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GAUHATI UNIVERSITY



INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

MA (History)
Course 104

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INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

MA [History]

Course 104



Gauhati University

Institute of Distance and Open Learning

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SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

Indian National Movement

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- (ii) **Genesis of the National Movement:** Imperialism and Colonialism; Impact of Colonialism; Economic Nationalism.

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Home Rule Agitation, Unity at Lucknow

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INTRODUCTION

The period between 1707 and 1947 is extremely crucial in the history of India. The advent of the Europeans for the purpose of trading eventually led to the invasion of India by the British who ruled over India for a long time. The World War I and World War II played an important role in arousing the spirit of nationalism among people. Various freedom fighters fought for the independence of the country in their own way.

The Indian independence struggle included various political organizations, philosophies and movements. All of them aimed at ending the British rule in India. The Indian National Congress, along with Mahatma Gandhi, played a major role in the Indian national movement. Indian independence movement was fuelled by two ideologies—modernism and extremism. Both these ideologies strived for Poorna Swaraj but in different ways. Finally, India became independent on 15 August 1947 and became a republic on 26 January 1950 when the Constitution of India was enforced.

This book, *Indian National Movement* has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the *Objectives* followed by an *Introduction* to the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with 'Check Your Progress' questions to test the reader's understanding of the topic. A list of *Questions* and *Exercises* is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long-answer questions. The *Summing Up* and *Key Terms* section are useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into six units:

- Unit 1** traces the genesis of the national movement
- Unit 2** discusses the growth of political awareness amongst the people of India and the reasons for the formation of the Indian National Congress
- Unit 3** deals with the partition of Bengal and the Swadeshi Movement
- Unit 4** is on the revolutionary trend that developed in India during the freedom struggle
- Unit 5** discusses in detail the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi and the tactics that he employed for the freedom of India from the British reign
- Unit 6** explains the role of Subhas Chandra Bose in the freedom movement and the partition of India after Independence

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UNIT 1 HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The European nations embarked on finding new sea routes towards the East in the fifteenth century. The first efforts were made by the Portuguese. Prince Henry of Portugal, nicknamed the 'Navigator', devoted his whole life to encourage voyages for the discovery of a sea route to India. In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope, and following his route Vasco da Gama, another Portuguese navigator, reached the shores of Calicut in 1498. Thus, the long-sought direct trade link with India was discovered. There was perhaps no event during the middle age, which had such far-reaching repercussions on the civilized world as the opening of the sea route to India. After the discovery of India by Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese tried to establish a trade link and their rule in India. Later on, the Dutch, English and French companies came to India. The Dutch diverted their attention to Indonesia and Portugal. Since they were unable to compete with the English and French companies, their rule became confined to Dadar, Goa, Daman and Diu.

In this unit, you will study about the advent of the Europeans, the Portuguese and the Dutch, and how they colonized India.

1.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the causes for the growth of nationalism in India
- Describe the discovery of the new sea route to India and the coming of the Europeans

- Discuss Portuguese and Dutch settlements in India
- Explain the reasons for the Anglo-French rivalry
- Summarize the impact of colonialism

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1.2 GENESIS OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

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

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

1.2.1 Causes of the Growth of Indian Nationalism in 19th Century

The growth of nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth century was one of the most significant features of Indian history. Various factors contributed to the growth of nationalism. Though pre-colonial India had a self-sufficient economy based largely on agriculture, Indians as such were not integrated, neither economically nor socially. Colonization helped in unifying a country as diverse as India. The British conquest of India was followed by the establishment of a centralized government, which brought about political and administrative unification. Introduction of common laws and institutions gradually began to unite India. Gradually the sense of nationalism seeped in among Indians and by the year 1885, Indian National Congress was formed. In the words of Edwyn Bevan, 'the British Raj was like a steel-frame which held the injured body of India together till the gradual process of internal growth had joined the dislocated bones, knit up the torn fibres and enabled the patient to regain inner coherence and unity'. Thus, establishment of political unity, uniform system of administration, uniform reign of law and a uniform currency system generated the idea of India as a nation.

