of untouchability was urged. Mahatma Gandhi declared that there could be no Swaraj without the removal of untouchability. The people were called upon to go through the ordeal of privations and suffering, and to make utmost sacrifices for the winning of Swaraj, which was promised within one year by Mahatma Gandhi. Truth or Satya was declared as the supreme strategy and non violence or ahinsa was to be the dominating principle of the whole movement.

Progress of the movement

The seed of the non-operation movement was really planned in 1919 against the Rowlatt Act. The Massacre of Jallianwala Bagh was being condemned everywhere when the call for non-co-operation came towards the end of 1920. The movement captured the heart to the people from the very beginning. It continued to gather momentum throughout the year 1921. Many distinguished persons like C.R. Das, Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, Vithalbai and Vallabhabhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad left their practice as lawyers to join the movement. Many prominent Muslim leaders like Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Saikat Ali popularly called the Ali Brothers, Dr. Ansari and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad also joined the movement. Many students gave up studying in Government schools and colleges and national educational institutions like the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, the Bihar Vidyapeeth and Banaras Vidyapeeth, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth and Kashi Vidyapeeth, the Bengal National University, the National Muslim University of Aligarh, the Jamia Millia of Delhi, the National College of Lahore and many other national institutions were founded all over the country.

Many lawyers gave up their practice. Jamunlal Bajaj subscribed a lakh of rupees for the maintenance of non-practicing lawyers per year. The Swadeshi cloth became popular. Hand spinning and hand weaving got encouragement, Hindu-Muslim accord developed to an extent never seen before or after liquor shops and foreign cloth shops began to be looked down upon and were often picketed. The evils of untouchability began to be realized. Forty lakh volunteers were enrolled by the Congress and about 20,000 charkhas were manufactured. The litigant public at places avoided law courts and settled their dispute by arbitration. Gandhiji surrendered his title of Kaiser-e-Hind. The visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, in connection with the inauguration of the constitution, was successfully boycotted. It is however to be admitted that the destructive or negative side of the programme was not much of a success. The elections to the Reformed Councils were held more or less in the usual manner. 2000 candidates contested 774 seats in the Councils, only 6 seats were such where no election was held for want of a candidate. Opportunists and loyalists filled the Councils and made them anything but representative of the people. Colleges, courts and

government offices continued much the same way. The movement on the whole was non-violent. But here and there the Government machinery came into clash with the picketeers and non-co-operators and sporadic acts of violence were committed also by some people.

The movement was progressing beyond expectation and the situation was getting out of the control of the Government. It was perhaps decided by the Government that the movement should be suppressed and crushed. With this object in view the government began to indulge in indiscriminate beating and forceful dispersal of meeting. The Seditious Meeting Act was passed and thousands of persons were arrested. Volunteer organizations were made a special target to attack by the Government. Very soon the Government announced the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. The time for the visit was chosen probably to invoke the traditional loyalty of the masses to the Crown and to wean them away from the movement. In July 1921, the all India Congress Committee decided not to participate in the welcome ceremony to the Prince. This infuriated the Government still further.

On August 20, 1921 most terrible acts of violence were committed by the Moplahs of Mahbar which paralysed the administration in that area. The most unfortunate part of the uprising by the Moplahs was that many Hindus were also killed. As the Government machinery collapsed completely the Khilafat Republic was set up by the insurgents. Ali Brothers were arrested on September 17, 1921. The working committee of the Congress justified the actions of Ali Brothers

and in order to give expression the popular resentment against the Government for arresting Ali Brothers, declared the observance of hartal all over India on the day of the arrival of the Prince in India. This boycott of the visit of the Prince was adopted to show India's resentment against the repressive policy of the government. The Prince landed at Bombay on November 17, 1921. A complete hartal was observed throughout Bombay by the Public on that day. There were some clashes between the boycotters and the co-operators in which the act of violence was committed by both sides. Mahatma Gandhi accepted full

responsibility for violence committed by the public and condemned the excesses in a strong language. The Government decided to use a great repression. The Congress and the Khilafat volunteer organisations were declared unlawful, public meetings were forbidden. But the Government failed to repress the tide of popular upheaval. Orders of the Government were defied. Enrollment of member of the volunteer corps continued. Beating lathi charge and firing began to be indulged in by the Government still more Indiscriminately by December 1921. C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, Maulana Azad and many other top ranking leaders were put behind the prison walls. Arrests were made all over India. The total number of arrested persons came in the neighborhood of about 25,000.

In December 1921, the Prince visited Calcutta. Lord Reading still desired a settlement with the Congress because of the presence of the Prince in India. Efforts of settlement at Calcutta in December 1921, before the visit of the Prince there, failed because Government was not prepared to release Ali Brothers, which was made a condition precedent to any settlement by the Congress. Most of the prominent Congress leaders were now being in the prison bars. Gandhiji

was spared. The Congress meeting at Ahmedabad in December 1921 decided to intensify the struggle and sanctioned the starting of civil-disobedience movement. Gandhi was appointed as the highest authority to launch the movement.

2.9.5 Suspension of the Movement

Armed with the resolution of the Congress sanctioning civil disobedience movement Gandhi wrote a letter in February 1922 to Lord Reading intimating that, he will start Civil Disobedience Movement, unless the Government showed a change of heart by giving up its repressive policy. But before that period on 5th February 1922, at Chauri Chaura, in Gorakhpur District of U.P 21 Policemen and a sub-inspector were burnt alive in a police station by an infuriated mob. Mahatma

Gandhi felt so horrified at this fact of brutal violence that he gave order for suspending the movement at once.

Significance:-

The Indian National movement for the first time in the history, acquired a real mass base with the participation of different section of Indian society, such as peasants, workers, students, teachers, women and merchants, however, the big Industrialists, capitalists, Zamidars etc, still remain hostile. The movement witnessed the spread of nationalism to the remotest corner of the country. It transformed the Indian national congress from a deliberative assembly into an organization for action as evidenced from the various programmes of the movement.

It marked the height of Hindu unity which could be seen in the merger of the Khilafat movement with this movement. Thus, though the movement failed to achieve any one of its three main demands, it was, nevertheless, a great step forward in the courses of the Indian nationalist movement.

UNIT-III

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Objectives

In this unit we will discuss the objectives of Home rule movement and Ghadar movement. The main issues of non-cooperation movement and Khilafat movement. The aims of the Swarajists and civil disobedience movement have been covered. After reading this unit you should be able to understand:

- Main issue of Home rule movement
- Describe programmer of the Home rule movement
- Know the geneses of Ghadar movement
- Learn the activation of the Gadar movement
- Understand the main issue for launching of it
- Non-cooperation movement
- Know the main programmer of the non-cooperation movement
- Know why Swaraj party was formed
- Understand the programmer of the Swaraj party
- Know the main causes for launching of the civil disobedience movement
- Know main demands of the congress
- Know the spread of the movement and great repression
- Learn the causes for the development of terrorist movement

- Learn the main objectives of the terrorist movement
- Know their contribution to the freedom movement

3.2 THE SWARAJ PARTY

Various causes were responsible for the formation of the Swaraj Party. Firstly, after the suspension of the non-cooperation movement and the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, much was not left in the national movement, which could have popular appeal. The constructive work alone could not lead to political emancipation. Something more dynamic and virile was needed to put life in the despondent nation. A wave of dissatisfaction was sweeping against the methods of Mahatma Gandhi, especially because of the unceremonious manner in which he had ended the struggle. C.R Das in Bengal, Pandit Motilal Nehru in North India, and N.C Kelkar in Deccan, Voiced dissatisfaction against the policy of Mahatma Gandhi. Non-cooperation had not been much of a success.

Moreover, the Hindu-Muslim front which was evolved during the Khilafat days had broken down. It was difficult for Muslims, as a community, to appreciate the underlying principles and ethics of non-violence. In December, '1925, even Mohammad Ali who was the chief Muslim disciple of Mahatma Gandhi during non-cooperation days, disowned the Gandhian way and adopted communal politics, as his creed.

Besides, the government had adopted a policy of stern repression towards those who indulged in anti-government activities. The council entry was, therefore, adopted by some as affording a safe political career. In August 22, 1922, Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, delivered his famous steel Frame speech, in which he emphasized the pivotal role of the Indian Civil Service in the administration for a very long time to come. If this was the policy of the British

Government, co-operation with it was impossible and obstruction was left as the only course. The Government also started pampering the Princes to make them act as Pillars of imperialism against the progressive forces. Lastly, the response of the Government to the co-operative efforts of the Liberals was too poor to win for the party popularity in the masses. On November 2, 1922 the British Government declared that no early revision of the constitution was possible. The Princes protection Act was certified by the Governor General, as a law, although it was rejected by the Assembly. Salt tax was doubled with the use of the extraordinary powers of the Governor General although it was condemned and the budget containing it was thrown out by the Assembly. When the second General Elections under the Reforms came, the Liberals had no worthwhile achievements to their credit in the eyes of the voters, on the basis of which they could ask for a second chance from the electorates. The uncompromising attitude of the Government was also responsible for the defeat of the Liberals and the success of the Swarajist, who appealed on the basis of starting non-co-operation with the Government.

3.1.1

The Formation of the Party

Immediately after suspension of the non-co-operation movement and the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi the question began to be mooted, whether it would not be advisable, under the circumstances, to capture the council. C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru openly began to preach the gospel of entering the councils in order to end or mend them. At the Gaya session of the Congress held in December, 1922 under the Presidentship of C.R. Das, those who stood for entering the councils could not carry the Congress with them. Orthodox followers of Mahatma Gandhi, who began to be called no-changers, under the leadership of C. Rajagopalchari, were able to defeat the objective of those who stood for entering into the councils. After the Gaya session, C.R. Das resigned from the Congress to organize the Swaraj Party, with a view to capturing the Congress, before the General Election of 1923. A special session of the Congress was held in September, 1923 at Delhi. In between

these two sessions, the salt tax was doubled, although the Assembly had rejected the budget containing this item. This swelled the ranks of those Congressmen who stood for some sort of clash with the Government. In this special session, which was held under the Presidentship of Maulana Azad, the programme of council entry was officially adopted by the Congress. Gandhiji was released in February, 1924, on grounds of ill health. He, evidently, did not like the Swarajist programme. He was also not in a position to revert to active non-co-operation.

Leaders and the masses were simply not prepared for it. So in 1925, a compromise was reached between the two wings, and freedom was given to congressmen to do either council work or constructive work: The proverbial tong ropo was given by Mahatma Gandhi to the Swarajists till they and the masses were, once again, prepared to follow his own method of civil disobedience.

3.2.3 Aims and Principles of the Swarajists

The ultimate aim of the Swarajists was the same as that of the Gandhites, namely, to win Swaraj which meant Dominion status within the British Empire. But their method was different. They had no faith in civil disobedience, they wanted to take part in the elections in order to infuse enthusiasm and carry the message of nationalism to the masses. They wanted to capture seats in the Legislatures in order to prove their strength with the masses and in order to wreck the citadel of bureaucracy from within. This was considered necessary to prevent undesirable persons from capturing seats in the Legislatures and thus lending a show of popular support to the Government by co-operating with it, as the Liberals had done. Obstruction to the Government was their key-note. Their immediate objective was to make the Montford Reforms unworkable. They stood for mending or ending the "Act of 1919" They wanted to destroy the then prevailing constitutional structure in order to build a new and a better one, on its ruins. They contemplated the rejection of all vital legislative programmes of the Government as well as the budgets in order to bring the Governmental machinery to a standstill. They refused participation in all Government bodies and functions. This was the destructive side of the programme of the Swarajists. There was also a constructive side. In the Legislatures they wanted to pass resolutions, containing constructive proposals for

further constitutional advancement and laws necessary for the growth of a healthy national life. They also stood for giving whole-hearted support to the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi.

It was stated on their behalf that if their method failed to bring about the required change in the Government they would, unhesitatingly join a civil disobedience movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In the manifesto issued in 1923 by the Swarajist Party, it was stated to be the first duty of the party to demand that the right of the Indian people to control the machinery and system of Government should at once be conceded and given effect to. If the right itself as conceded, well and well. But in the event of the Government refusing to entertain the demand, it shall be the duty of the members of the party elected to the Assembly and the provincial Councils, if they constitute the majority to resort to a policy of a uniform continuous and consistent obstruction to make Government through the Assembly and the Councils impossible.

3.1.3 Success and Work of the Swarajist

The general elections of 1923 were fought by the Swarajists on the basis of the above mentioned Programme. As a result of the elections, the Swarajists returned at the top of the poll and the Liberals were almost wiped off. The Swarajists won a clear majority in C.F. and a dominant position in Bengal and the Central Legislative Assembly. In U.P. and Bombay, the influence of the Swarajists was great and at times, decisive.

Pt. Motilal Nehru was the leader of the Swarajists Party in the Legislative Assembly of India. The party won 45 seats out of 145- thus it was the largest party in the Assembly. Because of the able leadership of Pt. Motilal Nehru, the party was able to enlist the support of the Nationalists and some Independents and thus commanded a working majority. As early as February 8, 1924, Pt. Nehru was successful in getting passed by the Assembly by an overwhelming majority in

which all the elected members voted for the motion, a resolution that steps should be taken have the India Act, 1919 revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India and for that purpose to summon at an early date, a representative Round Table Conference to recommend, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, a scheme for constitution of India, and after dissolving the Central Legislature to place it before the newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and to submit it to the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute.

The Labour party came into office with Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as Prime Minister in January 1924. Macdonald was known to be sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. Hopes, therefore, summarily rejected by the British Government. The result of this disillusionment was that the Swarajistis and other nationalist leaders in the Assembly stiffened their opposition and policy of obstruction. In desperation, they took up the position no redress of grievances, no supplies Acting on this principle, they rejected four important demands for grants and the Finance Bill for 1924-25. The appeal of the Governor General for reconsideration was also ignored. The Governor General has to restore the grants and pass the Finance Bill by using his extraordinary power of certification. The budgets of 1925-26 and 1926-27 were similarly rejected and certified by the Governor General. A series of defeats were thus inflicted on the Government Resolutions were passed against the determined opposition of the Government, demanding release of certain political prisoners and asking for the repeal of the Regulation-III of 1818. Invitations to functions and parties held by the Governor General as well as in his honour were not accepted. Many a time the party staged a walk out to show resentment against the attitude of the Government.

3.1.4 Work in Provinces

In C.P. the Swarajists being in absolute majority, there was no difficulty in putting Dyarchy out of action. The Governor had no alternative but to take the

administration of even the transferred subjects on his own hands. In Bengal although the Swarajists were not in an absolute majority, yet C.R. Das was able to enlist the support of some Muslims and was able to make Dyarchy unworkable. On February 28, 1924, C.R. declared that his party would oppose the formation of a

Ministry in Bengal, unless and until the present system of Government is altered and there is a settlement between the Government and the people of this province, on a real change of heart, without which there can be no guarantee for complete self-government. Thus Dyarchy failed in C.P. and Bengal between 1921 and 1926 because the Swarajists were opposed to its working. In other provinces the party continued to make here and there demands for constitutional advancement.

3.1.5 Swarajists drift towards Co-operation

C.R. Das died in 1925, which weakened the Swarajist Party a good deal. In the provinces, where the party was not in a majority, wholesale obstruction was futile, if not impossible. In the Legislative Assembly, the Nationalist Party, which was led by Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya and L. Lajpat Rai came to the conclusion that indiscriminate opposition of the Government was harming the interests of the Hindus. The Swarajists were not able to bring the machinery of the Government to a standstill. Even in G.F. and Bengal, the Kings Government was still going on. Mahatma Gandhi and his orthodox followers remained reconciled to the principles of the Swarajists. In his last days even C.R. Das had begun to realize the futility of obstruction for the sake of obstruction. The Government on its own part left no stone unturned to bring the Swarajists round to a policy of co-operation.

All this led to a gradual watering down of the original policy of the Swarajists of un-diluted opposition. An important section of the party freely began to advocate the advantages of the policy of responsive co-operation, instead of the policy of wholesale obstruction. Thus, there was a split in the ranks of the Swarajists. In 1924, the Swarajists accepted seats on the steel protection

Committee. In 1925, Pt. Motilal Nehru accepted membership of the Sken Committee which was appointed to inquire into the possibility of more rapidly Indianizing the Army. Rot set in after the death of C.R. Das. In 1925, Mr. V.J. Patel, who was a leading Swarajist allowed himself to be elected as the Speaker of the Central Assembly. S.B. Tample, another prominent Swarajist of C.P., became an Executive Councillor in C.P. Pt. Motilal Nehru threatened severe disciplinary action against those who were deviating from the mandate of the Party, but this drove some important members of the Party into an open revolt. All these desertions weakened the party. In the election of 1926, the Swarajists did not fare well. By the end of 1926, no body talked of carrying on the policy of uniform continuous and consistent obstruction against the Government and the wreckers had lost much of their fire. Appraisal of the Policy of the Swarajists There was an inherent contradiction in the Policy of the Swarajists. If the Government was to be obstructed at all points, why fight elections under the constitution and enter the councils. Thus the policy was illogical. It was impracticable in the sense that there was nothing in the policy, which could bring the machinery of the Government to a standstill. It was a weak policy too, because at least some of those who joined were evidently not prepared to undergo the suffering involved in following a policy of civil disobedience.

3.1.6 An Assessment-

Let us not, at the same time, fail to record the utility or the work of the Swarajists to the National movement. The whole nation was plunged into diffidence and despondency in 1922, when the non-cooperation movement was switched off. The Swarajists kept the torch of nationalism burning and infused enthusiasm in the masses at a time, when non-co-operation had evidently failed and the constructive work of the Congress alone had no mass appeal. Only opposition or obstruction to the Government could whip up enthusiasm in the masses.

Thus demand for a Round Table Conference, to which the Government agreed in 1930, was first formulated by the Swarajists and pushed through the Assembly. The appointment of the Muddiman Committee was a concession to the demands made by the Swarajists. The Simon Commission was appointed two years

earlier to report on the necessity of further Reforms also because the swarajist. The working of the Swarajist Party in the Legislative Assembly of India exposed the autocratic and irresponsible nature of the Government. The Government could no more claim that the elected representatives of the people were co-operating with it.

3.2 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The Lahore Congress of 1930 had launched a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. In mid-February 1930, the working Committee meeting at Sabaramati Ashram, invested Gandhiji with full powers to launch the civil disobedience movement at a time and place of his choice. The acknowledged expert on mass struggle was already desperately in search of an effective formula. His ultimatum of 31 January to Lord Irwin, stating the minimum demands in the form of 11 points had been ignored and there was now only one way out: civil disobedience.

3.2.1 Causes of the Movement

Apart from the rejection of the Nehru report by the British Government various other factors also contributed in making civil disobedience inevitable. Acute economic depression had occurred in India, in line with the world depression, which had made the conditions of labour, peasantry and business men deplorable. Communist workers and peasants Associations were springing up everywhere. In the middle of 1928, under the leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the peasants of Bardoli in Surat district of Gujarat had carried out a successful satyagraha by refusing payment of land revenue which suggested an effective way of compelling the Government to redress popular grievances. The Government was especially keen to suppress the communists, so it decided to round up almost all the communist leaders and in March, 1931 lodged them at Meerut, where they were kept as under trial prisoners for four years, which became a great judicial scandal. At the end, 27 prisoners were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment ranging from

transportation for life to rigorous imprisonment for the years. In November 1929 the All India Trade Union Congress met under the Presidentship of Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, when a resolution was passed for achieving independence and to establish in India a socialist Republic. Unrest is the parent of a resolution Mahatma Gandhi came to the conclusion that a revolution was inevitable in India.

3.2.2 11. Point Demand by Gandhi

Before starting the movement, Gandhiji served at the British Government a 11 point ultimatum, which though did not include the demand for complete independence, represented the specific grievances of the Indians. The ultimatum included the following demands:50% reduction in land revenue.