The various factors that led to the growth of nationalism in India are explained below.

(i) Development of means of communication and transport

The British came to India with a certain motive—to trade—and gradually went on to become the rulers of the country. As they consolidated their position in India, they realized the need for uniting a diverse country like India. The foremost action that the British

took was to develop the means of transport and communication. Modern means of transport, postal system and electric telegraph was constructed all over the country. In the words of Edwin Arnold, 'Railways may do for India what dynasties have never done, what the genius of Akbar the Magnificent could not do, not the cruelty of Tipu Saheb by violence, they have made India a nation.' For the first time geographical barriers of the country were shortened thus enabling people living in different parts of the country to maintain regular contacts. This blurring of geographical barriers was instrumental in instilling a sense of unity, which fostered the urge for an all-India movement.

(ii) Western education and its impact

Introduction of western education was probably the greatest contribution of British rule in India. Initiation of the English language opened a window towards Western European enlightenment. For the first time Indian intellectuals came in touch with works of European political thinkers and philosophers such as Marx, Spencer, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau and others. The ideologies propounded by these thinkers had huge impact on the growing intelligentsia among the Indians. They were highly influenced by the ideas of nation state, liberty, equality, fraternity which in turn helped them to analyze the present political scenario of India. The study of English language not only changed the outlook of the Indians, but also empowered them to exchange views and share ideas through the medium of English. Gradually English went on to become the lingua franca for the educated Indians.

(iii) Economic exploitation of India

Before the British came to India, the latter had a self-sufficient rural economy. As the British gradually gained grounds, the existing economy saw a downturn. From being an exporter of processed goods, India was transformed into an exporter of raw materials and buyer of processed goods. This led to severe exploitation of the Indians and increased India's poverty. This struck a cord with the educated Indians who realized that it was the drain of wealth turning India's economy into a poverty-stricken one. Since all the social classes were suffering due to the economic exploitation, they realized that the British rule needs to be uprooted. This instilled a spirit of nationalism and the Indians now united together to stand up against the British rule.

(iv) Socio-religious reform movements

The first sign of national awakening was expressed through the socio-religious reform movements also known as the Indian Renaissance. According to Zacharias; 'The Indian national movement was a part of the Indian Renaissance of India which manifested in the form of a general reform movement and produced striking religious and social reforms long before it issued in a movement for political emancipation.' Social and religious reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Dayanand Saraswati and others revived the ancient glory of India. Organisations like Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Theosophical Society generated faith in Indian culture by abolishing the evils from the same. Similarly, the Wahabi movement among the Muslims was responsible for revivalism. Contributions of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had a huge impact on the Muslims. These movements breathed a new life into the degenerated Hindu and Muslim communities. They boosted the self-confidence and inculcated a sense of self-respect, which in its turn brought about dissatisfaction against the British rule. The movements promoted pan-Indian feelings and spirit of nationalism.

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(v) Emergence of modern press and nationalist literature

The Indian Press had an important role to play in developing nationalism among the citizens of the country. Indian nationalists used the press as a powerful media to spread the message of nationalism. They also used the press to diffuse the spirit of patriotism and political ideas. The press was highly successful in mobilising public opinion and promoting nationalism. Vernacular came to the rescue and newspapers and dailies such as *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, *Samachar Darpan* were instrumental in stimulating the growth of nationalism. The dailies blatantly exposed the fallacies of the foreign rule. In the words of B.B. Majumdar, 'Western education and the Indian press were the two of the most important agencies destined to infuse into the people of India the spirit of national unity and to inspire them to achieve independence without bloodshed.' Indian literature produced during this time was highly nationalistic and was thus responsible for creating a sense of national consciousness. The works of prominent Indian writers such as Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Marathi, Subramanyam Bharati in Tamil and others were instrumental in instilling a spirit of nationalism in the minds of the common people.

(vi) Racial discrimination

The British always discriminated against the natives because of the latter's skin colour. Earlier foreign invaders like the Turks and the Mughals accepted India as their motherland and settled here. However, the British remained a perpetual foreigner and there prevailed a sense of superiority among them for the white skin. They considered the Indians inferior to the British and they adopted a feeling of superiority in dealing with Indians. Indians were looked down upon and branded with a badge of inferiority. The natives were not allowed to participate in any social gathering. They were kept out of European clubs, restaurants and they were not allowed to travel in same compartments with the Europeans. Clubs and joints often put on placards saying 'Indians and Dogs are not allowed.' The Indians were hurt by this kind of an attitude. They became conscious about this humiliation and united against the foreigners.

(vii) Denial of higher jobs to deserving Indians

Indians were discriminated against in every field. The Charter Act of 1833 laid down fitness to be the major criterion for jobs. It was again reiterated in the Queen's proclamation of 1858. However, the British made deliberate attempts to debar Indians from higher posts especially the Indian Civil Services. Indians such as S.N. Banerjee, Aurobindo Ghosh were denied entry into Indian Civil Service on flimsy grounds. However, S.N. Banerjee went to England, cleared the exam in 1869, and was appointed as assistant magistrate in Shyllet (now in Bangladesh). After serving for a while, S.N. Banerjee was dismissed owing to racial discrimination. In 1877, the minimum age for the ICS was reduced to 19 from 21 in order to curb the prospects of Indian candidates appearing for the Indian Civil Service. This decision led to a countrywide agitation and marked the beginning of the unity of action and solidarity of purpose. S.N. Banerjee started an all-India campaign for restoring the minimum age to 21 and for simultaneously conducting civil services examination in India. It helped the educated Indians to unite for promoting their common interests.

(viii) Revival of the glory of India

Western scholars such as William Jones, Max Muller, Mrs. Mrs. Annie Besant and others tried to rediscover India's glorious past. They emphasized on the richness of India's culture and the importance of Indian philosophy. This in turn was taken up by Indian nationalist leaders who aroused the self-respect and self-confidence in the fellow Indians. People became aware and a sense of patriotism was instilled amongst them.

(ix) Impact of contemporary European movements

Movements and political events across the globe were instrumental in stimulating the Indians. Contemporary strong political currents of nationalist ideas, which pervaded Europe and other continents, motivated the Indians. Revolutions in South America witnessed the formation of several new nation states on the ruins of the Spanish and Portuguese empires. The American Revolution of 1776 infused strong aspirations for nationalism and liberation. Moreover, the nationalist movements in European countries like Greece and Italy stirred the Indians. The French Revolution was also instrumental in influencing the Indians. Leaders like S.N. Banerjee and Lajpat Rai were often found referring to the activities of leaders like Garibaldi and Joseph Mazzini in their writings and speeches.

(x) Reactionary regime of Lytton and the Ilbert Bill Controversy

Lord Lytton's reign as a governor general (1876–80), was full of reactionary measures. Lytton held an imperial Durbar at Delhi in 1877 and announced Queen Victoria as the new Empress of India at a time when the country was ravaged by a famine. He also introduced two discriminatory acts, the Vernacular Press Act (1878) and the Indian Arms Act (1879). According to the former, the vernacular press would not publish anything, which was likely to excite the feeling of disaffection against the government. The Arms Act was an important repressive measure of the government, which declared that keeping arms without license is a criminal offence and penalty would amount to three years of imprisonment. Another discriminatory act introduced by Lord Lytton was the reduction of import duties on cotton by five percent only to appease the Lancashire mill-owners.

Later in 1883, a bill was introduced by Lord Ripon known as the Ilbert Bill. The bill allowed Indian judges and magistrates to try British offenders at the district courts. The bill sought to give equal power to the Indian members of the judiciary along with the Europeans. The introduction of the bill led to intense agitation. The British opposed the bill vehemently. Lord Ripon succumbed to the pressure and had to modify the bill, thereby almost defeating its original purpose. The controversy surrounding the Ilbert Bill acted as a revelation for the Indians. They realized the need to unite against the British and on being more insistent. For this, the Indians had to be more organized to be able to bring together an entire nation to stand up against the foreign oppressors.