- Abolition of the salt tax.
- Reservation of costal shipping for Indians.
- Lowering of the rupee-sterling exchange ratio.
- Preservation of indigenous textile industry.
- 50% cut in military expenditure.
- 50% reduction in expenditure on civil administration.
- Total prohibition of intoxicants.
- Releaser of Political Prisoners.
- Change in the central Intelligence.
- Change in the Arms Act.

On February 11, the Congress Working Committee authorized Mahatma Gandhi to lunch civil disobedience. On March, 2, Mahatma Gandhi addressed his famous letter to the Viceroy through an English friend, Reginald Reynolds, intimating his resolve and beseeching him to overt the catastrophe if possible. But nothing comes out of it'

3.2.3 Starting of the Movement

The stage was thus, set for the second major struggle led by the Congress. On March 12 after previous notice to the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi began his famous march to Dandi, along with 79 selected followers to break the salt laws. Salt is the Commonest and cheapest article of food. It is the greatest food of the poor. Hence, Mahatma Gandhi decided that would be broken fast. It was a journey of 200 miles, which was covered on foot by the marchers in 24 days.

Throughout the March, at every step and stage, villages plucked to greet the Mahatma and his follower with flowers, cheers and national slogans. Satyagrahis reached Dandi on Aril 5, and after a day of fasting and prayers, prepared salt at the beach from the sea water and thus break the salt law,

The act of Mahatma Gandhi and his followers was a signal for breaking of salt laws all over the country. In Bombay, Bengal, U.P., C.P., and Madras illegal salt making was started, picketing and boycott of liquor shops followed a work which Gandhiji entrusted to the women of India. The boycott was successful beyond all calculation in Delhi alone, about 1600 women were imprisoned and most of the regular shops were closed. It brought women out of purdah and served as the first step towards their present emancipation and progress. Boycott of foreign cloth was also started which proved a blessing in disguise for cloth mill owner, who were groaning under the economic depression. Import of foreign cloth was cut down to about one fourth. The Indian mills introduced double-shifts to cope up with increased demand. The Government as usual resorted of merciless repression, although sporadic acts of violence were committed by the public here and there. On the whole, the campaign was conducted in a non-violent and peaceful-manner. On April 23, the Government indulged in a dreadful butchery at Peshawar. Indiscriminate firing was ordered. Hundreds were killed and wounded. For a time, the Government stopped firing by soldiers on the crowds and indulged in lathi blows by the police. But the people were not cowed. All dread of the physical force of the Governement was gone. On April 16, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru was arrested and this was followed by the arrests of some other important leaders. Mahatma Gandhi's arrest followed on May, 5, 1930. He was sent to

yarvada Jail to be kept under detention during the Governor's pleasure, because, in the opinion of the authorities, he was a menace to public order. Evidently the Government was afraid of prosecuting Mahatma Gandhi ever for the clearly illegal acts committed by him. The arrest of Mahatma added fuel to the fire and the movement was intensified. The government increased the speed of arrests which halted only when all the existing jails were filled. In all, more than 60,000 people were imprisoned for taking part in the struggle. The government also resorted to

. emergency ordinance. More than a dozen such ordinances were issued by the Governor General to bring the movement under control. The All India Congress Committee and the local Congress Committee were declared unlawful. After Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, the payment of taxes began to be refused. The bulk of Mussalmans of India did not take part in the campaign. Mr. Jinnah declared that the movement was an attempt to place the Mussalmans of India at the mercy of

Hindu Maha Sabhities. The Red Shirts under Khan Abdul Gafar Khan, however, took a leading part in the movement. In August 1930, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar attempted some peace-making between the Congress and the Government which is often described as Sapru Jayakar peace parleys, but they were not successful in bridging the gulf between the Government and the

Congress. Hence, the struggle continued for about 6 months more. The first Round Table Conference began on November 12, 1930 which was boycotted by the Congress. On January 25, 1931, all the top ranking leaders of the Congress were released. Pt. Motilal Nehru died on February 6, 1931, as a result of long imprisonment. The movement was called off on March 5, 1931, after the signing of the Gandhi Irwin Pact.

3.2.4 First Round Table Conference

The Report of Simon Commission was published on May 27, 1930. It was rejected by all political parties in India. The British Government had no alternative but to convene a Round Table Conference and there by, admit the right of Indians to participate in constitution making. The Round Table Conference was

inaugurated on November 12, 1930, by the king and was presided over by Ramsay Macdonald. It was inaugurated at a time, when the Civil Disobedience Movement was at its height and the severest form of repression was being perpetuated by the British bureaucracy in India. The conference had 89 delegates from India, out of which 51 represented British India and 16 were represented the Indian state. The delegates from British India represented Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Landlords, commercial interests, scheduled castes, Trade Union etc. There was however, no representative of the Congress. In the opening session of the conference, the Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald suggested some constitutional proposals on the basis of which discussion was to proceed in conference. Firstly, a federal form of Government was proposed for India, Secondly, provinces were to be given full responsible Government with necessary safeguards. Thirdly, partial responsibility was

to be introduced in the Central Government, subject again to certain reservations. On the issue of Federation, there was no difference of opinion" All the delegates were in favour of it. Even the Indian Princes came out with a statement that they would welcome the formation of an All India Federation and would be glad to join it. The attitude of the Princes was an agreeable surprise for the delegates from the British India, because, so far, the Princes had been objecting to the idea of the states joining the federation along with the British India which course was bound to decrease their personal powers and help the growth of progressive movement in the states" It was really the British pressure which made the Princes declare themselves in favour of the federation. The British Government knows that the Indian leaders would not be satisfied without some sort of responsibility at the center.

They persuaded the Princes to join the federation to counteract the strength of the progressive element in the Central Legislature. There could be no objection in the granting of full responsible governments in the provinces from the Indian side. There was of course, some scope for differences regarding the nature of safeguards which were sought to be introduced to check the powers of the responsible Ministers in the provinces. The idea of responsibility at the Centre was also welcomed.

There was however no agreement between the Indian delegates over the communal question. The Muslims, as a body, stood for separate electorates, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, continued to press for his fourteen points. Dr. Ambedkar on behalf of the scheduled castes also insisted on separate electorates: The delegates of the Hindus were in favour of joint electorates, but were prepared to concede reservation of seats for the minorities. Thus the British India delegates presented an interesting spectacle. Representative of every community viewed with one another in pressing for advantages to their own community. Nothing better would be expected from the type of motley crowd that was assembled in London and on the way, the delegates were picked up.

The conference concluded in January 1931 . In winding up the discussion of the conference, the Prime Minister summed up the conclusions arrived at and on which, there was a general measure of agreement between the delegates. The points agreed upon were the same he had hinted at in the opening session, namely an All Indian Federation, full responsible Government in the provinces with necessary safeguards and diarchy at the centre with reservations. The Prime Minister once again expressed the hope that the Congress would be willing to join future deliberation of the conference and invited it to co-operate with the task of constitution making. There was no escape from it. In the absence of the representatives of the Congress, there was a fear that the conclusions reached at the conference might not be accepted by the Indian masses. The conference thereafter adjourned to some future date.

3.2.5 Gandhi-Irwin Pact

The British Government was evidently keen to arrive at a settlement with the Congress. In pursuance of the policy, the ban on the Congress working committee was lifted and its members, along with other important leaders including Mahatma Gandhi were released unconditionally on January 26, 1931. Long and protracted negotiations began between Lord Irwin and Gandhiji on February 17, which

resulted in the ill-fated Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which was signed on March 5, 1931' Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar and the Rt, Honourable V.S.S. Shastri acted as intermediaries. The Pact, which was ratified on March 31, 1931, by the Karachi Congress, revealed a spirit of give and take on behalf of the Government it was agreed-

To withdraw all ordinances and pending prosecutions.

To set all political prisoners free, except those who were guilty of violence.

To restore all property confiscated for taking part in the Satyagraha.

To permit peaceful picketing of liquor, opium and foreign cloth shops.

To permit the collection or manufacture of salt free of duty, to persons residing within a specific distance of the sea shore.

On behalf of the congress, on the other hand it was agreed-

That Mahatma Gandhi will not press for the investigation of the police excesses.

To suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement.

To participate in the Second Round Table Conference on the basis of responsibility and

safeguards in the interest of India. and

To stop all boycott.

Most of the Indians happy relived over the pact. But the left wing of the Congress was not satisfied with it. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose denounced it. Mr.

Jawahar Lal Nehru was shocked to read the reservations or safeguards agreed upon because they meant clearly that our control over Indian affairs would not be full. The youth of the country were particularly disgusted with it because Mahatma Gandhi was not able to secure Pardon rat least get the death sentences of Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades commuted to transportation for life. The pact was also not liked by the conservative circles of England and the British bureaucracy for what it had promised to Indians. The next session of the Congress was held in March, 1931, at Karachi, where the pact was to come for ratification before the Congress. Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades were hanged on the eve of the Karachi session. The young men were woefully angry with Gandhiji. On his way to Karachi, they shouted down with Gandhi. It was with this situation that Mahatma Gandhi had to face the Karachi Congress. But he saved the situation by making a great speech at the occasion. He appealed the delegates to ratify the pact which had for the time being, put a stop to their suffering and was, at least a respite. The pact was eventually ratified, paving the way for the participation of the Congress in the second Round Table Conference. Lord Willington, who took charge as the Viceroy towards the end of April, 1931 was a blood and iron man and was hardly the person to appreciate the spirit of Gandhi-Irwin pact. The

terms of the pact began to be violated by the Government and the Congress. Once again it began to show signs of restlessness and resentment. Gandhi went to England in September 1931 to attend the Second Round Table Conference. The second Round Table conference was opened on September 7, 1931 Gandhiji attended as the sole representative of the Congress. Mr. Macdonald remained the Chairman of the Round Table Conference. The British Government refused to concede the basic nationalist demand for freedom on the basis of the immediate grant of Dominion Status. On his return Congress resumed the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The Government now headed by Viceroy Willington, who was determined to crush the movement. After the collapse of the Round Table Conference, Gandhi and other leader of the Congress were arrested and Congress was declared as an illegal organization. The normal working of the law was suspended and administration was run through-special ordinance. The police indulged in marked

terror and committed innumerable atrocities on the freedom fighters. More than one lakh Satyagrahis were arrested, nationalist newspapers were placed under censorship and Government banned nationalist literature. A veritable reign of terror was thus let loose.

3.2.6 CONCLUSION

In the end the tide of the Civil Disobedience Movement waned and political enthusiasm and exhilaration gave way to frustration and despondence. In May, 1933, the Congress officially suspended and withdrew in 1934. Gandhiji and Congress remained aloof from active politics.

3.3 Revolutionary Terrorism Phase (since-1919)

INTRODUCTION

3.3.1 Causes of Growth-

The virtual failure of the Non-Co-operation Movement and the gloom that descended on the nationalist scene again created conditions calling for bold and terrorist revolutionary activities. The old Anusilan and Yungantar samitis reappeared in Bengal and revolutionary organizations erupted in almost all important towns of Northern India. A new development was, however, the feeling that better results could be achieved only through an all India Organization and better coordination. Hence a meeting of revolutionaries from all parts of India was called at Kanpur in October 1924. The Kanpur meeting was attended by old-time leaders like Sachindranath Sanyal, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee and Ramprasad Bismil and the youngsters like Bhagat Singh, Shiv Verma, Sukhdev, Bhagwati Charan Vohra and Chandra Sekhar Azad. The deliberation resulted in the setting up of the Hindustan Republic Association subsequently (September 1928)

reorganized as the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association or Army (H.S.R.A.) with provincial units in Bengal, Bihar, U.P., Delhi, Panjab and even Madras.

3.7.2 Programmes

The HSRA had a three-fold objective:

To rouse the consciousness of the people of India to the futility of the Gandhian methods of non-violence, To demonstrate the need and desirability of Direct Action and Revolution in order to achieve complete independence,

Ideologically inspired by the Russian Revolution and the Socialist thought, the Association hoped to substitute British imperialism in India by a federated Republic of the United States of India. The terrorists also introduced a novelty in their methods to finance their activities. Henceforth they decided not to plunder private individuals but to make government treasuries alone as the target of their dacoities.

3.3.3 Spread of the Movement

On 9 August 1925 the U.P. revolutionaries successfully carried out the dacoity on the Kokori-bound train on Saharanpur, Lucknow railway line. The subsequent trial proceeding in the Kakori conspiracy case evoked wide sympathetic echoes in the press and the case was also the subject of a resolution in the U.P. Legislative Council. The leader Ramprasad Bismil embraced the gallows with the slogan I wish the downfall of the British Empire and Roshanlal with the

slogan Bande Matram on their lips. A band of Panjabi revolutionaries led by Bhagat Singh shot dead Mr. Sounders (17 December, 1928) the Assistant Superintendent of Police in Lahore to avenge the fatal assault on Lala Lajpat Rai during the anti-Simon Commission demonstrations (30 October 1928). The police unleashed a reign of terror on the Lahore civilians and the general public reaction

was that while the revolutionaries escaped after daring acts, the public had to suffer the consequences of their doing. To offend this impression, the Punjab unit of the H.S.R.A. decided to send two volunteers to commit a crime and court arrest. It was in pursuance of this decision that Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta threw a bomb in the Central Assembly on 1 April 1929. They had no intention to kill anybody but just wanted to demonstrate in the fashion of the French anarchist-Martyr Valliant that: It takes loud noise to make the deaf hear. Since capital punishment could not be awarded in the Assembly Bomb Case the Government combined it with the Lahore conspiracy case. The Saunders Murder case and sentenced Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev to capital punishment, they were executed in the Lahore jail on 23 March 1931 and their dead bodies cremated at Hussainwala of Ferozpur. In Bengal, Surya Sen masterminded the Chittagong Armory Raid (April 1930) and declared himself the resident of the provisional Independent Government of India. The revolutionaries demonstrated their valour but without much tangible success. Surya Sen could not for long escape the long arm of the police and was arrested and hanged in early 1933.

Another lull in both the revolutionary and non-violent activities came during the political negotiations preceding the enactment of the Government of India Act 1935 and the halting imperialist manoeuvres during 1935-39. The stage of another crisis was reached when the Government of India unilaterally involved in World War-II without consulting Indian opinion. The failure of the Cripps Mission (April 1942), the Quit India Resolution (14 July 1942), the arrest of Gandhi (9 August 1942) was a signal to revolutionary minds to settle old scores. The popular Revolt of 1942 was a struggle in which both the Gandhites and the revolutionaries made a joint though unsuccessful effort to shake off foreign rule. A new brand of revolutionaries became active under the leadership of Subash Chandra Bose who sought to uproot British imperialism from India by an armed invasion from abroad under the banner of the I.N.A.

Were the revolutionaries seditionists and enemies of society or true patriots, martyrs and freedom fighters the questions will be differently answered by the imperial historians and Indian Writers. Equally difficult it is to answer the question of the measure of real success achieved through revolutionary terrorist method.

Though the Gandhites and the Indian National Congress disapproved the terrorist methods they were not unaware of the spirit of selfless service to the Motherland that inspired the young revolutionaries. Even Gandhiji appreciated Bhagat Singh's patriotism, his courage and deep love for Indian humanity and observed our heads bend before Bhagat Singh's bravery and sacrifice. The All India Congress Committee too observed 18th August 1922 as political Sufferers Day ail over India. Further, the second phase of revolutionaries was not meanly romanticist and revivalist but gave a socialist orientation to the movement. Above all, the slogan of Inquilab Zindabad (Long Live the Revolution) under which Gandhijis fought the struggle was first popularized by the revolutionaries.

Achievement

The terrorist added a colourful and inspiring chapter to the history of our freedom movement. Their desperate deeds and daring plans, cool action and indifference to death won them a lasting place in the memory of the nation. But will all their idealism and suffering, they were bound to fail? They failed to get the support of the masses for the party as distinct from getting popularity as hero figures devoid of distinct ideology and political personality. This amply testified by the perpetual and extreme poverty which engulfed them all the time. Nor did they succeed in organizing a single mass revolutionary action or even a minor armed action against the British Government. The leadership of the H.S.R.A. went wrong in not trying to rapidly change the situation and combine their activity with mass organization and mass revolt or armed action. They failed to develop organized armed action, or however small scale, against the government as distinct from its officials.

The achievement of the revolutionary terrorist was in rousing anti-imperialist consciousness to new flights. They succeeded in awakening the country and winning the love and respect of their country men. For the cause of nationalism, this was no mean success. Ironically the fruit of their success were gathered by the traditional Congress leadership to which they hoped to replace.

This led to an interesting historical paradox. While nearly ninety percent of the revolutionary terrorist later gave their allegiance to Marxism or Communalism, their own youthful deeds and slogans became the inheritance of leftist Congress men wedded to Gandhian leadership.

Failure

However, their failure was not merely that of not linking their practice with their theory, it was also that of not integrating nationalism and socialism at theoretical and practical planes. In their programme, they hoped to accomplish at one stroke the nationalist and socialist revolution. Still another mistake of the revolutionary terrorists lay in the belief that propaganda by deed or by death by daring young men could lead to the creation of a revolutionary socialist movement.

3.3.4 Assessment-

In conclusion, it can be said that the revolutionary terrorists succeeded in arriving at the basic elements of a socialist understanding of society, the state, nationalism, imperialism and revolution. But a deeper understanding could only come out of the development of revolutionary practice. On the other hand the total mechanism of revolutionary political action, organization and the role of revolutionary part escaped them. All the time, however, they kept intact their revolutionary consciousness.

3.5 THE RISE AND GROWTH OF LEFT WING WITHIN THE CONGRESS

Introduction

Between 1853 and 1857 Karl Max and Engels wrote a large number of articles analyzing the nature of British imperialist misrule which, according to the former was laying the foundation of a social economic revolution in India. Early in the present century Lenin wrote that in India the proletariat had already developed a conscious mass struggle, and consequently, the Russian-style British regime in India was doomed. During the First Great war he felt that its most important effect would be the emancipation of the colonial countries, including India, which would ultimately bring about a world-wide proletarian revolution.

The October Revolution (1917) in Russia and the overthrow of the czarist regime electrified the democratic and liberal world. Marxist literature found its way to the bookshelves of the educated few. They were influenced by Lenin's declaration that the revolutionary movement of the people of the East could develop effectively only in direct association with Soviet Russia's revolutionary struggle against international imperialism. Thus communism in India had its origin as a part of

international communism which was at that time controlled by Russia through the Comintern its later development followed the same line. Its method was violence, Philip Spratt declared in the Meerut conspiracy case... In the course of attainment of our aims and the establishment of communism we shall have to indulge in brutal dictatorial methods. We shall have to indulge in civil war in most countries. The communist ideology of class struggle had no roots in Indian thought and was inconsistent with Gandhism

3.5.1 GENESIS

In India, the left movement started only during the second decade of the twentieth century. The success of the communist revolution in Russia in 1917 inspired the extremists in India to pursue socialism. Besides, several international circumstances also helped in the growth of socialist ideas in the country. The non-cooperation movement led by Mahatma Gandhi failed and that convinced a large section of the people that independence could not be achieved

by non-violent means as preached and practiced by Mahatma Gandhi. The aims and the methods of the newly formed Swarajist Party also did not attract those people who had no faith in the justice and intentions of the British. The rising cost of every article of daily-use during the course and after the First World War and the resultant misery of common people in India contributed most in the spread of socialist ideas. Therefore, a large number of Indian people started propagating the philosophy of economic equality, class war and necessity of fighting against economic exploitation. Many among those people were deeply influenced by communist philosophy. They took help from the Russian communists, propagated communist philosophy and formed the Communist Party of India. However, there were many others who were not convinced of adopting violent means and the philosophy of the class war of Karl Marx but became certain of the view that the primary object of attaining independence for India should be the establishment of a socialist state. These people preferred to remain within the fold of the All India Congress for a long time. But, finally, they became alienated with policies and functioning of the Congress, detached themselves from it and formed the Socialist Party of India. Both the Communist and the Socialist philosophies have been regarded as leftist ideologies and all movement led by their adherents have been regarded as movement of the life.