A.R. Desai opines, 'Indian nationalism was the outcome of the new material conditions created in India and the new social forces which emerged as a result of the British conquest. It was the outcome of the objective conflict of interests, the interest of Britain to keep India politically, economically subjected to her and the interest of the Indian people for a free political economic and cultural evolution of the Indian society, which was intruded by the British rule.'

NOTES

Check Your Progress

1. How did development of communication and transport help in the national movement?
2. Which bill was introduced by Lord Ripon?

1.3 IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM

NOTES

The sea route from Europe to India was discovered by Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese explorer. He reached the Port of Calicut on 17th May 1498 and was received by the Hindu ruler of Calicut, the Samudiri, who was known by the title of Zamorin. This led to the establishment of the Portuguese trading stations at Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore. Cochin was the early capital of the Portuguese in India. Later, Goa became its capital and the Portuguese became a significant naval power in the Indian waters.

After the discovery made by Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese made a lot of efforts to use the commercial potentialities of Asia especially India. Local rulers who were ruling at that time allowed them to set up factories for the development of trade and commerce. They initiated propagation of the Christian faith, inter-marriages, conversions and settlements of the Europeans. New social groups emerged due to these activities. Many rulers made political and commercial alliances with them. When other European nations saw the successful commercial activities of the Portuguese, they also felt encouraged to indulge in trading activities with Asia.

1.3.1 The Portuguese

Many European rulers came to India. You will study about the Portuguese this section.

The discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama, one of the most successful explorers in the Age of Discovery and the commander of the first ships to sail directly from Europe to India, ushered the era of the Portuguese trade in India. He returned to Portugal from India in 1499, with cargo worth sixty times his expenses. Zamorin treated the Portuguese mariner in a friendly manner, which encouraged them to open up commercial relations with Calicut within two years. In 1502, he established a factory at Cochin. The king of Cochin let Vasco build the first fort. Vasco was followed by Alfonso de Albuquerque, who arrived in India in 1503.

In 1505, the Portuguese appointed a governor named Francisco de Almeida who used to look after their affairs in India. He built forts at Anjadiva, Cannanore and Cochin. Alfonso de Albuquerque was the real founder of the Portuguese Empire in the East. In 1510, Albuquerque occupied the port of Goa from the Bijapur Sultan by a sudden attack and arranged for its defense by strengthening its forts. He was a capable ruler and played an important role in the abolition of *Sati* system.

Albuquerque encouraged the Portuguese men to marry Indian women so that he could establish the authority of the Portuguese in India. He ill-treated the Muslims. When Albuquerque died in 1515, the Portuguese had established themselves as the strongest naval power in India.

Nino da Cunha (1529–1538) transferred his capital from Cochin to Goa (1530) and acquired Diu and Bassein (1534) from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. The famous Jesuit Saint Francisco Xavier arrived in India with Martin Alfonso de Souza during this time (1542–1545). Under Albuquerque's successors, the Portuguese occupied Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay, San Thome (near Madras) and Hugli (in Bengal).

NOTES

Portuguese occupation of Diu compelled the Arabs to withdraw from Indian trade. The Arab merchants of Calicut were apprehensive of the Portuguese designs from the very beginning. The Zamorins supported them against the Europeans. On the other hand, Calicut's rivalry with Cannanore and Cochin forced them to cultivate friendship with the Portuguese. Every Zamorin used to depose the then Cochin king at his accession. Besides, they forced Cochin to sell all its products through Calicut. To retaliate this was an apt opportunity for Cochin. Its ruler allowed the Europeans to establish a factory in Cochin. The Portuguese exploited the situation to their advantage. They realized that Calicut was a major hindrance in controlling the Malabar trade. Hence, throughout the sixteenth century, the Portuguese carried on armed clashes against Calicut. With a view to drive out the Portuguese, the Zamorins allied with Bijapur, Gujarat, Ahmednagar and Egypt. However, they did not succeed. At any rate, the Zamorins continued to harass the Portuguese on land. Even on the seas the Portuguese found it difficult to destroy Calicut's naval power, which was organized under the celebrated Marakkar family of admirals. From 1528 to 1598, the Portuguese-Zamorin clashes were mainly confined to the seas. It was only in 1599 that the Portuguese succeeded in making a breakthrough against the Marakkars.

The Portuguese control was effective at only those places where they had built their fortresses. But their highhandedness and cruelty compelled even these allies to part with them in spite of their traditional rivalries with Calicut. For example, the Cannanore rulers, who supported the Portuguese against Calicut in the early years, later supported the Zamorin in 1558 against the Portuguese. Similarly the King of Tanur, who had become a Christian and supported the Portuguese against Calicut, turned his back to the Europeans. In fact, it was only Cochin and Quilon with whom Portuguese succeeded in maintaining a lasting friendship.

Portuguese settlements on west coast consisted of the following places:

- Calicut (1500)
- Cochin (1501)
- Cannanore (1503)
- Quilon (1503)
- Cheliyam (1531)
- Rahole (1535)
- Krengannore (1536)
- Mangalore (1568)
- Hanawer (1568)
- Diu (1509)
- Goa (1510)
- Surat (1599)
- Daman (1599)

Portuguese settlements on east coast consisted of the following places:

- Meliyapur
- Chitlagong
- Hugli
- Bandel

The Portuguese power continued to be strong till the middle of the sixteenth century but with the death of Governor D.J. Castro, the Portuguese power in India began to decline.

NOTES

Factories, fortresses and commercial arrangements

The Italian merchants had established warehouses (factories) in Cairo and Alexandria to carry on trade and commerce. Following this example the Portuguese, too, founded factories on the coastal regions of India and certain other places in Asia. A factory could be defined as a commercial organization having an autonomous existence set up within the country with which another country had commercial relations. Each factory had an officer who was assisted by a number of persons appointed by the Portuguese king. He was the agent of the Crown to promote economic, financial and administrative activities of all sorts. In all situations Portuguese national interests were of paramount consideration. Factories also required protection from hostile elements. Therefore, to consolidate and strengthen their power the Portuguese also attempted to fortify their factories. A chain of factories and fortresses came into existence for the support of the maritime trade conducted by the Portuguese. These fortified centers were expected to serve the Portuguese to check the movements of vessels owned by others and to function as areas for the reserve of military and naval forces. The system of factories had a great role to play in the commercial arrangements in the period beginning with the sixteenth century till the mid-eighteenth century.

Western India

In the Malabar region the Portuguese established their first factory in 1500 at Calicut. However, it could not run for a long time because Zamorins were against the establishment of such factories. In 1525, finally, the Portuguese closed down their factory at Calicut. This did not stop the Portuguese to establish factories in other places, thus, they established factories in other places such as Cochin (1501), Cannanore (1503), Quilon (1503), Chaliyam (1531), Rachol (1535) Crangannore (1536), and Mangalore and Honaver (1568). Later, in the second decade of the sixteenth century, Nizamul Mulk of Ahmednagar granted the permission to the Portuguese to construct a factory at Chaul.

In the north-west, Cambay (Khambayat) was the main port of call on the route from Malacca connecting Calicut, the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf with the ports of the Mediterranean. Apart from this, factories were established by the Portuguese at Diu (1509, 1535), Bassin (1534), Surat, Daman (1599) and Bhavnagar. Thus, almost the entire coastal belt of Malabar, Konkan and north-west India came under the influence of the Portuguese.