3.5.2 The Socialist Party

The Socialist group first took its birth within the fold of the All India Congress. Its members believed that the primary object of the national movement was the establishment of a socialist state in India by democratic means. They discarded the philosophy of class war and violent means to achieve independence for India. They strengthened the movement led by the Congress by remaining within it. Besides they organized several peasant and labour unions and struggled

for the protection of their interest. However, they limited their struggle only to observing hartals, demonstrations, processions etc. They received the patronage of national leaders like Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Subash Chandra Bose. But the

socialists within the Congress fold did not contribute much towards the left movement in India, Even Subash Chandra Bose was forced to leave the Congress and he formed a new party, the Forward Bloc, while Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru preferred to pursue the Gandhian path. Finally a group of people within the Congress decided to break away from it and form a separate organization. It resulted in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party headed by Jayaprakash Narayan and Acharya Narendra Dev. The Congress Socialist Party emphasized the necessity of the unity of the Hindus and the Muslims on the grounds of common economic interest, discarded the Government of India Act 1935, opposed the policy of appeasement of the Congress towards the Muslim League and asked for rejection of the partition plan of India. However, the party failed to attract the Indian masses while the Congress and the Communist Party of India remained indifferent towards it. Therefore, its contribution to propagation of socialist ideas in India remained insignificant. The party suffered from one serious weakness. Its leaders proved themselves a group of idealist thinkers rather than genuine revolutionaries.

That remained the primary reason of their failure. Yet, the Indian socialists certainly, constituted to some extent towards the growth of socialistic ideas and succeeded in forming several peasant and labour organizations which drew attention of the people towards the sufferings of the weak section of the Indian Society.

3.5.3 The Communists

Prior to independence, the credit of spreading genuine socialist philosophy in India went to the communist party of India M.N Roy was the pioneer in this field. He succeeded in forming four parties of labour and peasants in four provinces, viz. Bombay Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. Finally, in 1924, the communist party of India was formed. The efforts of these communist groups did not succeed much in the beginning. After some years, the Indian communities got support from certain communist individuals who came here from Britain. Among them was one Philip Spratt. He came to India in 1926, exhibited remarkable zeal and capacity to

organize people, received financial support from the Russian communist party and strengthened fairly the communist party in India. Besides, the efforts of S.A Dange and his weekly newspaper, socialists in Bombay, Muzaffar Ahmad and Fazl-ul-Haq and their newspaper, Nav yuga in Bengal, and Gulam Hussain and his monthly newspaper in Urdu and Inqalab in Punjab also brought fruitful results and the communist party started getting a good following.

3.5.4 Response of the Government

The government of India did not like the activities of the communists and therefore, tried to suppress their leaders in several cases of violence. Among those cases were the Peshawar conspiracy case in 1922-23, the Kanpur conspiracy case in 1924 and the Meerut conspiracy case which continued from 1929 and to 1933. Many people had left India during the course of the Khilafat movement and, after getting themselves trained in Russia, had returned to India. Several of them were captured by the government and were charged with violent activities against the state. They were put on trial before the court at Peshwa, and sentenced to imprisonment for one to two years. In the Kanpur conspiracy case, the communist leaders Shaukai Usmani, Muzaffar Ahmad, S.A Dange and Nalini Gupta, were accused of attempting to overthrow the government by violence. Each of them was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment. The case, however, got publicity not only in India but also in several foreign countries. The Government involved practically all prominent leaders of the communist party in the Meerut conspiracy case. They were charged with attempting to change the government by violent means. They were held guilty and sentenced for long periods of imprisonment by the court. They appealed to the High court at Allahabad which somewhat reduced their period of imprisonment. This case weakened the communist party of India for some time as all of its leaders remained imprisoned for some years. But it added to its popularity among the masses. The case received wide publicity for nearly four and a half years. It provoked public sympathy towards the party. Hence, the policy

of suppression pursued by the government, in fact, helped the cause of the communists.

The communists, however, failed to take advantage of their increased popularity among the masses caused by these cases. The primary reason of it was their obedience to the dictate of the communist party of U.S.S.R. The Indian communist party was a part of the Comintern, the international organization of the communist. The COMINTERN, advised the Indian communist party to break up relations with all groups of Indian bourgeoisie. The Indian communist were advised to discard the All India Congress, as an organization of the bourgeoisie and even criticize the national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. The communist party accepted these directives and pursued them between the periods 1928-34. It harmed the party interest. All political parties in India grew suspicious of it and the Indian masses lost faith in it. This policy of the communist party was criticized by a group of communists themselves headed by M. N Roy who, finally, withdrew himself from the party. The communists also opposed the civil disobedience movement led by Gandhi which further reduced their popularity among the Indian masses. Yet, the communists succeeded in achieving one thing during this period. They captured the leadership of the All India Labour organizations, viz- the All India Trade Union. The party organized a hartal of the labourers engaged in the cotton mills of Bombay in 1934. The government was so provoked that it declared the party illegal.

After 1934, the Communist Party changed its policy. It asked its members to join the All India Congress, the Congress Socialist Party, the Forward Block and different students unions. All of them welcomed the communists within their fold. This infiltration of the communists in other political parties paid them well. They succeeded in capturing several important posts in other parties and thereby managed to control their policies. Their game, however, was understood by other parties and the communist members were gradually turned out of them. The Communist Party gradually alienated itself from the national aspirations and movement in the years to come. The Second World War clearly exposed their

dependence of USSR. In the initial stages USSR was against Britain in the war. At that time, the Indian Communists declared the war as a conspiracy of the imperialist powers and opposed the British government in India. But when Germany attacked the USSR and the latter joined hands with Britain. They declared the war as fight against Fascist dictatorship and supported the Indian government. They even opposed the Quit India Movement in 1942 led by the Congress.

The Communist played an entirely opposite role, They did their best to help the British Government in India. They acted as stooges and spies of the British Government and helped them against their own countrymen fighting for freedom. There is documentary evidence to show that an alliance existed between the Intelligence Bureau of the Communist Party and the Home Department of the Government of India by which P.C Joshi was placed at the disposal of the Government of India and the services of his party members. He supplied information to the military and police authorities. Through its control over the All India Trade Union Congress, the Communist Party exerted its utmost pressure to keep the workers out of the national unrest so that industrial production might not be disturbed during the war. It exhorted the peasants not to clamour for land reforms but to cooperate with the landlords. Therefore the communists lost their image among the Indian masses. They lost their image further when they accepted that India was a country formed of different nationalities and supported demand of the Muslim League for a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims, viz. Pakistan. Thus, prior to Indian Independence, the role of the Indian Communists remained neither significant nor respectable towards the national cause. After Indian independence, the Communist Party was weakened further. It was divided into two parts. One group among them agreed to function within the constitutional limits while the other group adhered to the aim of establishing a socialist society in India. China turned communist in 1949. It gradually developed differences with USSR. It further divided the communists into Pro-Russia and Pro-China groups. The war between China and India in 1962 also added to their internal crisis. All this helped in dividing the Indian Communists who had now formed several separate political parties. One of them is CPM (Communist Party-Maxist) which was formed in 1964.

3.5.5 CONCLUSION

Thus we find that the left movement also grew and progressed prior to Indian independence. However, it contributed nothing towards independence. Yet, it succeeded in organizing the labour movement, fighting for the cause of the weaker sections of the society, helping in spreading socialist ideas among people, and attract to establish a society based on economic and social justice.

3.6 Growth of Communalism(1906-1937)

INTRODUCTION

3.6.1 Communalism means conflicts and clashes between two or more communities particularly religious, as a phenomenon is nearly unique in the context of India. It is proper to bear in mind that the meaning of the word Communalism in the concise Oxford Dictionary means the principle of organization or Society but not the meaning that we attribute to it. One group or community opposed to other group is a phenomena present in all society of the world. But communalism as understood in India is not only between Hindu and Muslims, but also between Harijan and caste Hindu and non-Brahmin castes and forward castes.

3.6.2 Liberal Communalism

The trend of communalism up to the year of 1937 is called liberal communalism or moderate communalism. The liberal communalist was basically a believer in and practitioner of communal politics but they still upheld certain liberal, democratic, humanist and nationatist values. Even while holding that India consisted of distinct religion based communities, with their own separate and special interest which sometimes came into conflict with each other, he continued to betive and profess publicly that these different communal interest could be gradually accommodated and brought into harmony within the overall developing national interest and India built as a nation.

It is to be noted that even though expressing and encouraglng communalism, none of the liberal communal demands posed a direct threatlo Indian Unity. Also the liberal communalist assumed the possibility of the renoval of communal fears and conflcts once conditions were provided for protection of legitimate interest of the communities, hostility agalnst the other community and mainly emphasized the fight for speeial rights for his own community. From the historian's point of view liberal communalism had other impontant feature. It retained elements of rationality and its content, programme, ideology etc. eould therefore be often anaiyzed from its self expression.

Courses of Growth

3.6.3 Role of Syed Ahmed Khan

There was hardly any communalism in India before the last quarter of the 19th century. Hindu and Muslim had fought shoulder to shoulder in the revolt of 1857. Even when some Muslim intellectuals began to notice that Muslim in some parts of the country were lagging behind Hindus in modern education and in government jobs, they blamed not Hindus but the Governments anti- Muslim policy and the neglect of modern education by upper class Muslims. The Aligarh College was especially founded to fight the basis against modern education among Muslims, received financial support from moneyed Hindus and its faculty and students had a

large Hindu component. Syed Ahmed loudly preached the communes of Hindus and Muslims till the founding of the Congress in 1885.

Ironically, communalism in India got its initial start in 1750's when Syed Ahmed Khan Counterpoised it to the national movement initialed by the National Congress. In 1887, Dufterin, The Viceroy launched a frontal attack on the national Congress, once its anti-imperial edge became clear. Syed Ahmed, believing that the Muslims share in the administrative post and in professions could be Increased only b6 professing and proving loyalty to the colonial rulers. He and his followers gradually laid down the foundation of all the basic themes of the communal ideology. A basic theme was that Hindus, because they were a majority, would dominate Muslims and totally override the interest of the small community, if representative, democratic government was introduced or if British rule ended and power transferred to Indians. Simultaneously he criticized the Congress for basing itself on the principles of social equality among the lowly and the highly

born. At the same time Syed Ahmed and his followers did not create a counter communal political organization of the India people. Syed Ahmed held that any agitational politics would tend to be-come anti-government and seditious and to create suspicious of disloyalty among the rulers. He therefore asked Muslims to shun all parties and remain politically passive. The colonial rulers were quick to see the inherent logic of communalism and the theory of official protection of the minority and from the beginning actively promoted and supported communalism.

But the attempt to keep the growing Muslim intelligentsia politically passive or loyalists was not successful. Badruddin Tyabji presided over the Congress session in 1887 and Muslim delegates to the Congress increased over the years. Abdul Rasul and a large member of other Bengali Muslim intellectuals gave active support to the swadeshi agitation against the partition of Ben6d. In fact nationalist trend remained dominant among Muslims in Bengal till the late 1750's But Swadeshi Movement brought mass politics to India. The communalists and official

supporters felt that they had to enter the political areas. At the end of 1907, the All India Muslim League was founded by Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dacca and Nawab Mohsin-Ul-Mulk. Founded as a-loyalist, communal and conservative political organization the League supported the partition of Bengal, raised the slogan of separate Muslim interests and demanded separate electorate and safeguards in government service. Viqr-Ul Mulk, for example said, God forbid, if the British rule disappears from India, Hindus will lord over it and we will be in constant danger of our life, property and honour. The only way for Muslims to escape this danger is to help in the continuance of the British rule; so Muslim Leagues, activities were directed against the national congress and Hindus and not against the colonial regime.

3.6.4 Hindu Mahasabha

Simultaneously, Hindu communalism was also being born from 1870, a section of Hindu Zamindars, money lenders and middle class professionals began to arouse anti-Muslim sentiments. Fully accepting the colonial view of Indian history, they talked of the tyrannical Muslim rule in the medieval period and the liberating role of the British in saving Hindus from Muslim oppression in Up and Bihar they declare that Urdu was language of Muslims and Hindu was language of Hindus. All over India anti cow slaughter movement in early 1890 primarily directed not against British but against Muslims. The anti-cow slaughter agitation died down by 1896, to be revived again in a more virulent form in the second decade of the 20th centuries. The Hindu communalists also carried regular agitation for a Hindu share of seats in legislature and in government service.

The Punjab Hindu Sabha was founded in 1904. Its leader, U.N. Mukharjee and Lal Chand, were to lay down the foundation of Hindu Communal ideology and politics. They directed their anger primarily against Indian National Congress for trying to unite Indians into a single nation and for sacrificing Hindu interests to appease Muslims. In the booklet self Abnegation in politics, Lal Chand described

the Congress as the self inflicted misfortune of Hindus. He further wrote the Hindus were moving towards extinction because of the poison imbibed for the last 25 years.

The first session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha was held in April 1915 under the presidentship of Maharaja of Kasim Bazar. But it remained for many years a sickly child compared to the Muslim League. There were reasons for the relative weakness of Hindu communalism. The colonial Govt. gave Hindu Communalism few concessions and little support for it banked heavily on Muslim Communalism and could not easily simultaneously placate both communalisms.

3.6.5 Morley Minto Reforms

The colonial authorities and the communalities together evolved another powerful instrument for spread and consolidation of communalism. The Morley Minto Reforms was introduced in 1909. Under this system, Muslim voters were put in separate constituency from which only Muslims could stand as candidates and for which only Muslim could vote. Separate electorates turned elections and legislative Councils into areas of communal conflicts. Since the voters were exclusively follower of one religion, the candidates did not have to appeal to the voters of other religion. Therefore, they could make blatantly communal appeal and voters and others who listened to these appeals were gradually trained to think and vote communally.

The younger Muslim intellectuals were soon dissatisfied with the loyalist anti-Hindu and Slavic mentality of the upper class leadership of the Muslim League. They were increasingly drawn to modern and radical nationalist idea. The militantly nationalist Ahar movement was founded at this time under the leadership of Maulana Mohammed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hasan Imam and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. In their effort they got the support from a section of orthodox Ulema, those belong to the Deoband School. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad was also attracted to the national movement. He propagated his rationalist and nationalist

idea in his news paper, All Hilal. After an intense struggle the nationalist young Muslims came to the fore, in the Muslim league, in 1912 M.A Jinnah the brilliant congress leader was invited to join the League. In the same year, Aga Khan was resigned as the president of the League.

From 1912 to 1929, the young nationalists began to overshadow the loyalist in the League, which began to move nearer to the policy of the congress. Unfortunately, their nationalism was flawed in so far as it was not fully secular. It had a strong religious and pan- Islamic tinge. Rather it made its adherents anti-imperialistic and it encouraged the nationalist trend among the urban Muslim.

3.6.6 Lucknow pact

The positive development within the congress and within the Muslim League soon led to broad political unity. The two organizations held their sessions at the end of 1916 at Lucknow, signed a pact known as Lucknow pact and put forward common political demands before the government including the demand for self-government for India after the war. This pact was also a step back. The congress accepted separate electorates and formally recognized communal polities. Above all, the pact was tacitly based on the assumption that India consisted of different communities with separate interest of their own. So the door was opened for the future resurgence of communalism in Indian politics.

The nationalist movement and the Hindu-Muslim unity took giant step forward after 1st World War. It was during agitation against Rowlatt Acts, Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement, As if to declare before the world the principle of Hindu-Muslim Unity in political action. Swami Shradhanada was asked by the Muslims to preach from the pulpit of the Jama Masjid at Delhi, While Kitchlu a Muslim was given the key to the Golden Temple, the Sikh Shrieme at Amritsar. The entire country resounded to the cry of the Hindu-Muslim Ki Jai.

But there were certain weakness involved. The nationalist leadership failed to some extent in raising political consciousness of Muslims to higher plane of secular political consciousness. The Khilafat leaders, for example made appeals to religion and made full use of fatua and other religious sanctions. Consequently, they strengthened the hand of orthodoxy and priesthood and encouraged the habit of looking of political question from religious point of view. By doing so and by emphasizing the notion of Muslim solidarity, they kept an opening of communal ideology and politics to grow at later stage.

3.6.7 Failure of the Non-Cooperation Movement

The Non-Cooperation Movement was withdrawn in February 1922. As people felt disillusioned and frustrated, communalism reared its ugly head in the post-1922. Old communal organizations were revived and fresh ones founded. Muslim League once again became active and was cleansed of radical and nationalist elements. The Hindu Mahasabha was revived in 1923 and openly began to cater anti-Muslim sentiments. It proclaimed Hindu culture and Hindu civilization and for the advancement of Hindu Rastra.

The Hindu as well as Muslim communalists tried to inculcate the psychology of fear among the Hindu and Muslims. It was during this period that Sangathan and Sudhi movement among the Hindu and Tanzeem and Tabligh movement among the Muslims developed in religious conversion and religious consolidation.

A large number of nationalists were not able to withstand communal pressure and began to adopt communal and semi-communal positions. The Swarajist were spilt by the communalism. The Hindu Mahasabha carried on a virulent propaganda against secular congressmen. They accused Motilal Nehru as anti-Hindu, Islamic Love, of favouring cow slaughter and of eating beef. The most dramatic shift was of Maulana Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali who

accused Congress of trying to establish Hindu rule and Hindus of wanting to dominate and suppress Muslims. So the most vicious expression of communalism and communal riot broke out in major North Indian cities during 1923. According to the Simon Commission Report, nearly 112 major communal riots occurred between 1922 and 1927.

The communal leadership made strenuous effort to oppose communal political force, but was not able to evolve effective line of action. The most well known effort of such was made during 1928. As an answer to the challenge of the Simon Commission, Indian political leaders organized several conferences to settle communal issues. A large number of Muslim Communal leaders met at Delhi in December 1927 and evolved for basic demands as Delhi proposals. The Congress proposals came in the form of the Nehru Report drafted by all party committee. The report was put up for approval before an All Party convention at Calcutta at the end of December 1928. But the report could not be approved unanimously at the Calcutta convention. While there

were wide difference among Muslim communalist, a section of the League and Khilafatist were willing to accept joint electorate and other proposals in the report. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh League raised the vehement objection to the parts of the report, dealing with Sindh, North West Frontier province, Bengal and Punjab.

Most of the Muslim Communalists now joined with Jinnah. Declaring that the Nehru report represented the Hindu interest, he consolidated all communal demands made by different communal organizations at different times into a single document which came to be known as Jinnah's Fourteen Points.

This strategy of trying to solve communal problem through an agreement or pact with the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communal leader suffered from certain inherent weakness. By negotiating with communal leaders the Congress legitimized their politics and made them respectable. Constant negotiations with

Muslim communal leaders weakened the position of the secular, anti- imperialistic Muslims and the Muslim leaders like Azad, Ansari and Asaf Ali.

Weakness of the Movement

Despite the intensified activities of communal parties and groups during 1920, communalism was not very pervasive in Indian society. The Hindu communalist commanded little support among the masses. The social base of Muslim communalists was also quite low. The rising trade union, peasant and youth movement were fully secular. The anti-Simon Commission protest movement and then the second civil-Disobedience movement from 1930-1934 swept the entire country and once again pushed the communalist into the background. Led by the Congress Jamail-Ul-Ulama- Hind, Khudai Khid Matgar and other organizations, thousand of Muslims went to jail. The nationalism engulfed Kashmir and N.W.F.P.

During the Round Table Conferences of early 1930, the communal leaders got a chance to come to limelight in these conferences. Both Hindus and Muslim communalists made efforts to win the support of British authorities to defend their so called communal interests. In 1932, at a meeting in the House of Commons the Agan Khan, the poet Mohammed Iqbal stressed inherent possibility of securing any merger of Hindu and Muslim. Similarly in 1933 presiding over Hindu Mahasabha session Bhai Paramananda made a plea of cooperation between Hindu and British government and said I feel and impulse in me that Hindu would willingly cooperate with Great Britain if their status and responsible position as the premier community in India is recognized in the political institutions of new India

CONCLUSION

The communal parties and groups remained quite weak and narrow based till 1937. Most of the Muslim as also Hindu young intellectual workers and peasants joined the mainstream of nationalism and socialism in early 1750's In Bengal many joined the secular and radical Krishak Praja Party. In order to bolster the sagging Muslim communalism, the British government announced Communal Award which accepted virtually all the Muslim communal demands embodied in the Delhi Proposals of 1927 and Jinnah's Fourteen Point of 1929. The communal forces were faced with an entirely new situation after 1937.