Eastern India

The Portuguese navigators came across several merchants from the Eastern coast of India who had trade relations with other South-East Asian centers. The Portuguese collected textiles and other commodities from various port-towns of the Coromandel Coast. Some of these port-towns were Masulipatnam, Pulict, San Thome, Pondicherry, Cuddalore, Porto Novo and Nagapatnam.

Meilapore known as San Thome to the north of Nagapatnam was also a Portuguese settlement, which was surrounded by walls. The Portuguese also established a fortress at Manar in 1518 on the western coast of Ceylon. This fortress, though not on the main

land of India, could contain the movement of vessels to the East from the western side of the subcontinent.

The Portuguese also tried to establish commercial contacts with Bengal from AD 1517. The first effort in this direction was made at Chittagong—the chief port of Bengal during this period. After much manoeuvring, they at last obtained permission from Mahmud Shah, the king of Bengal, to establish factories at Chittagong and Satgaon in 1536. The second settlement at Hugli was granted to the Portuguese by Akbar in 1579–1580. The third one was established at Bandel with the permission of Shah Jahan in 1633. Yet, during the sixteenth century there were no fortresses on the eastern coast. Still the settlements, with a few artillery, were able to oversee the movement of vessels carrying commodities.

South-East Asia

With a view to have an exclusive domination over the trade in the Indian Ocean regions, the Portuguese found it necessary to bring under their control the important trade centers in South-East Asia.

They established a few fortresses at Colombo and Batticaloa—all in Ceylon. Subsequently, contacts with Java, Siam, Moluccas, Martaban and Pegu were established. From 1518, the Portuguese started a settlement in China on the island of Sancheu. It was here that St. Francis Xavier, a Christian missionary, died in 1552.

The beginning of factories in various parts of the subcontinent of India and neighbouring Asiatic kingdoms provided an environment suitable for long distance trade to the Portuguese.

Commodities of export and import

The chief aim of the Portuguese in discovering the sea route connecting the East with Portugal was to collect spices directly from the places of production rather than from the hands of the intermediaries like the Italian or the Muslim traders. Pepper became a necessary ingredient in European food. The demand for pepper went on increasing, especially for the sake of preserving meat. Besides, ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, mace, nutmeg and several exotic herbs from the east had a market in Europe.

A special variety of textiles like muslin, chintz, etc. and few animals like elephants, too, found their way to Portugal. The commodities which the Portuguese had were not acceptable to eastern nobility, thus, they did not have sufficient commodities to give in exchange to acquire commodities available in the East. They bought silver from the West so that they could buy commodities of the East.

Pepper was the most popular commodity which was traded from Malabar and the Konkan coasts. Ginger, white sandalwood, red sandalwood, sealing wax, indigo, spikenard, tamarind, areca nut, textiles, ivory and turmeric were also traded from the Malabar Konkan coasts to Portugal. In 1498, Zamorin of Calicut asked Vasco da Gama to send gold, silver, coral and scarlet from Portugal. This shows that these commodities were imported into the Malabar and Konkan coasts.

In 1513, Alfonso de Albuquerque gave a list of commodities to the king of Portugal which he felt could be sold in India. This included items like coral, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, velvet, carpets, saffron, rose-water and clothes of various kinds. All these items were not from Portugal, but the Portuguese started procuring them from various places, like Flanders, Germany, England and other European countries.

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Indigo, textiles, silk, handicrafts made of tortoise shells, Taffeta, Satin, chintz, *malmal*, tripped cotton clothes, Golkonda were some of the things that were exported to Portugal. Among these items, silks were produced in places like Burhanpur and Balaghat, chintz in Cambay, sandalwood in Coromandel, spikenard in Bengal, calico in the vicinity of Daman and Cambay and Balaghat. The volume of export of textile products increased in the seventeenth century. Copper, broadcloths and cash in various denominations were sent to north-western coast. In addition to this, a few products such as pepper and other spices from the South were also taken to north-western India for the purchase of textiles. The most expensive item of export from this region was pearl, chiefly collected from the pearl fishery coast. Cotton and silk textiles and embroideries from Bengal were exported to the Portuguese. Ginger in conserve, myrobalans, butter, oil, wax and rice were the other commodities that were collected from Bengal.