3.7 1937 Elections , Congress Ministry in the Provinces

A general election under the Act of 1936 was held in 1937. It was significant from many points of view. It forced the congress to come into close contact with the masses and this aroused political conscious among them-. The enfranchisement of 3 ® Crore of voters, including the wives of the male voters, gave an impetus to the awakening of women with civil consciousness on the one hand and the progress of literary in one bound-on the other. Thousands of women came forward to registrar their names as voters and thousands more of illiterate men who had just learn to sign their names.

3.7.1 Performance of Different Political Parties-

The congress did extremely well in the 1937 elections, winning 711 out of 1585 provincial assembly seats. It won absolute majority in five provinces out of eleven (Madras, Bihar, Orissa, C.P., U.P.) and a near majority in Bombay (86 out of 175). Official backing failed to save from utter rout loyalist landlord-based groups like the Nawab of Chhatri; National Agriculturist Party in U.P. and Justice Party in Madras. Even the poor showing in the Muslim constituency was somewhat counterbalanced by the evident failure of the Muslim League to make good its claim to be the sole representative of the Muslims. The League failed to win a single seat in the N.W.F.P. and could capture only 2 out of 84 reserved constituencies in the Punjab and 3 out of 33 in Sindh. The congress also won most scheduled caste seats, except in Bombay where Ambedkar's independent labour party captured 13 out of 15 seats reserved for Harijans.

Formation of the ministry

After a few month tussles with the government, the congress working committee decided to accept office under the Act of 1935. During July, it formed ministries in six provinces: Madras, Bombay, central provinces, Orissa, Bihar and U.P. Later, congress ministries were also formed in the North-west frontier provinces and Assam. A Central Controls Board known as parliamentary sub-committee was formed with Sardar Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Rajendra Prasad as members. Its main objective was to guide and coordinate their activities and to ensure that the British hopes of the provincialisation of the congress did not materialise.

Thus a novel experiment began. A party which was committed to liquidate British rule took charge of the administration under a constitution which was framed by the British. The congress was now to function both as a government in the provinces and as the opposition vis-a-vis the central government where

effective state power lay. It was to bring out social reform through the legislature and administration in the provinces and at the same time carry on the struggle for independence for the next phase of mass struggle. Thus the congress had to implement its strategy of struggle- truce- struggle (s-t-s) in a historically unique situation.

The formation of the ministries by the congress changed the entire psychological atmosphere in the country. People felt as if they were breathing the very air of victory and peoples power. The Khadi clad men and women who had been in prison until just other day were ruling the secretariat and the officials who were used to putting congressmen in jail would now be taking orders from them. The congress ministers set an example in plain living. They reduced their salaries drastically from Rs.500/- per month. In a short time they did pass a very large amount of ameliorative legislations, trying to fulfill many of the promises made in congress election manifests.

3.7.2 Programmes of the Congress-

3.7.3 EXTENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.

The commitment of the congress to the defence and extension of civil liberties was as old as congress it self and ministers registered major achievements in this sphere. All emergency powers acquired by the provincial governments during 1932 through public safety Acts were repealed. Ban on illegal political organization such as Hindusthan Seva Dal and youth Leagues were lifted. The ban on the communist party remained, since it was imposed by the central government. All restrictions on the press were removed.

One of the first actions of the congress government was to release thousand of political prisoners and deten use and to cancel internment and deportation orders on political workers. Many of the revolutionary involved in Kakori and other conspiracies were released. The ministers of U.P and Bihar resigned on the issue of

release of political prisoners living in Kala Pani (cellular jail in Andamans) but after negotiations all the prisoners in both provinces were released.

In Bombay, the government took steps to restore original owners of lands which had been confiscated by the government as a result of no-tax campaign during the civil disobedience movement in 1930. The pension of the officials dismissed during 1930 and 1930 were also restored.

However, there were certain blemishes on the congress ministerial record in this respect. In July 1937 Yusuf Meherally, a socialist leader was prosecuted by the Madras government for making inflammatory speeches. In Act 1937, the Madras government prosecuted S.S Batliwala, another congress socialist leader, of making seditious speeches and sentenced him to six months of imprisonment. Much worse was the mentality of a few of the right- wing congress ministers. For instance, V.M Munshi, the Home minister of Bombay, used the CID to watch the communists

and other left wing congressmen. The blemishes had to be seen in the larger context of the vast expansion of civil liberty in the country. Led by left wing, they exerted intense pressure on the right-wing congress ministers to avoid tampering with civil liberties.

3.7.4 Economic Developments

The congress tried to give economic relief to the peasants and the workers as quickly as possible. The agrarian policy of the congress ministers went a long way towards promoting the interest of the peasantry. Agrarian legislation by these ministers differed from province to province depending on different agrarian relations, the mass base of the congress, the class composition and the outlook of the provincial congress organization and nature and extent of peasant mobilization. In general it dealt with question of tenancy rights, security of tenure and rents of the tenants and the problem of rural indebtedness. To enumesute the achievements

of ministries in this regard briefly: in U.P a tenancy Act was passed in Act. 1939 which gave all statutory tenants both in Agra and in Oudh full hereditary right, in their holding, while taking away the landlord's right to prevent the growth of occupancy. In Bihar, the new tenancy legislation was passed mainly in 1937 and 1938 that is more radical than U.P. Its main provision was that it abolished all increases in rent made since 1911. In Orissa, a tenancy bill was passed in May 1938 granting the right of free transfer of occupancy holdings. Another bill was passed in February 1938, reduced all rents in Zamindari areas. In Madras committee under the chairmanship of T. Prakasham, the revenue minister, recommended that in the areas under permanent Zamindari settlement the ryot and not the Zamindars was the owner of the soil and therefore the level of rents prevailing when the settlement was made in 1902 should be restored, But before the bill could be drafted, the ministry resigned.

Thus the agrarian legislation of the congress ministries thus improved and secured the status of millions of tenants in Zamindari areas.

3.7.5 Policy towards labourers

The congress ministries also strived to improve the condition of labourers. Their basic approach was to advance workers interest while promoting industrial place, reducing the resort to strikes as far as possible, establishing conciliation machinery, advocating compulsory before resorting to strikes and secure wage increase. Immediately after assuming office, the Bombay ministry appointed textile enquiry committee which recommended, among other improvements, the increase of wages amounting to a crore of rupees. In November 1938, the government passed the Industrial Dispute Act which was based on the philosophy of class collaboration and not class conflicts. The Act empowered the government to of for an industrial dispute to the court of industrial arbitration. In Madras too, the government promoted the policy of internal settlement of labour disputes through government conciliation and arbitration proceedings. In U.P., Kanpur was the seat of series of labour unrest. The Govt. set up a labour inquiry committee headed by

Rajendra Prasad. The committee's recommendation included an increase in workers' wages with a minimum wage of Rs.14 per month and formation of an Arbitration Board. A similar Bihar Labour Enquiry Committee headed by Rajendra Prasad was set up in 1938. It too recommended the strengthening of trade union rights, an improvement of labour conditions, a compulsory conciliation and arbitration to be tried before a strike was declared.

3.7.6 Social Reforms

The Congress Government undertook certain other measures of social reform and welfare. Prohibition was introduced in selected areas in different states. Measures for the advancement of Harijans, including the passing of the laws enabling Harijans to enter temples, to public sources of water such as wells and ponds, roads, means of transport, hospitals, educational and similar institutions and hotels. The number of scholarships for Harijan students was increased.

The Congress Ministries paid a lot of attention to primary, technical and higher education and public health and sanitation. In particular the Ministries introduced basic education with an emphasis on manual and productive works. It also promoted indigenous industrial expansion. It also joined the effort to develop planning through the National Planning Committee appointed in 1938 by the Congress President Subash Bose.

The period of the Congress Ministries witnessed the emergence of serious weakness in the Congress. There was a good deal of factional strife and bickering both on ideological and personal bases. There was a scramble for jobs and positions among the Congress men as the increase everywhere. Opportunists, self-seekers and careerists, drawn by the lure of associating with a party in power, began to enter ranks of the Congress at various levels. So Gandhiji began to feel that we seem to be weakening from within. Jawaharlal Nehru too had been feeling for some time that the positive role of the Ministries was getting exhausted.

The Congress Ministries resigned in October 1939 because of the political crisis brought about by the World War II. But Gandhiji welcomed the resignation for another reason they would help cleanse the Congress of the rampant corruption. He wrote to C. Rajgopalchari on 23, October, 1939 i am quite clear in my mind that what was happened is best for the cause. It is a bitter pill I know. But it was needed. It will drive away all the parasites from the body. We have been obliged to do wrong things we shall be able to avoid.

CONCLUSION

Despite certain weakness, the Congress emerged stronger from the period of office acceptance. The Ministries succeeded in evolving a common front before the Govt. of India. Despite factionalism, the Congress organization as a whole remained disciplined. Factionalism, particularly at the top, was kept within bounds with a strong hand by the central leadership. Acceptance of office thus did prove to be just one phase in the freedom struggle. It brought the left and the right in the Congress closer because of common policy on the question of participation

in the war. Above all, the acceptance of office helped the growth of Congress and nationalist hegemony. If the mass struggle destroyed one crucial element of the hegemonic ideology of British colonialism by demonstrating that British power was not invincible, then the sight of Indians exercising powers shatter another myth by which the British had held Indians in subjection that: Indians were not fit to rule.

UNIT-1V:

STRUCTURE

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Growth of Communalism
 - 4.1.1 What is extreme Communalism
 - 4.2.2 Causes of Growth
 - 4.3.3 Role of Muslim League
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 - 4.5.5 Weakness of nationalist Force
- 4.3 States Peoples' Movement
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OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to;

- Know what is extreme communalism
- Discover factors behind the growth of extreme communalism
- Explain the part played by Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League for the growth of communalism
- Know the condition of states
- Know the British policy and reaction towards the states
- Understand the political movement in the states
- Know the political condition of India after the outbreak of World War II
- Know what were the main issues of Cripps proposal
- Know why Quit India Movement was launched
- Know the Govt. reaction to Quit India Movement
- Discover the objectives of INA
- Understand the role played by S.C. Bose in INA
- Assess the contributions of INA towards freedom movement
- Know the causes of election after the war
- Know the main issue before the election
- Know why Simla Conference was held
- Know the main issue before the Conference
- Know the main objective of Cabinet Mission Plan
- Know the causes of failure of the plan
- Know what is Mountbatten Plan
- Know what is Indian Independence Act 1947

PAKISTAN MOVEMENT, MUSLIM LEAGUE AND HINDU MAHASABHA

Introduction-

Till 1937, communalism remained at liberal stage. But after 1937 it started assuming a virulent, extremist or fascist form. So it is called extreme communalism. The liberal communalist argued that India consisted of a distinct religion-based communities which had their own separate and special interests which often came into mutual conflicts. The liberal communalist demanded separate communal rights, safeguards and reservations within the broad concept of one Indian nation in the making. They accepted national unity as the ultimate goal as also the concept of the ultimate common interest of Hindus, Muslims, Sikh and Christians.

Causes of Growth

Extreme communalism was based on the politics of hatred, fear psychosis and irrationality. The motifs of domination and suppression always present in the communal propaganda. A campaign of hatred against the followers of other religions was unleashed. The interest of Hindus and Muslims were now declared to be permanently in conflict. Phrases like oppression, suppression, domination being crushed even physical extermination and extinction were frequently used. Communalism after 1937 developed a popular base and began to mobilise mass opinion.

Genesis

For several reasons liberal communalism was transformed into extremist communalism. As a consequence of the growth of nationalism and in particular of the civil disobedience movement of 1930-34, the Congress emerged as a dominant political force in the election of 1937. Various political parties suffered a drastic decline. The Zamindars, landlord, the jagirdari elements, finding open defence of landlords interest was no longer feasible, switched over to communalism for

their class defence. This was not only true in U.P. and Bihar but also in Punjab and Bengal. In Punjab, for example, the big landlords of west Punjab and the Muslim bureaucratic elite had supported the semi-communal, semi-casteist unionist party. But they increasingly felt that the Unionist Party being a provincial party, could no longer protect them from Congress radicalism and shifted their support to Muslim League which eagerly promised to protect their interest. Hindu Zamindars and landlords in northern and western India shifted towards Hindu communal

parties and groups. Secondly, after 1937, communalism became the only political recourse of colonial authority And their policy of divide and rule. Because by this time, all other divisions, antagonism and divisive devices promoted and fostered by colonial authority over come by the national movement. The Non-Brahmin movement in Maharastra and south India had declined. The right wing and left wing of the Congress also refused to spilt. Inter-provincial and inter-lingual rivalry declined after Congress accepted the validity of linguistic states. The effort to use Zamindars and landlords against the Congress had also completely failed. So the communal card was only available in the herds of the colonial rulers to check the growth of nationalism. Thirdly, the outbreak of World War II further strengthened the hand of colonialism. After the World War II Congress immediately demanded that the British make a declaration that India would get complete Independence after war. For counter Congress demand and dividing Indian opinion reliance was placed on Muslim communalism. India could not be given freedom, it was said, so long as Hindu and Muslim did not unite. The Muslim League agreed to cooperate with colonial authority and serve as the political instrument for own reason. The logic of communalism also inexorably led to extreme communalism. The Congress had gone quite far in the late 1920 in accepting Muslim communal demands. In 1932, the communal Award and then the Govt. of India Act of 1935 accepted nearly all the liberal communal demands. Nor did the National Congress oppose these concessions to these communalists. Moreover, what would the communalist do next? Since their demands had been accepted, they had either to dissolve their political organization, give up communalism, discover new demands, new threats to their communitism anC inexorably and without necessa!ily, a conscious design turn towards extreme communalism. Similarly, the Hindu mmmunatism had failed to grow. Further,

tili 1937, the Congress had permitted both Hindu and Muslim communalists to work within Congress organization. Not only did it not accommodate them in the elections of 1934 and 1937, it moved towards expelling them from the Congress. The Hindu communalists were facing political extinction. They also had to find a new basis and a new programme for their survival and growth.

The proposition that communalism has logic of its own and if not checked in time in its early stages, inevitably develops into its higher stages is illustrated by the history of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. His case shows how communalism is an inclined phase on which a constant slide down became inevitable unless counter steps are taken. Once basic dogmas of communal ideology are accepted, the ideology takes over a person bit by bit, independent of the subjective desire of the person. This is how a person who started as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity ended by demanding Pakistan.

4.3.3 Muslim League

Jinnah returned to India in 1936 to once again revive Muslim League. Through out 1936, he stressed his nationalism and desire for freedom and spoke for Hindu and Muslim co-operation. For example he said at Lahore in March 1936 whatever I have done, let me assure you there has been no change in me, not the slightest, since the day when I joined the National Congress. It may be I have seen wrong on some occasions. But it has never been done in a partisan spirit. My

sole and only object has been the welfare of my country. On the one hand he asked Muslims to organize separately on the other hand, he asked them to prove that their patriotism is unsullied and that their love of India and her progress is no less than that of any other community in the country. After 1936 Jinnah's plan perhaps was to use the Muslim League to win enough seats to force another Lucknow Pact on Congress. He also assumed that by participating 1937 elections

the Congress was reverting to the pre-Gandhian constitutional politics. So Jinnah and the League fought elections on a semi-nationalist Congress type programmes. Its only demand was protection and promotion of Urdu language and amelioration

of the general condition of the Muslims. But the poor election results frustrated Jinnah. So from now on the entire political campaign among the Muslims of this tallest of communal leaders was geared to appeal to his co-religionist fear and insurity and to drive home the theme that Congress wanted not independence from British Imperialism but a Hindu Raj in cooperation with British wanted extermination and destruction of Islam in India.

We can take few examples. In his Presidential address to the League in 1938, Jinnah said the High command in the Congress is determined, absolutely determined to crush all other communities and culture in the country and establish Hindu Raj in the country. In March 1940, he told student of Aligarh Mr. Gandhi's hope in to subjugate and vassalize the Muslim under a Hindu Raj. In his presidential address on April 1941 Jinnah declared that, in a United India the Muslims will be absolutely wiped out of existence. In 1946 asking Muslims to vote for League he said, if we fail to realize our duty today, you will be reduced to the status of Sudra and Islam will be vanquished from India. If a leader of the Stature of Jinnah could take up politics and agitation at this low level, it was inevitable that the average communal propagandist would be often even worse. Men like Z.A. Suleri and F.M. Durani surpassed themselves in gobbelsianian demagogy. Even Fazl-Ul- Hag, holding a responsible position as Premier of Bengal In 1938 session of the League In Congress province, riot had laid the country wide Waste, Muslim life, limb and property have been lost and blood has freely flowed. M.H. Gazdar, a prominent League leader of Sindh, told the League meeting in Karachi in March 1941 the Hindus will have to be eradicated like the Jews in Germany if they did not behave properly.

The most unequivocal declaration of Hindus and Muslims as separate nationalist was made by Mr. M.A. Jinnah at the Lohore session of League in March 1940. They (Hindus and Muslims) are not religion in strict sense of words, but are, in fact different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religions, philosophic, social custom and literature.

Demanding the partition of India, the Muslim League passed the resolution it is considered view of this session of the All Indian Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz, that geographical contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary that the area in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Western zones of India should be grouped to constitute Independent states in which constitutional units shall be autonomous and sovereign. This resolution did not specify the areas in the proposed state of Pakistan. In 1942 Mr. Jinnah explained to Prof Coupland that Pakistan would be a Muslim state or state comprising N.W.F.P., the Punjab and Sindh on the one side of India and Bengal on the other. He did not mention

Baluchistan and Assam, nor did claim Pakistan and Hyderabad. However in a memorandum to the Cabinet Mission on 12 March, 1946, the Muslim League demanded, the six Muslim provinces (Punjab, N.W.F.P.) Baluchistan, Sindh, Bengal, Assam) shall be grouped together as one group. Muslim League also used religion as propaganda for achieving Pakistan. In 1946, Muslims were asked to vote for the League because a vote for the League and Pakistan was a vote for Islam. The Quran was widely used as the League's symbol, and the League's fight with Congress was portrayed as a fight between Islam and Kafr (infidelity).

4.3.4 Hindu Mahasabha

British imperial policies in India provided a congenial climate for the emergence, growth and popularity of communal organizations. A communal organization though primarily organized to promote the interests of a particular community also indirectly promoted British imperial interests apart from serving the personal ambition of opportunistic leadership. This was not only true of the Hindu Mahasabha but also of the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and the All India Depressed Classes Federation.

The genesis and early history of the Hindu Mahasabha are clouded in obscurity. In 1910 the leading Hindus of Allahabad decided to organize an all India Hindu Mahasabha. In 1911 the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha organized a Hindu conference at Amritsar. The Hindu Mahasabha set up its head-quarters at Hardwar and used to organize the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu conference at Hardwar on the occasion of important Hindu fairs.

Explaining the rationale of the Hindu Mahasabha, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya explained that the Mohammedans and the Christians been carrying on proselytizing activities for centuries; the majority of the Muslims of India were converts to Hinduism, he added to check this process;

it was necessary to organize a Hindu Mission. Malaviya further explained that as a countermove to the Muslim League putting forward exaggerated claims for Muslim representation in the elected bodies, it was necessary to organize the Hindus to get a fair deal for their community. Thus Shudhi and Sangathan became the watchwords of the Hindu Mahasabha in the early years of its existence. Malaviya also emphasized the socio-cultural mission of the Hindu Mahasabha. The Indian National Congress being a political organization, Malviya added, it could not deal with social, cultural and non-political spheres. The tall claims of the Hindu Mahasabha as a socio-cultural organization were hardly less hypocritical than similar claims put up by the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and other communal

organizations. Under the leadership of V.D. Savarkar who became the president of the Hindu Mahasabhas in 1938 and was reelected again and again, the Mahasabha developed a political programme. Sore at the Muslim appeasement policy of the Indian National Congress, Savarkar popularized the concept of Hindu Rashtra. Savarkar maintained that India was a land of Hindus having only one nation i.e. the Hindu nation. The Muslims must accept their position as a minority community in a single Indian state, of course being promised just treatment and equal political

rights on the basis of one man, one vote; on the question of a national language. Savarkar upheld that according to democratic practices the language of the majority must prevail. After the death of V.D. Savarkar, Dr. S. Mukharjee became the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha and imparted it a more nationalist

outlook. The Hindu Mahasabha never gained that popularity with the Hindu masses as the Muslim League did with the Muslims in India. All the same against the Muslim Leagues demand for Pakistan, it raised the slogan of Akhand Hindustan.

The Hindu Masabha propaganda of a Hindu race, Hindu culture, Hindu civilization and Hindu Rastra in India harder than the Muslim Leagues attitude and made it more suspicious and more determined to demand Pakistan. It must, however be said, in all fairness that the Muslim League was the first ever communal organisation to come into existence, the communal poison proved infectious and the Hindu Masabha and other communal organizations came into existence as a counterpoise to one another.

4.2.5 Communal Riot of 1946

The bitter harvest of this campaign of fear and hatred carried on by the Hindu and Muslim communalism since the end of 19th century and in particular after 1937,, was repeated by the people in the Calcutta killings of August 1946. Within five days 5000 people lost their lives. The butchery of Hindu at Noakhali in Bengal, and of Muslims in Bihar, the carnage of the partition riot and the assassination of Gandhi by a communal fanatic were worst tragedy in the country.

But perhaps, the heaviest cost was paid by Muslims who remained in or migrated to Pakistan. Once Pakistan was formed Jinnah hoped to go back to liberal communalism or secularism. But it was too late. Jinnah had cyclically spawned a monster which not only divided India, but would, in time, eat up his own concept of Pakistan and did more harm to Muslims of Pakistan then the most secular of persons could have predicted or even imagined. On the other hand despite formation of Pakistan and bloody communal riot of 1947 ,nationalist India did succeed in framing a secular constitution and basically a secular polity.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite Congress commitment to secularism, despite Gandhiji's constant emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity and his willingness to stake his life for its promotion, and despite Nehru's brilliant analysis of the socio-economic roots of communalism, the Indian nationalist failed to

wage a mass ideological struggle against all forms of communalism. In fact, the Congress relied too heavily on negotiations with the communal leaders and failed to evolve a viable and effective long-term strategy to combat communalism at the political, ideological and cultural levels. The Congress and its leadership have to be faulted on this content.

4.3 State's Peoples Movement

INTRODUCTION

The variegated pattern of the British conquest of India, and the different stratagems through which the various parts of the country were brought under colonial rule, and resulted in two-fifths of the sub-continent being ruled by Indian princes. The areas ruled by the princes included Indian states like Hyderabad, Mysore and Kashmir that were equal in size to many European countries, and numerous small states who counted their population in the thousands. The common feature was that all of them, big and small, recognized the paramountcy of the British government.

4.3.1 Condition Of States-

In return, the British guaranteed the princes against any threat to their autocratic power, internal or external. Most of the princely states were run as

unmitigated autocracies, with absolute power concentrated in the hands of the ruler, or his favorites. The burden of the land tax was usually heavier than in British India, and there was usually much less of the rule of law and civil liberties. The rulers had unrestrained power over the state revenues for personal use, and this often led to ostentatious living and waste. Some of the more enlightened rulers and ministers did make attempts, from time to time, to introduce reforms in the administration, the system of taxation and even granted powers to the people to participate in government. But the vast majority of the states were bastions of economic, social, political and educational backwardness, for reasons not totally of their own making.

Ultimately, it was the British government that was responsible for the situation in which the Indian states formed themselves in the twentieth century. As the National movement grew in strength, the princes were increasingly called upon to play the role of bulwarks of reaction. Any sympathy with nationalism such as that expressed by the Maharaja of Baroda was looked upon with extreme disfavour. Many a potential reformer among the rulers was gradually drained of initiative by the constant surveillance and interference exercised by the British residents. There were honourable exceptions, however, and some states, like Baroda and Mysore, succeeded in promoting industrial and agricultural development, administrative and political reforms and education to a considerable degree.

British India was ruled by the direct executive authority of the Viceroy. The rest of the country was made up of a large number of princely states, referred to by the British as Native states. These states varying from very large to very small in area and population and scattered all over the country and interspersing the British Indian areas, were ruled indirectly by the British through the princes and chiefs themselves.

The princes ruled their states as they pleased. Most of them took care to see that their relations with the British rulers were maintained with due submissive

decorum. A few did not do this. This displeased the British authorities and they suffered the consequences, losing control

over their states. But the main point to note is that British rule and influence in India resulted in reactionary, feudal despotism being maintained and continued in most of the princely states. By and large there was very little of democratic government; the standard of living of the people was glaringly low compared to the pomp and extravagance of the way in which the princes themselves

and their nobility lived and in quite a few cases there was positive oppression. Under ordinary circumstances a corrupt or autocratic despot was overthrown by internal revolt or aggression from outside in most of the Indian princely states British rule made both these impossible. The princes felt secure and entrenched in their feudal positions.

4.3.2 The growth of local organizations-

Moreover, the British authorities began to use the princes to prevent the growth of national unity and to counter the rising national movement. The princes in turn depended for their self-preservation from popular revolt on the protection by the British power and adopted a hostile attitude to the national movement. In 1921, the Chamber of Princes was created to enable the princes to meet and discuss under British guidance matters of common interest. In the Government of India Act of 1935, the proposed federal structure was so planned as to check the forces of

nationalism. It was provided that the princes would get 2/5th of the seats in the Upper Houses and 1/3rd of the seats in the Lower House. These

unsatisfactory and often contradictory circumstances gave birth to local organization in the princely state which reflected popular restiveness there. They were variously called Praja Mandal or States, Conference; Mysore had a state congress. All of them were local and concerned with the affairs of the particular state. When the soldiers belonging to the contingents raised by the princely states and sent to fight in the first World War returned, they helped in the spread of

democratic ideas in their states. Moreover, the Non-Cooperation movement produced a deep impact.

4.3.3 The work of Congress

In 1920, for the first time, the congress meeting for the annual session at Nagpur called on the princes to grant at once full responsible government in their states. But at the same time, the congress resolutions made it clear that while people in the state (referred to as states people) could become individual members of the congress, they could not use the membership to interfere in the internal affairs of individual states. If they wished to do so it would have to be in their own individual capacity not in the name of the Indian national congress. This applied to the British Indian members of the congress as well. Generally the congress felt political activities in each state should be organized and controlled by the local Praja Mandal or States Peoples Conference.

In the year of the appointment of the Simon commission, the British government also appointed the Harcourt Butler Indian states committee to recommend measures for the establishment of a better relationship between the states and the central government. In response to this move of the government, nationalists among the states people such as Balwantray Mehta and Manilal Kothari of Kathiawad, and G.R. Abhyankar of Deccan, convened an All India States people Conference in December 1927 which though based on West Indian initiative was attended by 700 delegates from all over India. The AISPCs aim was to influence the governments of the states to initiate the necessary reforms in the administration by the force of collective opinion of the people of states, and to emphasise popular representation and self-government by the elective principles in all states. The conference also wanted the distinction between public revenue and the private income of the rulers clearly recognized. This was necessary to end the exploitation of the public money for personal expenditure. The conference also

placed for separation of the judiciary and the executive, so that autocratic fiats would stand abolished. Finally the AISPC urged the establishment of constitutional relation between British India and the Indian states and an effective voice for the states people in this relationship. This it was argued would hasten the attainment of Swaraj by the whole India.

Almost from the time the first conference was called in December 1927, the All India States people conference became a permanent continuing political organization. It was consistently anti-feudal, but not as clearly anti-imperialist as congress. This was to a great extent explained by the fact that as far as the States peoples were concerned, the feudal system was more direct exploiter. One of the immediate results of the setting up of the AISPC was that the struggle of the people of the different states caused to be isolated, local incident had acquired an all India identity. Thus Jawaharlal Nehru in his presidential address to the Lahore congress

speaking of purna Swaraj could officially declare that the Indian states cannot live'apart from the rest of India. The only people who have the right to determine the future of the states must be the people of these states. The 1929 Congress also passed a resolution endorsing the AISPC demands. As a direct consequence of their stand and the states should be treated as integral parts of the whole of

India, the AISPC had requested the British Govt. to agree to the peoples of the states being represented at the first Round Table Conference. The request was not acceded to. The AISPC then presented a memorandum to the Congress advocating an all India federal constitution, in which all fundamental rights and privileges which the Karachi Congress had called for in British India could be accorded-to the states people as well. The anti-feudal movement thus came to be democratized and aligned to the national movement.

The federal principle was recognized by the Indian Council Act of 1935 but the proposals so manipulated the situation that the states were used to obstruct the demands of nationalism. The act provided two-fifth of the seats in the Upper House and one-third of the seats in the Lower House at the Center to the state. This

was not according to the recognized pattern of proportional representation, nor, were the representatives from the states actually to represent the people of the states. They were merely to be the nominees of the rulers. In many of the states particularly in Rajkot, Jaipur, Kashmir, Hyderabad and Travancore significant movements were launched demanding that the democratic principle should be recognized and the government administration re-organized. The princes replied with ruthless repression. Some of them tried to stem the tide of popular revolt by inflaming communal passions. The Nizam of Hyderabad, for example, tried to brand the popular movement as anti-Muslim; similarly, the Maharaja of Kashmir tried to make out that the popular movement was anti-Hindu; in Travancore it was suggested that the Christians and their Church were behind the agitation and that it was intended to overthrow the Hindu Maharaja.

The Indian national congress had begun to support the states people in their struggle for freedom and demanded the introduction of democratic government and the grant of civil liberties to the people. When the congress spoke of independence of all the people in India, including those in the princely states was the ultimate goal. At the Tripuri congress (1938) it was decided that the organization should involve itself closely with the movements in the princely states. To underline the common aspirations of all the people of India, the All-India States Peoples Conference elected Jawaharlal Nehru as its president in 1939. The movements in the princely states not only stirred the political consciousness of the people in the states, but it was also responsible for introducing a new dimension to the concept of the unity of India.

4.3.4 World War II

The outbreak of the Second World War brought about a distinct change in the political atmosphere. Congress ministries resigned, the government armed itself with the Defence of India Rules, and in the states as well there was less tolerance of political activity. Things came to a head again in 1942 with the launching of the

Quit India Movement. This time the Congress made no distinction between British India and the Indian States and the call for struggle was extended to the people of the states. The people of the states thus formally joined the struggle for

Indian independence, and in addition to their demand for responsible government they asked the British to quit India and demanded that the states become integral parts of the Indian nation. The negotiations for transfer of power that ensued after the end of the war brought the problem of the states to the centre of the stage. It was, indeed, to the credit of the national leadership, especially Sardar Patel, that the extremely complex situation created by the lapse of British paramountcy which rendered the states legally independent- was handled in a manner that defused the situation to a great degree. Most of the states succumbed to a combination of diplomatic pressure, arm-twisting, popular movement and their own realization that independence was not a realistic alternative, and signed the instruments of Accession. But some of the states like Travancore, Junagarh, Kashmir and Hyderabad held out till the last minute. Finally, only Hyderabad held out and made a really serious bid for independence.

Conclusions

The differences between the political conditions in the states and British India also go a long way in explaining the hesitation of the Congress to merge the movement in the states with those in British India. The movement in British India adopted forms of struggle and a strategy that was specifically suited to the political context. Also, political sagacity dictated that the Princes should not be unnecessarily pushed into taking hard positions against Indian nationalism, at

least till such time as this could be counter-balanced by the political weight of the people of the states.

4.4 Outbreak Of II World War, Individual Civil Disobedience Movement

4.4.1 Background-

The clouds of war began hovering over Europe in the early months of 1939. The Congress feared that India would be dragged into the war and her resources would be exploited for imperialistic purpose. A few months before the actual outbreak of the war, the Congress warned the British Government that they would oppose all attempts to impose a war on India and use Indian resources in a war without the consent of the Indian people. In spite of this warning, Indian troops were sent to Egypt, Aden and Singapore in August, 1939. The Congress expressed its resentment by calling upon all the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly not to attend the next session as a protest against this action of the Government. Time and again, the Congress had made it clear that, while it was opposed to giving any help in a war which was intended to consolidate and further the interests of the British imperialism.

4.4.2 Congress Attitude

Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. England declared war against Germany on September 3, on the usual ground that they had done so to make the world safe for democracy. It was declared that this war was to root out exploitation of one nation and to uphold the right of all nations to self determination. The Congress Working Committee met on September 14, and

asked the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. The congress sympathized with Poland, but at the same time expressed its utter inability to do anything positive in view of India's own subjugation. Unfortunately no clear declaration of the war aims with regard to India was made by the British government. This issue was evaded. India was declared a belligerent country, on the very day the war was started against Germany: An Amending Act was passed by the British Parliament, giving wide emergency power to the British bureaucracy in India. On

October 10, 1939 the all-India Congress committee met and asked the British Government to declare categorically that India would be made free after the war

and that she would be given immediate control over Indian affairs to the largest possible extent. It was stated that such a declaration was absolutely essential to make Indians enthusiastic about the war and to enable them to render help wholeheartedly. The British Government, unfortunately, had no mind to give any such assurance.

Lord Linlithgow started a series of interviews with leaders of all shades of public opinion in India. After the interviews, the Governor-General declared that there were great differences of opinions amongst the persons interviewed with regard to the future set-up of India and the nature of immediate control asked for. The Government, in fact, fell back on the old policy of divide and rule. It was impossible to expect agreement, amongst the heterogeneous lot called for interviews. Lord Linlithgow however declared that the Dominion status was the goal of India. It was further stated that at the end of the war, his Majesty's Government would be willing to undertake modification of the Act of 1935, after consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties and interests in India and with the Indian princes, with regard to the demand for immediately transfer of control to Indian hands, the Viceroy said that he was willing to set up a consultative group of representative Indians immediately, to be associated with him in an advisory capacity in order to discuss the conduct of the war.

This declaration of the Governor-General fell far short of the Congress demand. In reply to the demand for independence after the war, there was only a promise of the Dominion status as a distinct goal. In reply to the demand for immediate transfer of control to Indian hands, there was offered the right to be present in an advisory body, whose wishes the Governor-General could ignore at will. There was, thus, a wide gulf between what was demanded by the Congress and what the Government was prepared to concede.

As a result of the frustration caused by the Viceroy's statement of October 18, 1939, the working Committee of the Congress met on October 22, and called upon the provincial Ministers to resign after adopting a resolution in the provincial Legislatures on the war aims and condemning the way in which the Government was treating the sentiments of Indians. Under these circumstances, the Congress found it difficult to shoulder responsibility for the provincial Administrations during the war. Ministers in eight provinces resigned in obedience to this mandate of the Congress high command. In all these provinces, the Governors declared the breakdown of the constitution under section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, dissolved the Legislatures and took the entire provincial administrations in their own hands. Thus even the semblance of democracy was scrapped and autocratic rule started functioning in these provinces.

4.4.3 Change of Attitude of the Congress

At this stage, it should be remembered that the attitude of the Congress in the World War II was in marked contrast to its behavior during the war of 1914-18. It had then given unconditional help and had trusted the British Government, even in spite of the warnings of men like Tilak. At the end of the war, all national leaders including Mahatma Gandhi were disillusioned by the attitude of the Government. So India decided not to be fooled again into co-operation in this war. The promise of independence after the war and an effective control over the Indian administration during its pendency were declared as conditions precedent to any voluntary help in the war efforts.

After the Congress Ministries had resigned, Mr. M.A. Jinnah called upon the Muslims of India to observe December 22 as a day of Deliverance, as a mark of relief that the Congress regime has at last ceased to function. In reply, Babu Rajendra Prasad offered to get the charges of atrocities over the Muslims by the Congress Ministries investigated by Sir Maurice Gwyer, the chief Justice of the Federal court. But Mr. Jinnah turned down the offer. The British officers in India

Once again, began to exploit the communal problem. The Muslim League played power politics. In March, 1940, it came out with its demand for Pakistan and expounded the Two-Nation theory. By the middle of 1940, the war had taken a bad turn for the Allies. German Successes were phenomenal. Denmark, Holland, Belgium had fallen. Norway was invaded and a good deal of its territory was annexed by Germany. France collapsed completely. Britain herself was in danger. Her forces had collapsed at Dunkirk and she was day and night being subject to devastating air attacks. The congress was prepared to extend its helping hand to Britain, but on some honourable basis. On June 1, 1940, Mahatma Gandhi declared, we do not seek our committee met at Poona on July 7, 1940 and offered to throw its full weight into the efforts for the effective-organization of the defense of the country and whole-hearted Co-operation in men and money. The use of violence for the defense of the country in the time of war was thus clearly accepted by the congress. This implied in a way, a departure from the policy of non-violence and was therefore against the cherished convictions of Mahatma

Gandhi. But the congress was led to this decision because of the hard realities of the war, in which non-violence and moral appeal seemed to be of no avail against an organized orgy of violence. This offer was made, however, subject to two conditions, firstly, that India's right to self-Government after the war should be reorganized in clear terms and secondly, that a provisional Government should be set up forth with at the centre, which should contain representatives of the main political parties in the country. The provincial Government should be made responsible to the elected members of the Legislative Assembly of India. The terms regarding the immediate arrangement were, thus, made precise by the congress. It involved no toning down of the powers of the Governor-General or the commander-in-chief. All that the congress had asked for was a sort of a coalition cabinet, responsible to the elected members of the popular house. But as the later events proved, the Government was not at all willing to entrust any real power to Indians during the war.

In the meantime, there occurred a ministerial crisis in England. Chamberlain, the premier had bungled at Munich in his negotiations with Hitler. He was accused of a weak and dangerous policy of appeasement. Moreover, the opposition parties were not willing to go on lending their co-operation under such a weak leadership

of the Conservative party. Churchill replaced Chamberlain as premier. Amery took over from Lord Zetland as Secretary of state for India. This change meant still more hardening in the attitude of the British Government towards the progressive aspirations of India. Churchill bluntly stated that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India or Burma and was meant only for the European nations. In the charter, it was stated that the Allies undertook to restore self-Government to all the countries, which were victims of foreign aggression and alien rule. Churchill strongly reacted against the idea of relaxing or giving up control over the British dependencies or possessions and said, he had not become his Majesty's first Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

4.4.4 The August, 1940 Offer

In reply to Poona Resolution of the congress working committee, the Governor-General issued a statement with a view to ending the political deadlock. In the first place, dominion status was once again declared to be the goal for India. But to give it effect, it was stated that his Majesty's Government will most readily assent to the setting up, after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life, in order to devise the frame-work of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree. Secondly, a certain number of representative Indians were to be invited to join the Governor-General's Executive council and a war Advisory council was to be established, which would contain representatives of the Indian states and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole Thirdly, it was made clear that his Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government. This was a curt answer

to the demand of the congress, which was told that, in the absence of an agreement with the Muslim League, no power could be transferred to the Indians.

4.4.5 Congress Rejects Offer

The offer was undoubtedly a clear advance on all the positions previously taken up by the Government. The promise of Dominion Status after the war was now made. The demand of the Congress for the appointment of a Constituent Assembly to frame the Indian constitution was almost accepted, although some Indians considered it as only an offer of a Round Table Conference at the end of the war. These were the redeeming features. Yet the offer was rejected by the congress because it fell far short of its expectation regarding the immediate change and placed a veto in the hands of the Minorities against further constitutional advancement in India. Seats in the Executive council were not acceptable to the congress because it implied no real power or control. The most unfortunate part of the Declaration, however, was the attempt to bolster up the claim of the Minorities and to pitch them against the congress. The Minorities and especially the Muslim League were assured that no constitutional scheme would be acceptable to the Government, unless and until the same was agreed to by the Muslim league. This was clearly an undemocratic proposition. It was putting the Majority at the mercy of the minority.

4.5.6 Individual Civil Disobedience

The offer of the Government came as a great disappointment to leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and C. Rajgopalchari, who wanted to offer active association in the war. As a result Mahatma Gandhi was, once again, authorized by the congress to start Civil Disobedience. But in view of the critical war situation, the congress, and especially Mahatma Gandhi, did not like to do anything which might lead to an upheaval or disorder. Nor could it keep quiet at the rejection of its demands

by the Government. In November, 1940, was, therefore, started the individual Satyagraha, which implied a symbolic protest against the attitude of the Government. Mahatma Gandhi himself selected individuals, who were to offer Satyagraha and court imprisonment. Vinoba Bhave was given the signal honour of being selected as the first individual Satyagrahi. The men so selected were to give notice to the District authorities, stating their intention to ask the people not to help in the war efforts. Vinoba Bhave was allowed to address a public meeting against the war efforts for a few minutes and was then imprisoned. With regard to others, the Government usually took the man into custody on receipt of the notice. It is estimated that about 25,000 persons courted imprisonment in this movement. Almost all the top ranking leaders of the congress, including members of the Legislative Assembly went to Jail.

The movement was rigidly controlled and it was not allowed to take the shape of a mass action. There was but a single case of violence by a congress worker or a Satyagrahi. The movement was a simple protest against the way; the war was being waged on behalf of India, It was to vindicate the right of freedom of speech and expression. The movement, however, did embarrass the Government. Public resentment against the Government grew as a result of the movement. The national press made full use of its propaganda value. It kept the Government uneasy and its attention remained diverted. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan declared that Mahatma Gandhi was stabbing Britain in the back this was rather a harsh judgment. Gandhiji invited this Novel form of Satyagraha to give the minimum possible offence to the authorities and yet to keep the torch of nationalism burning.

4.5 CRIPPS PROPOSALS

INTRODUCTIONS

On March 22, 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India with fresh proposals to resolve the Indian political deadlock. Sir Cripps had just returned from Moscow after bringing Russia into the

war on the side of the Allies. On his return from Russia, he was taken in to the war cabinet of England. He had already visited India twice. Some of the top-ranking leaders of the Indian national Congress, like Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was known to be his personal friends. Cripps being a distinguished socialist leader, India was happy that he was singled out for the negotiations.

4.5.1 Causes which led to the proposals

The following are some of the causes which led the British Government to make fresh proposal to solve the Indian constitutional tangle. In the first place, Japan had just entered the war and her initial success had alarmed the Allies. Philippines, Indonesia, Indo-China and Malaya were completely overrun. Singapore had fallen. Burma was on the point of an immediate collapse. India was also open to the danger of an attack by Japan. The British Government was hardly in a position to defend India successfully. Churchill admitted the same in the House of Commons. The Indian national congress had irrevocably taken up the position that no help was to be given in the efforts except on a voluntary basis. This constitutional deadlock hampered the war efforts. The British Government wanted to end this deadlock. Secondly, in February, 1942, George Marshall and Madame Chiang Kai Shek visited India; they realized the importance of India in combating Japan in Eastern zone. They also felt that only a willing India could do that effectively. In their farewell address, on the eve of their departure they appealed to the British Government do something towards meeting the national demand of India. Thirdly, even among the Allies of Britain, a feeling was growing that the Bent should be conceded to India to enable her to participate in the War efforts effectively.

4.5.2 Terms of Cripps Proposals:-

It was stated that the object of the British government was the earliest possible realizationmaking body, charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India. After the provincial elections, which will be held after the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower House of provincial legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be about one-tenth of the number of the Electoral College. The Indian states shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their population as in the case of representative of British India as a whole and with the same powers as the British Indian member.

His Majesty's government undertook to accept and implement forthwith a constitution so framed, subject to the following two conditions: - Any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution will have the right to retain its present constitutional position. Provision shall be made for its subsequent association to the Union, if it so decides. With such non-acceding provinces, if they so desire, His Majesty's government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them same Full status of a dominion as in the case of the Indian Union and arrived at by same procedure. The issue of accession will be finally decided by means of a plebiscite according to the majority vote in the province, if its legislative assembly did not decide in favour of it, by a two-thirds majority. The Indian states would similarly be free to join the new union or not. The British government will negotiate new treaties with the states, so far as this may be required in the new constitution.

A treaty shall be negotiated between His Majesty's government and the constitution making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of this responsibility from the British to the Indian hands. It will make provision for the protection of racial and religious minorities in accordance with the past undertakings given by His Majesty's government to the minorities. No restriction shall, however, be placed on the power of the Indian union to decide in future its relationship to other member states of the British commonwealth. It was however, added during the war period, the British

government must inevitably have the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as a part of their world war efforts, but the task of organizing to the fall the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India.

4.5.3 Rejection of the Offer

The proposals may be divided into two parts. First, there was the provision for the grant of full Dominion status after the war with the right even to leave the British commonwealth. Then there was the proposal for the setting up of a constituent Assembly for framing of a constitution for India. These proposals which provided for a long term solution of the Indian problem were no doubt, more concrete and precise than the corresponding provisions of the August 1940 offer.

But these were also open to some serious objections. Firstly, no limit was set for the actual grant of Dominion Status. Somebody dubbed the plan as a post-dated cheque. Secondly, the Indian Princes were to nominate their representatives to the constituent Assembly. This meant the presence of an undemocratic and reactionary bloc in the constituent Assembly, about 1/4 of its total membership it not more. Thirdly, the Indian states were given the right to remain out of the union even they had enjoyed the right of framing its constitution. Fourthly, the provinces were given the right of remaining out of the union. This was bait to the Muslim League and an indirect encouragement for the idea of Pakistan. Finally, it was not clear what rights of the Minorities the British Government would insist upon at the time of making of treaty. The long-term solution was therefore suspected by the nationalist forces in India.

4.5.4 The Rejection

The course for the rejection of the proposals by the Congress, however, was the lack of willingness on the part of the British Government to surrender immediate control to the Indian hands' ultimately, the proposals were rejected

mainly on two grounds. First, Sir Stafford Cripps made it clear that under no circumstances even if all the parties wanted, the portfolio of defence could be transferred to Indian hands. All that the Government was willing to do in this matter was to appoint an Indian Defence Member to look after some minor accessories like canteens and amenities for troops. Everybody realized that during the war, defence was the Chief problem and every thing else was to be subordinated to its needs. At the last stage of the negotiations, the Congress was prepared even to drop the condition of full control over the Defence and there was a possibility of a compromise on this issue based on a division of functions of the Commander-in-Chief and the Defence members.

The second cause which ultimately led the breakdown of the negotiations was the unwillingness of the British Government to treat the interim Government as a cabinet and to reduce the Governor-General to the position of a constitutional head, even with regard to matters other than the Defence. Earlier, Sir Stafford had given the impression that the British Government would be willing to do so, but when the negotiations began to yield fruitful results and a compromise was within sight, he began to argue the unreasonableness of the demand to make the Governor-

General merely constitutional head. This sealed the fate of the proposals. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs had rejected the proposals even earlier because these could lead to the formation of Pakistan. The Liberals also rejected them as a travesty of self-determination. The Muslim League argued that the plan did not contain a clear promise of Pakistan and there was no provision for two constituent Assemblies—one for the Muslim majority provinces and the other for the Hindu

majority provinces. In the words of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Cripps plan embodied different items palatable to different tastes. To the Congress, it offered full Dominion Status, Constituent Assembly and the right to leave the British Commonwealth. To the Muslim League, there was the

highly comforting provision of any province having the right to join the union or not, but were given the sole right to nominate representatives to the Constituent

Assembly. Thus the plan attempted to please everybody and ended in pleasing none. The way in which negotiations failed was sufficient to lend weight to the widely held opinion in India that the proposals were made, not with the intention to part with any power, but to assuage the international critics of the British policy in India. The proposals were suddenly withdrawn on April 11, 1942. The Congress was shocked. Churchill perhaps thought that the Congress could be put in the wrong and ignored, but he was mistaken. The Congress rose to the occasion and vindicated its stand on the proposals, as later events revealed.

4.6 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The failure of the Cripps Mission led to unprecedented disturbances throughout India. The British Government was not at all willing to part with power. The Congress was equally emphatic that an effective defence against Japan could be organized only by a popular Government. There was no meeting ground between the two sides. The individual Satyagraha had failed to move the Government. Something more effective was now called for. Gandhi evolved the idea of 'Quit India' in his articles in the Harijan, which he published after the failure of the CRIPPS Mission. The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution at Wardha in July, demanding the withdrawal of the British from India. It was adopted by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay on August 8, 1942.

4.6.1 Civil Disobedience Sanctioned

The resolution of August 8, 1942 stated that the immediate ending of the British rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and for the success of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling

India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom. The possession of Empire (by the British) instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power has been a burden

and curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the Crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged and the people of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm. No future promises or guarantees can effect the present situation or meet that peril. They can not produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people, which will immediately transform the nature of the War.

If Indians were made free, provision of Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations. Such a Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary function must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as non-violent forces at its command. The provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a constituent Assembly which will prepare

a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the resolution, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units and with residuary powers vesting in the Units. The congress working Committee resolved to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent line, on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle.

The Committee appealed to the people of India to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of the Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of the Movement. By embarking on a mass struggle, the committee has no intention of

gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes will belong to the whole of India. In his speech before the All India Congress committee, Mahatma Gandhi declared that it was a decision to do or die and elaborated the nature of the contemplated movement' It was to be the last struggle of his life to win the freedom of India. The people were warned, not to engage in any subversive or under-ground activities. It was not the physical quittal of the Britishers that was asked for, but an immediate declaration of India's Independence.

4.6.2 Government Precipitates the Crisis

The famous Quite India Resolution was passed on August 8, 1942. On August 9, all the members of the Congress Working Committee including Mahatma Gandhi were arrested. Mahatma Gandhi was taken to the Agha Khan Palace at Poona and the members of the Working Committee were sent to the Ahmednagar Fort. The Congress was declared an unlawful association. Its offices were raided all over India and funds were frozen.

It seems that the Government had its plan ready in advance to crush the Congress. In his speech before the All India Congress Committee on August 8, Mahatma Gandhi had expressed his intention to write to the Viceroy and approach some influential members of the United Nations before he launched the Movement. All that the Resolution had done was to authorize Mahatma Gandhi to start the Movement.

4.6.3 Movement and Repression by the Government

Most of the top-ranking Congress leaders were arrested on August 9 throughout India. Those who left out were rounded up in the next three or four days. The people were thus left leaderless. Their resentment took the usual form of

hartals, processions and holding of meeting. But these harmless manifestations of public resentment were dealt with ruthlessly by the Government. Meetings were forcibly dispersed, Lathi charged and even fired at. Section 144 was imposed at most of the places. In the face of such provocations people at some places resorted to violence. In return, a veritable reign of terror was started by the Government and the people also did what they could to dislodge the Government. Some persons freely indulged in arson, murder and loot. Accordingly to the official version, about 250 Railway Stations were damaged, 500 Post Offices were attacked and 150 Police Stations were raided. The Government fired 538 times, as the result of which about 940 people were killed and 1630 injured, besides, some soldiers, Police officers and Policemen who were killed. The Tata Iron and Steelworks all

the labourers numbering about 20,000 went on strike and resumed work only when the management assured them of its sympathy with the national cause. The Press was gagged. In all, about 26,000 persons were arrested. The railway lines in Bihar and Eastern U.P. remained out of order for many weeks. In certain parts of India, like Ballia in Eastern U.P., the British administration was virtually uprooted and a provisional government was set up by the people. Such areas were later reconquered by the Government and the people there were subjected to inhuman treatment. At two or three places, people were even fired or bombed at from the air. In about three months, the Government was successful in crushing the uprising. The revolutionary leaders went underground and began to direct the movement secretly.

4.6.4 Attitude of the Various Political Parties to the Movement

The Socialist Party took a glorious part in the Movement. Its leaders like Jai Prakash Narain, Dr. Ram Mohan Lohia and Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali organized a violent underground movement to dislodge the British Government. Jai Prakash Narain escaped from the Hazari Bagh Jail and remained a terror for months together for the Government. Later, he was arrested near Lahore

and subjected to inhuman treatment in the prison. The Communist Party had described the world war, when it broke out as Imperialistic but when Russia joined the War they began to regard it as the people war. They advocated full support for the Government in the war efforts and demanded the withdrawal of the Quit India Resolution by the Congress. They also wanted the Congress to start negotiations with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. The Communist leaders, who were imprisoned in the earlier stages of the war, were not released by the Government. The policy of the Communist party amounted to stabbing the nationalist forces of the country in the back.

The Muslim League tried to make capital out of the situation. The League said that the so-called national movement was aimed at enslaving the Muslims because its objective was to compel the Government to accept the Congress demand of a free and united India. Where Muslims would permanently remain under the tyranny of the Hindu majority, Jinnah tried even to set up a provisional Government at the Centre with the help of the non-Congress elements but the move was not successful. He declared that he was always willing to start negotiations with the Congress on the basis of Pakistan. In one of his statements, he boasted that; if Mr. Gandhi were to write to him from jail for solving the impasse, no power on the earth could prevent the letter from reaching him.

4.6.5 Gandhiji's Historic Fast of 21 days

Within a few weeks after the disturbances, the Government came out with the statement that they had clear evidence in their possession, which showed that Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee had a hand in goading people to violence. The Government started a propaganda campaign in India and abroad to this effect. Mahatma Gandhi resented this charge bitterly. He wanted that either he should be allowed to clear his position

publicly or he should be tried in a Court of law. The Government took up the position that Gandhiji could not be released, unless the Quite India Resolution was withdrawn. Gandhiji replied that, unless he was allowed to meet members of the Congress Working Committee, he was unable to reconsider the attitude of the Congress towards the movement. Gandhiji was, however, greatly perturbed at the acts of violence committed by the people, whatever the provocation.

It was in this state of helplessness and mental agony that Gandhiji started his famous fast for 21 days on February 10, 1943. After 13 days his condition became very critical. The doctors stated that Gandhiji might collapse within 24 hours, unless he was released. An emergent meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Councillors expressed the opinion that Gandhi's release would disturb public peace. Messrs H.P. Modi, N.R. Sarcar and M.S. Aney, who voted against the majority decision, resigned from the membership of the Executive Council as a protest. Evidently, the majority of the Councillors voted in accordance with the wishes of Lord Linlithgow, the Governor- General, who was prepared even to see Gandhiji eliminated from the Indian political scene. The decision of the majority also exposed the servile position of the Indian Executive Council seven years after the expansion of 1941.

A non-party conference was held at Delhi, wherein the immediate release of Gandhiji was urged. Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League did not join even this conference. So the Government did not release Mahatma Gandhi. It insisted on the withdrawal of the Quite India Resolution and public repentance by Gandhiji as conditions precedent to Gandhiji's release. It is said that even instructions were sent by the Government to local officers as to how they were to deal with the situation, in case the worst happened to Gandhiji. Luckily, Gandhiji survived the ordeal.

4.6.6 Release of Gandhiji

In April, 1944, Gandhiji fell seriously ill. Lord Wavell had taken over from Linlithgow as Viceroy in October, 1943. Rather than see Gandhiji die in Prison,

Lord Wavell preferred to release him on May 6, 1944. This decision might have been influenced by the invasion of the Indian Territory by I.N.A under the command of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. The I.N.A. had penetrated the Indian soil and take possession of small territory of Manipur and Aishevpur comprising about 10,000 square miles. After coming out of the prison Gandhiji requested Lord Wavell to enable him to meet the members of Congress Working Committee in order to review the political situation in country, especially in the light of the new development. But the Government rejected this request. Perhaps the Government thought that Gandhiji could himself decide the course of action for the Congress.

4.6.7 Significance

The British, though succeeded in suppressing the movement, realized the advantage of trying for a negotiated settlement rather than risk another confrontation as massive and violent in this revolt. The imprisonment of Congress leaders proved beneficial to them in an indirect way. For it helped them to avoid clear public stand on the Japanese war issue. Something which otherwise would have been very embarrassing for a few months in 1944, when S.C. Bosses I.N.A. appeared on the borders of Assam at a time when on the world scale the Allies were clearly winning the war.

The quite India Movement weakened the leftist group and parties in Indian considerably. The socialist and Bosses followers charged and the communist with Treachery (the communist did not participate in the revolt because of their support to the Allies, including Soviet Union) and the latter charged the former with fifth-columnist actively (because of the formers plan to win freedom for India with the help of the Axis powers).

4.7 I.N.A AND SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

INTRODUCTION

Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1945) was one of the fearless leaders of the nationalist movement in India. He was twice elected the president of the Indian national congress in 1938 and 1939. As his election for the second time he was opposed by Mahatma Gandhi and there was strong opposition to him. He resigned from the congress presidentship and started a new party known as the Forward Block.

In 1938 when war in Europe was imminent, the view of Subhas Chandar Bose was that India's immediate requirements were an uncompromising struggle with British imperialism and methods of struggle more produced Again, the Indian people should not be hampered by any philosophical notions like Gandhian non-violence or any sentimentalism like Nehru's anti-Axis foreign policy. As president of the congress, he proposed in March 1939 that an ultimatum be given to the government of India to make India free within six months. However, the proposal was turned down by the congress and he resigned from the congress presidentship. When the World War II broke out, he undertook a tour of the country in which he openly criticized the British government and advised the Indians not to help the British War-effort. On April 6, 1940, he started civil disobedience campaign. On July 27, 1940, he was imprisoned without trial. While in jail, he arrived at three conclusions. The first conclusion was that Britain would break up. The second conclusion was that inspite of being in a very weak position; the British would not hand over power to the people of India who would have to fight their freedom. His third conclusion was that India would win her independence if she played her part in the War against Britain and collaborated with those powers that were fighting against Britain. He decided to go on hunger strike and on November 26,1940 addressed a long letter to the government of Bengal and its

ministers in which he wrote, the individual must die so that the nation may live. Today I must die so that India may win freedom and glory. He started his

indefinite fast on November 29, 1940' As he developed alarming symptoms, the government released him on December 5, 1940.

After his release, Subhas Chandra Bose remained in his house on Elgin road, Calcutta, which was under the strict supervision of the police. He was last seen there on January 19, 1941 .On January 17, 1941 at about 1.25 am, he left his house and reached Gomoh by car. From there he went to Peshawar by train. He passed through Jamrud and reached Garhi. He crossed the Indian border on foot and reached Kabul from there he proceeded to Russia with an Italian passport on March 28,1941, he flew from Moscow to Berlin.

4.7.1 Bose In Germany

He was received well by Ribbentrop, the right- hand man of Hitler. He was given all facilities to broadcast from Berlin to India his denunciation of the British Government. When Germany attacked Russia in June 1941, Subhas proposed to organize an Indian Army which was to follow the German Army to central Asia from where it was to operate against the British forces on the North-Western Frontier. Subhas wanted the Axis power to make a declaration regarding the independence of India and although he had- a long meeting with Hitler on May 29, 1941 in that connection, he was not successful in his efforts. out of the Indian prisoners of war captured in North Africa by the Germans, Subhas was able to form two units in January 1942. He was also able to set up Free India Centres in Rome and Paris. The strength of the legion rose to 3000' However, his further activities in Germany were suddenly stopped when he heard of the successes Of the Japanese against the British and the fall of Singapore on February 15, 1942. Subhas felt that he could do more for India from the Far East than from Germany. Under these circumstances he decided to leave Germany for the Far East.

4.7.2 Formation of Indian National Army (INA)

When the war broke out in the East in 1941, there was great enthusiasm among Indians in those regions. A large number of associations were set up to help the liberation of India from the British yoke. Out of these associations was born the idea of an Indian Independence League. Through the efforts of Rash Bihari Bose who had left India and settled in Japan, a conference was held at Tokyo on March 28-30, 1942. A resolution was passed at that conference that the Indian National Army should be formed under the direct command of Indian officers who were to conduct the campaign for the liberation of India. An Indian Independence League of overseas Indians was provisionally set up and it was decided to have a fully representative conference of Indians at Bangkok in June 1942.

The Bangkok Conference was held from June 15 to 23 and was attended by about 100 delegates from Burma, Japan, China, Indo-China, the Philippines, Malaya, etc. The Congress was presided over by Rash Bihari Bose who unfurled the 'tricolor Flag of India. The Indian Independence League with a definite constitution was inaugurated. Its object was declared to be the attainment of complete and immediate independence of India. Many resolutions were passed and one of them invited Subhas Chandra Bose to East Asia. The conference was also attended by the representatives of the Indian soldiers who had been captured by the Japanese but had given up their allegiance to the British Government. After the fall of Singapore, 400,000 Indian prisoners of war had fallen into the hands of the Japanese who handed them over to Captain Mohan Singh who was an officer in the British Army and had surrendered to the Japanese but was persuaded to join Indian Independence movement. Mohan Singh organized an army of volunteers known as the Indian National Army or Azad Hind Fauj. He attended the Tokyo and Bangkok conference and was chosen as the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army and also a member of the Council of Action which had been set up by the Bangkok conference. By August 1942 a division of the Indian National Army consisting of more than 16,000 men was raised and approved by the Japanese. Mohan Singh and the Japanese military officers disagreed on many other points. There were dissensions within the Council of Action and its members resigned. Rash Bihari Bose and Mohan Singh also quarreled. The result was that Mohan Singh was dismissed from his post and interned. A deadlock was created.

4.7.3 Bose in Japan

After Japan's entry into the war (December 1941) Rash Bihari Bose, an old Indian revolutionary who had taken political refugee in Japan and thereafter become a Japanese citizen, organized an Indian Independence League composed of Indians, living in South East Asian countries which were then controlled by Japan. The Indian Independence League took a definite shape at a conference held at Bangkok in June 1942, Rash Bihari Bose was elected its Chairman.

At the Bangkok conference it was decided to invite Suchas Chandra Bose to come to East Asia. He arrived from Germany in Tokyo on 13 June 1943. To him Rash Bihari Bose surrendered his power and position. The Japanese Government made an official declaration to extend all means in order to help to expel and eliminate from India the Anglo-Saxon influence which are the enemy of the Indian People and enable India to achieve full independence in the true sense of the term.

Subhas Chandra Bose came to Singapore (which was then under Japanese occupation) and assumed leadership of the Indian Independence League and the I.N.A. (July 1943). He was acclaimed as Netaji. He established a provisional Government of Free India at Singapore (October 1943) which was formally recognized by Germany, Italy and Japan.

4.7.4 March to India

The slogan prescribed by Bose for the I.N.A. was Delhi cholo (March to Delhi) . Acting in full cooperation with Japanese troops who had occupied Singapore, Malaya and Burma, the I.N.A. began its offensive in March 1944 and advanced through Burma as much as 150 miles into Indian territory. The national tricolor flag was planted on the Indian soil on 19 March 1944.

But the progress of the I.N.A. was cut short by the British occupation of Rangoon in May 1944. The I.N. A. men were disarmed and made prisoners. The Indian Independence Movement in South-East Asia collapsed. After surrender of Japan to the Allies (August 1945) Bose went to Taipei in Formosa where it is said, he died in an air crash (18 August 1945).

Trial of INA men

After the world war II was over, the Government of India decided to try those Indian soldiers who had joined the Indian National Army. About 25,000 Indian soldiers who had joined the Indian National Army were rounded up after the collapse of the Japanese army In Burma. On the basis of evidence in their possession, the military authorities brought charges against some of the officers not only of waging war against the king but also of committing gross brutalities on the members of the INA accused of desertion. A military tribunal was set up and the first batch of three accused officers, one Hindu, one Musilm and one Sikh was put on trial in the Red Fort at Delhi. There was a lot of enthusiasm in the country. An INA Defense Fund was set up' A lot of money was collected The Indian National congress set up panel of defense lawyers which included men like Bhulabhai Desai, sir Tej Bahidur sapru and others. Even Jawaharlal Nehru put on the gown of a lawyer on the newspapers, the people of India came to realize the tremendous sacritices made by the INA men for the liberation of their country. There was great resentment at the prosecution of the patriots and there were popular demonstrations all over the country. The result was that although the accused were convicted but ultimately the sentence of transportation

for life was remitted and they were simply cashiered. Taking into consideration the mood of the people at large, the Government of India-decided to drop all further proceedings against the INA prisoners of war.

4.7.5 Boses Contribution to India's Freedom Struggle:

Subhas Chandra Bose rendered great services to the nation in its struggle for freedom is evident from his election as president of the congress in two successive years. He helped the militant nationalists in different ways. His views on economic questions were for more progressive ' than those of the older congress leaders. He initiated the idea of economic planning which the congress took up seriously when it came to power. His determination to eliminate the policy of compromise from the programme undaunted of the congress led to his explosion from the congress. undaunted, he established the Forward Bloc which is now an important leftist political organization. His political idealism had a mystic element. He was far above communalism and parochialism, Indian speaking different regional languages and profession different creeds joined the INA. organization of the I.N.A. testifies to his magnetic personality and unique capacity for leadership. His journeys from Calcutta to Moscow and from Germany to Japan were adventures unprecedented in Indian history.

The Indian Communists, who regarded the Allies-struggle against the Axis powers as a peoples war condemned Bose as a traitor. He was a traitor indeed not to his country but to its foreign rulers. The congress did not look upon his political-cum-military adventure with approval and his close association with Japan raised many misgivings. It was of course, far from his intention to change masters-to replace the British by the Japanese. His sole purpose was to liberate India with the assistance of Britain's enemies. The determination of Gandhi and Nehru not to exploit the difficulties of Britain for India's advantage drove him out of the congress' when

the British Government tried to cripple his political activities by imprisonment and detention, he left the country and jumped into an uncertain future. He left for the Indian people a tradition of reckless courage, exciting romance and noble patriotism.

The I.N.A. organized and actively led by Bose, failed in its immediate objective' It was Never a really effective fighting force. It took the field too late, the Axis powers were in retreat by 1944. yet it occupies an important place in the history of India's struggle for freedom. Its Organization was an threatening indication that the British could no longer count upon the unflinching loyalty of the Indian sepoys in maintaining their hold on India. The popular agitation against the I.N.A. trial, as also the Naval Mutiny, was alarming symptoms from the British point of view. Thus' a new military factor emerged in the formulation of British policy towards India's struggle for freedom.

Importance of the INA Struggle

It is rightly said that the INA occupies an important place in the. history of India's struggle For freedom' The formation of the Indian National army and the brave fight put up by the INA men opened the eyes of the British Government to the danger of reasons why the British Government maintain their hold on India and that was ultimately one of the reasons why the British Government decided to grant independence to India. The members of the INA did not die or suffer in vain.They have a place of honour in the history of India's struggle for freedom. The provisionat Government set up by Netaji subhas Bose and the Indian Nationat Army organized by him brought the Indian question out of narrow domestic sphere sphere of the British Empire into the fheld of international politics. The recognition of the provisionat Government of free India by Japan,. Germany and Italy and other countries gave a new status to India. The world opinion was effeted by the exploits of Netaji Subas Ch Bose and Indian Army.The Indian National army also proved that Indian soldiers were not merenary. He was also proved that

the Indian soldiers was not merenary. He was also willing to sacrifice his life for the sake of the country. The officers of INA set up a brilliant record of communal harmony and Commandership. The INA had in it Hindu, the Muslim, and the Sikhs and others not only as soldiers but also as Commanders.

Hugh Toye gives his estimate of INA in these words there can thus be little doubt that the Indian National Army in these words there can be little doubt that the Indian National Army not in its unhappy career on the battlefields but in its thunderous disintegration, hastened the end of British rule in India. The agitation which surrounded the trials turned the issue of Independence for India into an instant, burning question once more.

4.8 END OF WAR AND ELECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

The second war which had dominated world politics for about six long years came to an end with the surrender of Japan on 15th August 1945 shortly before this there was general election in Britain. It resulted in a resounding victory for the Labour party which secured for the first time in its history, a clear majority in the House of Commons. Churchill's Government was now replaced by a Labour Government with Clement Attlee as Prime Minister and Lord Patrick Lawrence as Secretary of State for India.

4.8.1 Causes of Election

The first step taken by the British was to hold general election in India without delay. The last election to the Central Assembly was held in 1945 and the

Provincial Legislatures, in 1936 elections had subsequently been postponed, under the special of the Governor-General in the case of the Central legislature and by Parliamentary legislation in the ease of Provincial Legislatures. Almost immediately after Lord Paathick Lawrence assumed office, Lord wavell was called for discussion by the Home Government in London. On 21st August the viceroy announced his decision to hold election to the central and Provincial Legislatures in India. was was followed by the Viceroy's visit to London. After his return from London Wavell on September 19th 1945 declared that after the election in India a Constituent Assembly would be convened for the purpose of making a new constitution and that he would reconstitute the executive council with the support of the major political parties in India. He also hoped that responsible Government would be formed in the provinces. On 4th December 1945, the Secretary of state for India made it clear on the floor of the House of Lord that the English Govt. regarded the setting up of the constitutional making body as-a matter of urgency. He also pointed out a parliamentary delegation under the auspice of the Empire parliamentary Association would be sent to India to establish personal contact between the members of the Parliament and leading Indian political personalities.

4.8.2 Elections

The much awaited central and provincial elections were held in India in the winter of 1945- 46, the congress secured 91.3 percent of the votes cast in non-Mahammadan constituencies and the Muslim league 86'6 percent of the total votes cast in Muhammadan constitutencies.

4.8.3 Results

The congress succeeded in capturing almost all non-Muslim seats in the provinces. It also captured the majority of the Muslim seats in North-West Frontier Province, Madras, and united province. The Muslim Lague was to content with

Bengal and Sindh. In the Punjab, the League was the largest single party and preferred to remain in opposition and the Govt. in Punjab was formed by a coalition of Akali Sikhs, Unionist party and the non-League Muslims. The delegation of the English parliament came to India in January 1946 during the election and made an on the spot study of the political condition of India.

4.8.3 Results on Politics

The result of the elections in the provinces confirmed the deduction is made on the basis of the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly. They proved that the Congress and the Muslim league were the only two portions that counted in the country dominated respectively. But it is noticeably that the Muslim league had not absolute majority in any of the four provinces which were to constitute Pakistan, the separate sovereign Muslim state, and could form Ministry in only two Bengal and Sindh-though in the latter it was more a matter of grace on the part of the

Governor than a claim of right. Another noticeably result of the elections was the fact that a large section of the scheduled castes supported the congress.

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

Introduction

Viceroy Wavell energies were directed towards formulating an Offer (known as the Wavell Offer or the Simla conference) which would pre-empt a struggle by effecting an agreement with congress before the War with Japan ended. The congress leaders were released to participate in the Simla conference in June 1945. That marked the end of the phase of confrontation that had exerted since August 1942.

4.9.1 Causes of Conference

Lord Wavell arrived in London on 23 March, 1945 and there was a prolonged discussion between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. After discussions a general plan was agreed upon. It was decided to summon a conference of the leaders of all the parties, and for this purpose to release unconditionally all the members of the Congress Working Committee who were still in prison amongst other important decisions, besides the transfer of the subject of external affairs to an Indian member, were the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India and parity of representation for Muslims in the Executive Council. Meanwhile a draft statement was prepared, which was discussed and re-discussed and underwent many revisions before it was finally accepted.

4.9.2 Proposals by Wavell

Lord Wavell returned from London to Delhi on 4 July, 1945. On 14 June he broadcast his proposals, designed, as he said, to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. It was his intention, he announced, to hold a political conference in Simla on 25 June, to which would be invited twenty-one leaders including premiers of provincial government; persons who last held the office of premier in the provinces administered by governors. the leader of the Congress party and the deputy leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leaders of the Congress and the League in the Council of State; the leader of the Nationalist Party and the European Groups in the Central Legislative Assembly; Gandhiji and Jinnah, as the recognized leader of the two main political parties, and a representative each of the Sikhs and the Scheduled Caste. The Proposal of the Conference would be to take counsel with the Viceroy with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council which would be more representative of organized political opinion. It was intended that the new Council would represent proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims. Except for the

Viceroy and for the Commander-in- Chief, who would hold charge of the war portfolio, it would be an entirely Indian Council. The subject of external affairs, which had hitherto been administered by the Viceroy, would be in charge of an Indian Member of council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned. The new council would work under the existing constitution, there could be no question of the Governor- General agreeing not to exercise his Constitutional power to overriding his council in certain circumstances, but this power would not, of course, be exercised unreasonably. It was also proposed to appoint a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other interest in India. Lord wavell made it clear that the formation of this interim Government would in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement, also that his proposal were confined to Indian Princes with the Crown Representatives" The main tasks of the new Executive Council would be first to prosecute the war against Japan, Secondly, to carry on the government of British India (with Its manifold tasks of Pos-t-War development) until a new permanent constitution could be agreed upon and come Into force, and thirdly, to consider (when the members of the Government thought it possible) the means by which such agreement could be achieved' The third task, Lord Wavell said, was most important-neither he himself, nor His Majesty's Government had lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and the present proposals were intended to make such solution easier. He considered that the proposals were not merely a step, but a stride forward in the right direction.

The Press and the public welcomed the proposals, but Gandhi on one side and Jinnah on one the other disapproved some issues arising out of them. Gandhi took objection to the classification, Caste-Hindus, whom the Congress was supposed to represent. He would rather prefer parity between the congress and the Muslim League. Jinah demanded that the Muslim half of the Executive Council must all be from the members of the League. The Hindu Mahssabha felt aggrieved of the idea of parity between caste Hindus and Muslims in the proposed Executive Council.

The members of the Congress Working Committee were released on 15 June and it met in Bombay about a weak later. In spite of the misgivings of Gandhi on several points, on which he failed to obtain satisfaction from the Viceroy, the-

Working Committee decided that the Congress should participate in the conference.

The conference assembled in the Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on 25 June, and was attended by 21 invitees. Gandhi did not attend the conference but stayed on in Simla throughout its session. After the Parliamentary explanations and explanations were over, the conference met on 26 June to discuss, point by point, the various issues relating to the proposed Executive Council of the Governor-General. There was general agreement on the powers and functions of the Executive Council and its relations with the Viceroy.

4.9.3 Views of different Party

The Conference, however, came to a deadlock over the composition of the Executive Council. Jinnah would not agree to the appointment of Muslims who did not belong to the League. It would mean that even the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, could not be a member of the Executive Council.

The Congress claimed the right to include in their quota members of all communities, particularly the Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Christians. Sivraj objected to the Congress claim to nominate representatives of the Scheduled Castes, and insisted that the number of Scheduled Caste members should bear the same ratio to their population as the Muslim members bore to theirs. Forestalling the argument of Jinnah on his two nation theory. Sivraj maintained that the Scheduled Castes represented a separate element in the national life of India and had been recognized as such. In order to understand Sivraj's contention it is necessary to remember that Gandhi himself, in course of his correspondence with Wavell, expressed the view that if coalition Ministry were formed in the Provinces, the minorities should be represented only by members of their body belonging to the Congress. To this the Viceroy had replied the essential thing was that the

minorities should be represented by some one they trusted and it was this psychological factor that was important.

Jinnah's attitude was widely criticized throughout the Country, even by a section of the Muslims who did not belong to the League. But he refused the co-operation of the Muslim League unless (a) all five Muslim members of the Council were taken from the League, and (b) the Governor-General's power of veto were reinforced by a special safeguard for the Muslims within the Council, e.g. a provision that no decision objected to by the Muslims should be taken except by a clear two-thirds majority, or something of the kind.

As the Viceroy was enabling to accept these conditions, Jinnah told him that the Muslim League could not cooperate. The Viceroy informed him that this meant the failure of his efforts, but Jinnah remained obdurate. On 14 July the conference met for the fifth and last time and the Viceroy announced that the conference had failed.

4.9.4 Result

The proceedings as well as the final result of the conference are highly discreditable to Wavell's statesmanship. If as his action should, he were of opinion that no constitutional progress was possible without the consent of Jinnah, he could have summoned, as the preliminary step. Only the leaders of the Congress and Muslim League at least to settle the fundamental principles. As it is, the other members played more or less the part of dummies and from this point of view

the composition of the Simla conference was a fraud upon the public as well as upon its members. Two considerations may be urged in extenuation of Wavell's responsibility for the failure. In the first place, he was surrounded by British officials who were not only pro-Muslim but also did not like any agreement

between the Congress and the Muslim League, as it was sure to hasten their exit from India. It is also learn on fairly good authority that a member of the Executive Council of Wavell betrayed him and advised Jinnah to be intransigent, and used his influence on the Viceroy to make sure that it worked. Secondly, the time of the conference was unfortunate. About a month before it met, the coalition cabinet in Britain was replaced by the Conservative Ministry of Churchill who would never have the formation of an Executive Council which did not include the representatives of the Muslim League. But Wavell knew it fully well before he summoned the conference and his subsequent conduct proves him to be as much a pro-Muslim as either Churchill or the British Officials in India. There might have been difference of degree but not of kind.

Conclusion

In any case the Simla Conference did irreparable mischief to India and practically ensured the creation of Pakistan. Wavell formally handed over to Jinnah the power of veto and henceforth it was regarded as an axiomatic truth in Indian politics that the final authority in any constitutional progress in India rested in the hands of Jinnah. Wavell thus reversed the process followed by Cripps who attached for greater importance to the Indian National Congress representing an overwhelming majority of Indian people.

4.10 CABINET MISSION PLAN

INTRODUCTION

On March 15, 1946, it was also announced that the British Government was sending a Cabinet Mission to India to resolve the Indian political deadlock. On

March, 23, 1946, three Cabinet members, Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India under the Labour Government, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A.V. Alexander arrived in India. A long chain of meetings and negotiations followed. In all, 472 Indian leaders were interviewed in 182 sittings. Every stand of opinion was taken into consideration. The main parties dealt with, however, were the Congress and the Muslim League. After prolonged discussion in New Delhi, a Tri-Party conference was held at Simla between the Government, the Congress and the Muslim League. As the Congress and the Muslim League could not arrive at an agreement, the cabinet Mission, with the full approval of the British Government, suggested their own plan for solving the constitutional deadlock.

4.10.1 Terms of the Cabinet Mission Plan

The main recommendations of the plan were the following.

A Union of India

There shall be a Union of India, including both the British India and the Indian states, which shall deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and shall also have powers necessary to raise finance required for the above subjects.

The Union shall have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from the British India and States representatives. Provinces should be free to form Groups with separate Executive and Legislatures. They shall be three groups: A- Madras, Bombay, U.P., Bihar, C.P. and Orissa, B- Punjab, N.W.F. province and Sindh, and C- Bengal and Assam. The constitution of the Union and of the groups shall contain a provision whereby any province could by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly. call for a consideration of the term of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals there after.

Constitution-making Body

For the purpose of setting up a constitution-making body, each province shall be allotted a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million. States allotted to each province shall be divided between the various communities in proportion to their population in that province. The principle of weightage to minorities was discarded. Only three classes of electorates were recognized, i.e. General (all other than Muslim and Sikhs), Muslims and Sikhs (only in the Punjab). This according to the Mission was the fairest and the most practicable basis and the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.

According to this principle the constituent Assembly was to contain 292 members from the British Indian Provinces, as detailed below:

Section-A

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Province	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Province	16	1	17
Orssa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

Section-B

Province	General	Muslim	Sikhs	Total
Punjab	8	16	4	28
NWFP	0	3	0	3
Sindh	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

Setion-c

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70

The total strength of the Constituent Assembly was to be as follows:

Total for Sections A, B and C: $187+35+70=292$

Maximum for Indian States: 93

Chief Commissioner's provinces- one each for Delhi, Ajmer-Marwar, Coorg, and British Baluchistan. (British Baluchistan was attached to -Section-B and the remaining three commissionaires to Section-A) = 4 389

In the British Indian provinces, members shall be elected by each provincial legislative assembly community- wise (General, Muslim or Sikh) through proportional representation by a single transferable vote. The method of selecting members of the constituent Assembly from the state wilt have to be determined by

constitution. The state would, in the preliminary stage, be represented by a negotiation committee.

vi. After the preliminary meeting of the constituent assembly the provincial representatives shall divide up into the three sections shown in the table above. These sections shall proceed to settle the provincial constitutions for the provinces, included in each section, and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those provinces, and if so, with what provincial subjects the group should deal as soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any province to elect to come out of any group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the province after the first general elections under the new constitution.

vii. The representatives of the sections and the Indian states shall re-assemble for the purpose of setting the union constitution.

viii. It will be necessary to negotiate treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

ix. In Interim Government, having the support of the major Political Parties, would be set up as early as possible. In this Government, all the Portfolios, including the of the war member,

shall be held by the Indian leaders, having the full confidence of the people.

x. The British Government shall implement the constitution drawn by the Constituent Assembly"

xi. After the transfer of power to the British Indian Provinces, it shall not be possible for Britain to retain paramountcy over the Indian states, nor could paramountcy be transferred to the new Government of the British India.

4.10.2

The cabinet Mission seriously thought over the desirability of establishing a separate and full independent state of Pakistan, as claimed by the Muslim League and came to the following conclusions.

Pakistan would not solve the communal minority problem. Firstly, the number of non-Muslims in Pakistan and Muslims in the remainder of the British India would still remain considerable. Secondly, there was no justification for including in Pakistan those Districts of the Panjab, Bengal and Assam in which the population was predominantly non-Muslim. Thirdly, the small sovereign state of Pakistan, confined to the Muslim majority areas alone, would not provide an acceptable solution of the communal problem because it would involve a radical partition of the Panjab and Bengal and that would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these provinces. Fourthly, Pakistan was not a feasible proposition even on administrative, economic and military considerations. It would be suicidal to disrupt the post and Telegraph system and the Defence Forces.

4.10.3 Merits of the Plan

The plan was, in the first instance, a compromise between the stands taken up by the Congress and the Muslim League. The Congress stood for a united India with a strong center. The League wanted Pakistan. The plan offered a united

India with a weak center. Mahatma Gandhi realized the difficulties of the Mission and regarded the plan as the best document the British Government could have produced in view of the circumstances the country. Secondly- according to the plan, the Constituent Assembly was to be formed on a very equitable and fair basis Communal weightage was to be discarded.

Thirdly- it was for the first time that the British Government had admitted the right of the people of the Indian states to decide their political destinies. The reference to a Negotiating Committee, which was to settle the method of choosing the states representatives, was a clear indication that the right did not belong to the princes.

And finally, the constituent Assembly was to be a fully sovereign body within the frame work of the plan. The British Government, it was declared, would implement the constitution framed by that body and would take steps to surrender sovereignty over India.

4.10.4 Criticism of the Plan

The plan was variously criticized" It was said that it did not promise full power to the Interim Government and that the constituent Assembly was not fully sovereign. This was of course, true. But the Cabinet Mission in a subsequent elucidation on May 25, 1946 made it absolutely clear that they wanted to give the Interim Government and the constituent Assembly as much freedom

as was possible- In view of this assurance, the Congress accepted the plan on June 25, 1946. The Muslim League resented the absence of Pakistan, but later, on June 6, accepted it as containing the substance of Pakistan. The Sikhs after an assurance from the Congress that their interests would not be ignored. The Hindu Mahasabha resented compulsory grouping and a possibility of the division of the country at some future date. The Communist Party objected to its communal provisions,

composition and the limitations on the powers of the Constituent Assembly. But, as already stated, most of these shortcomings could not be avoided, keeping in view the difficulties which the Mission wanted to solve

4.10.5 The Fate of the Plan

We have already noted that the plan was accepted by the Muslim League on June 6, 1946 and by the Congress on June 25, 1946. The elections to the Constituent Assembly proposed under the plan were then held. In these elections, the Congress captured 199 seats out of the total of 210 General seats. Out of the total of 296 seats allotted to the British India, the Congress captured 211 seats and the Muslim League 73. Mr. Jinnah was disappointed by the result of the elections and the brute majority: of the Congress. This probably led to the rejection of the plan by the Muslim League on June 29, 1946.

We have already noted that on December 6, 1946, the British Government agreed to the interpretation of the Grouping Classes as put forward by the Muslim League. In the statement of December 6, the British Government said, should the constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not of course, contemplate, forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country. This was clearly an attempt on the part of the British Government to coerce the Congress to accept the interpretation of the British Government regarding Grouping.

The Congress ultimately accepted the interpretation of the British Government with regard to the procedure to be followed in the sections. But even then the Muslim League was not prepared to send its members to the Constituent Assembly, which was scheduled to meet on December ,1946. Mr. Jinnah began to claim a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan. When the Constituent Assembly eventually met on December g, the representatives of the Muslim League were conspicuous by their absence.

INTRODUCTION

The Cabinet Mission Plan was accepted by both Congress and the Muslim League though both expected something better. The Congress did not like the provision of grouping the provinces. And the main grouse with the League was that it did not meet their demand for Pakistan. In July 1946 the election to the Constituent Assembly was held all over the country. The Congress secured 205 seats and the League captured 73 seats while the Sikhs got for themselves 4 seats.

Thus counting upon the Sikh support the Congress got 209 seats in Assembly of 296 seats. This was naturally disturbing Mohammed Ali Jinnah, since his party was bound to be overwhelmingly overshadowed by the Congress in the Constituent Assembly. Driven by dismay and frustration the League took a resolution which came to be known as the Direct Action Resolution and fixed 16 August 1946 as the day of Direct Action on which date the biggest genocide took place in Calcutta which came to be known as the Great Killing in Calcutta, which was the capital city of Muslim province. In the hands of the Muslim fanatics the city was reduced into bloody shambles. Atrocities of worst description were perpetrated upon the

Hindu minorities in other parts of Bengal, of which the most conspicuous were Noakhali and Tipperah. Communal riots spread to Bihar, United Provinces and Bombay when the country was polarized between the Hindu Muslims a division of the country on the communal lines was in the air. It was in the midst of the communal frenzy that Viceroy invited Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President to form the Interim Government and he assumed office on 2 September

1946. Although the Muslim League was also invited to join the interim Government it walked away from the Government. So the Interim Government predominantly was Hindu in composition with the following members Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Chakravarty, Rajagopalchari, Dr. John Mathai, Sardar Ballav Singh, Sir Shafat Ahmad Khan, Jagivan Ram, Syed Ali Zaheer, C.H. Bhabha, Asaf Ali and Sarat Chandra Bose.

Although the Muslim League refused to join the ministry at the request of the Viceroy the League changed their decision and on 26 October 1946 five members of the League were inducted in the ministry. They were Liaquat Ali Khan, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Abdul Rab Nishtar, I.I. Chundrigar and Jogendra Nath Mandal (Scheduled Caste). To accommodate the new ministers in the Interim Government three Congress ministers resigned. They were Sarat Chandra Bose, Syed Ali Zaheer and Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. But the inclusion of the League members in the ministry made the Interim Government a house divided and a ship directed in opposite directions. Pandit Nehru did not fight shy to openly declare that the League pursued their aim to enlist British support and tried to establish themselves the King's Party.

It may be pointed out that although the League joined the Interim Government, it refused to participate in the Constituent Assembly, Thus the Constituent Assembly had to function minus the League. It met for the first time on 9 December 1946 at New Delhi. It elected Dr. Rajendra Prasad its President on 11 December 1946. After two days Pandit Nehru moved his famous objective Resolutions that was passed by the Assembly on 22 January 1947. According to the resolution passed by the Assembly India was pledged to become independent Sovereign Republic.

4.11.1 Attlee's Announcement for Transfer of Power

The English Government at London was unhappy at the growing difference among the Indian political parties that were hampering the functioning of the Constituent Assembly. The English Prime Minister Clement Attlee made the famous announcement on 20 February 1947 that his Majesty's Government wish to make clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by June 1948. Evidently Attlee was worried at the persistent negative role played by the Muslim League in the Constituent Assembly. If the League did not change their stand in boycotting the

Constituent Assembly the Government in London might decide to whom the power of the Central Government in British India should be handed over as a whole or in part or if necessary to the provincial government. It was, therefore, clear from the declaration of Attlee that the Government at London might allow partition of the country by June 1948 so as to enable it to transfer power by the deadline. In this way the Cripps Mission Plan was at last acceptable and the postdated cheque was at last honoured by the crashing bank i.e. the British Empire.

The immediate reaction of the Muslim League was a raging fight to set on motion the fanatic monster of Pakistan on the Indian scene and it unleashed violence in Assam, Bengal, North West Frontier Provinces and the Punjab. Since Attlee's declaration suggested that power would be handed over to the provincial government, the League was out to dislodge the anti-League ministries in Assam, North West Frontier provinces and the Punjab by creating disturbances and chaotic conditions. The League was crowned with success in the Punjab where the Governor took over the administration under Section 93 the Government of India Act of 1935. But the League's dream did not come true in Assam and the North West Frontier provinces. It was now gaining ground for division of the country, since that was considered the only way out to avoid disturbances and chaos that had rendered the unity and integration of the country.

4.11.2 Mountbatten Plan

The Penultimate Viceroy Lord Wavell was replaced by a more dynamic Lord Mountbatten who was destined to hand down British India in the hands of the Indians which was not an easy task. The new Viceroy was known for his facts, energy and determination. Immediately after his arrival in India he started dialogue with the representatives of the different political parties. In view of the communal holocaust that beset the country the Congress leader against their will had to accept the partition of the country, particularly when the Muslim League would not budge an inch from their demand for Pakistan. It was an uphill task for the new Viceroy

Mountbatten to shuffle the cards to the satisfaction of all the players in the game. The blueprint for partition was handed down by Mountbatten on 3 June 1947. This is known as the Mountbatten Plan and this was the basis along which the transfer of power was effected by the English Government to the Indians. The Preamble of the plan was couched in the following words it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. It is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their constitution is to be framed... (a) in the existing Constituent Assembly or (b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representative of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly. When this is done it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred. The main features of the Mountbatten Plan were as follows:

If the people of the Muslim majority areas so desire, they would be allowed to form a separate Dominion. A new Constituent Assembly would be constituted for that purpose. The provincial Assemblies of the Punjab and Bengal were to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other representing the rest of the province. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, will take place and arrangements would be made accordingly.

The Legislative Assembly of Sindh would decide as whether its constitution would be framed by the existing or a new and separate Constituent Assembly.

In view of its special position a referendum would take place in the North West Frontier Province to ascertain whether it would join Pakistan or remain in

India. In case of partition of Bengal there would be a referendum in the district of Sylhet (Assam) to ascertain whether the people would join Pakistan or remain in India. In case of partition of the Punjab and Bengal a Boundary Commission would be set up to demarcate the exact boundary line.

Legislation would be introduced in the current session of the parliament of England for the transfer of power in 1947 on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decision taken under the plan. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether the parts of India which they represent will remain within the British Commonwealth. As a matter of fact, the partition of the country and the Indian Independence Act of 1947 proceeded on the rocky path paved by the Mountbatten Plan of 3 June 1947. Thus the Cripps proposal to transfer power did not mention any date but the Mountbatten Plan did it instantly. Thus the post-dated cheque on the crashing bank was honoured on 15 August 1947.

4.11.3 The Indian Independence Act, 1947

As a follow-up measure of the Mountbatten Plan came the Indian Independence Act of 1947 which was the swan song of the English parliament's legislative jurisdiction over India. As the Mountbatten's plan of 3 June 1947 was accepted by both the Congress and the Muslim League the English government went ahead to transfer power in India to the Indian hands. A legislation was necessary in the British parliament for that purpose. So on 4 July 1947 the Indian

Independence Bill was introduced in the parliament of England and within a fortnight's time it was made into an Act on 18 July 1947. It should be remembered that the Act of 1947 did not introduce any new constitution for India. It was rather an enabling legislation for the representatives of both India and Pakistan to frame their own constitutions to provide for the exceedingly difficult period of transition. As a matter of fact, the Act of 1947 gave a legal coating to Mountbatten's plan.

of 3 June, 1947. When the Act was on its anvil England's prime minister Clement Attlee said; it is the culminating point in a long course of events the Act of 1935, the declaration at the time of the Cripps Mission, are all steps in the road that led up eventually to the proposals that I announced to the House on 3rd June. This basis is designed to implement these proposals. Two independent Dominions, known respectively as India and Pakistan, shall be set up as from the 15th day of August, 1947 .

The territories of the two Dominions were defined in such terms that Pakistan was to comprise Sindh, British Baluchistan, N.W.F.P., the west Punjab and East Bengal, it being understood that the exact boundary of the last two would be determined by a boundary.

For each of the new dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by his Majesty and shall represent His Majesty for the purposes of the Government of the Dominion.

Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of Legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.

The Legislature of each of the Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, and no Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, nor shall any order in Council passed after 15 August, 1947 , have any validity in either of the two Dominions. In short, the jurisdiction of the British Parliament over India will cease from that date.

With effect from 15 August, 1947, His Majesty's Government will cease to have any responsibility for the Government of British India and all treaties and agreements between His Majesty's Government and the rulers of Indian States or any authority in tribal areas shall lapse. The words Emperor of India shall be omitted from the Royal style and Titles.

The Constituent Assembly of each Dominion shall exercise the powers of the Central Legislature and the existing Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of States would be automatically dissolved. The Governor-General was vested with all power and authority necessary for bringing the Indian Independence Act into effective operation. Provision was made for safeguarding the interest of the existing officers in India appointed by the Secretary of State, who shall not, of course, have power of making any such appointments in future. Provision was made for the division of the Indian Army between the new Dominions which will exercise authority over them. As to the other forces of His Majesty in India, they will continue to be under the jurisdiction and authority of His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom. Transitory provisions were made for the continuance of the functions exercised by the Secretary of States and the Auditor of Indian Home Accounts. Aden, so long administered by the Government of India, was placed directly under the administration of the British Government.

4.11.4 Partiton of India and the Freedom at Midnight

The Mountbatten plan of 3rd June, 1947 was accepted by all the major parties in India. The congress accepted it under duress and to avoid more bloodshed and the Sikhs ultimately agreed to it since it was unavoidable. But there was jubilation in the Muslim League camp, though Mohammed Ali Jinnah said that they were thrusting a moth-eaten Pakistan down the Muslim throat yet he was happy since he did not fight shy to admit that he never dreamt Pakistan coming into existence in his life time. Both the Punjab and Bengal Assemblies voted for partition and it became necessary to decide what would be the boundary of the two provinces. so Lord Mountbatten appointed a Boundary commission to go into the question and asked Redcliff to complete the task as early as possible. west Bengal and East punjab remained in India and East Bengal and West Punjab joined Pakistan. There was referendum in the Sylhet district of Assam and it voted for Pakistan. sindh opted for Pakistan. The North west Frontier province by a referendum chose to go to Pakistan. so Jinnah who wanted to get into Pakistan the

whole of Assam' Bengal and Punjab' rather what he called a truncated Pakistan. But this was a big premium India had to pay for freedom and independence from the English rule. On 15 August 1947 when power was transferred, Mahatma Gandhi, stayed away at Calcutta and described the independence as a sorry affair. One day earlier on 14 August 1947 Pakistan came into being.

Although India was free to choose her own Governor-General as the constitutional head, the Indian leader decided that it would be better to make a sudden change and felt that the appointment of Lord Mountbatten would give continuity of policy and administration. It was also thought that Pakistan would reciprocate the same feeling. But at the last moment the Muslim League caused a surprise by appointing Jinnah the Governor-General of Pakistan. A special session of the constituent Assembly of the Indian union was held at Delhi on the midnight of 14 August 1947 ' The great moment for which the nation had struggled so long at least came true. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his memorable address to the constituent Assembly and to the nation said at the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake of life and freedom A moment comes which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new.

The feeling of the nation was one mixed with joy and sorrow. It was indeed rejoicing to get back the independence' It was a matter of sorrow to see the plight of millions of brothers of East Bengal and west Punjab groaning. under the weight of Pakistan no compelled to take refuge in India to find a new living. Mahatma Gandhi, tire father of the nation was unhappy. In the conversation with Lord Mountbatten he expressed his unhappiness with the partition of the country.

The last phase of the Indian freedom movement was bathed in blood as serious riots broke out in the Punjab', making it plan that both East and west Punjab were determined to go their respective ways. If Jinnah wants his pound of flesh, then he cannot have a single Hindu in his new dominion' The Hindus of the East Punjab the Muslims of the west Punjab virtually affected a violent and bloody transfer of their respective populations of their territories. Train loads of migrants were slaughtered in both the Punjab till the fury subsided in March 1948. In

October 1947' raiders of the N.W.F.P. Poured in the valleys of Kashmir, thus commencing the Kashmir operations which ceased when Nehru on 1st January magnanimously but mistakenly agreed to a cease-fire arranged through the United Nation at a time when our gallant Jawans were in a position to clear off the Kashmir valley's of all Pakistani intruders. This wrong decision froze the situation in Kashmir. Pakistan tried to alter the boundaries by force in 1965 and in 1971

but both these attempts failed reluctantly Pakistan agreed to the actual line of control in 1972 in Simla after the Bangladesh war. Today the so-called Kashmir Question continues to poison the Indo-Pakistani relations. However, this phase of uneasy peace between the two neighbours continues. Continues. India and Pakistan, the two independent nations created from the same embryo of mother India in 1947, after ninety years (1857-1947)of heroic freedom struggle are today poised to entire the 21st century. May the spirit of peace continue to guide both the leaders and the people of both countries?

4.11.5

Concerning Indian Independence, besides other, two assumptions need to be reviewed by the scholars. One, the struggle for Indian Independence was fought only under the leadership of Congress. Second, Independence was achieved by non violent means. Both contentions have partial truth. Of course, the Congress remained in the forefront of struggle But different other groups also contributed towards it. Different organized groups of peasants and labours protested against the policies of the government and thus, strengthened the national movement. The socialist and communist groups had also come into existence as far back as 1920 and propagated socialist ideas. Even within the Congress, there was a large group of people and leaders who had sincere feelings towards socialism. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was also one among them' Most of these groups remained with the Congress to put up a united challenge to British imperialism till Indian Independence. Their contribution has been mostly ignored. But certainty, many of them served useful

purpose in the cause of Independence. The same way, the Indian national movement mostly adhered to non-violent means under the leadership of Mahatma

Gandhi' But violence too was involved in the national movement at frequent intervals and affected favourably the course of Indian Independence. The activities of the revolutionaries and terrorists inspired the Indians and prepared them to sacrifice their lives in fighting against oppression. Even the votaries of non-violence were influenced by the sacrifice of these people. The same way the 'Quit India Movement' was violent and stirred the government to think afresh and out.

The contribution of the Indian National Army under the leadership of Subhash Chandra Bose can not also be neglected. The spirit of defiance shown by the Indian Navy and Air Force in the last stage of the movement also affected the British attitude towards the Indian Independence. Thus, violence had joined hands with non-violence many times in the national movement and influenced its course favourably to the cause of Indian Independence.

The Independence came, legally as an Act of Parliament, but it was the consummation of a long course of suffering and struggle by the people of India. International forces, the condition of the United Kingdom as a result of war, as well as the leadership of Gandhiji who prepared the nation for unlimited sacrifice, helped the attainment of independence. The stage was cleared of obstacles and the ground was free for the new national government, without hindrance to bring about social and economic freedom and build up a strong and prosperous nation. The new Constitution of India which was prepared by the Constituent Assembly, came into force on 26 January 1950 and provides a legal frame work for the implementation of the socio-economic programme of the Indian National Congress and thus give meaning and substance to freedom of India.