The Portuguese brought brocades, damasks, satins, taffetas, cloves, nutmegs, mace, camphor, cinnamon, pepper, chests, writing desks, valuable pearls and jewels to Bengal. Most of these were from Malacca, China, Borneo, Ceylon and Malabar Coast. Sea-shells or cowries from Maldives, white and red sandalwood from Solor and Timor were also taken to Bengal by the Portuguese.

Various types of spices were collected from Ceylon and other South-East Asian regions, for example, Malacca and Java produced pepper for export. Moluccas produced good variety of cloves. The best sort of cinnamon was produced by Ceylon for export to Lisbon. Timor and Tenneserim produced good variety of sandalwood, which was carried by the Portuguese to Lisbon. Sumatra provided sealing wax for Portuguese consumption. Borneo, Sumatra and China produced good variety of camphor for export to Lisbon. Benzoin from Pegu was also taken by the Portuguese to Portugal. Rhubarb was carried by the Portuguese from China.

In return, the Portuguese took gold, silver, cash and textiles to south-east Asian regions. Most of these textile goods were manufactured in India.

Finances of the Portuguese trade

Taking into account the details of the Portuguese enterprise on the Malabar Coast in the period between 1500 and 1506, an Italian estimated in 1506 that the total investment needed for conducting trade with the East was 170,000 ducats every year.

The king of Portugal provided only one-fourth of this amount and the rest was raised by the merchants and financiers who collaborated with the Portuguese king. In 1500, he issued an order permitting natives as well as foreign merchants to send their own vessels to the East. Revenues collected in the form of booty, tributes and taxes levied on ships of the private merchants also provided funds for the conduct of trade with India.

European merchant-financiers

Italians, especially the Florentines, occupied an important position among the financiers in the sixteenth century. Most of the Italian financiers concluded contracts with the Portuguese king. They supplied cash or materials to the king at Lisbon. The king used them to purchase pepper and other commodities from India. These commodities were given to these financiers at Lisbon in view of the contracts signed. However, some of the financiers also sent their own factors to India. Cash or commodities were always sent under the supervision of the Portuguese authorities to the East.

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Indian commodities also attracted the German financiers and merchants. The Portuguese king welcomed them with open arms for he was finding it difficult to finance the Oriental enterprise on his own. Since copper was given in part-payment for Indian commodities, especially pepper and other spices, large quantity of copper was needed for transactions. Some of the German merchant financiers like the Fuggers had a monopoly over the production of copper in Europe. This turned out to be of great use for trade with India. The German financiers could fit out their vessels, entrust cash and commodities to the India House in Lisbon to be taken to India under the Portuguese flag and buy the commodities from Lisbon according to the terms and conditions of the contracts signed.

During the second half of the sixteenth century both the Welsers and the Fuggers joined the expedition along with Giraldo Paris and Juan Battista Rovalesco for the purchase of 30,000 quintals of pepper directly from India and agreed to send an amount of 1,70,000 crusados to India annually. Thus, the firms of the Welsers and the Fugger continued to be closely associated with the trade of India. There were a few Portuguese merchants who in their private capacity participated in the trade with India during the sixteenth century. State officials posted in India were also allowed to participate in the Indian trade. According to their position in the hierarchy, they had some rights to take certain quantity of commodities to Portugal, in lieu of remuneration in cash. The details of their entitlements were spelt out in their appointment orders and this formed part of their emoluments.

Indian merchants and rulers

Several Indian merchants supplied commodities to the Portuguese on credit when the latter did not have cash or commodities to furnish in exchange. The merchants of Cochin, especially the Marakkars, were of great help to the Portuguese in this respect and their services were gratefully remembered by the Portuguese officials.

Sometimes, the Portuguese king was persuaded to grant some privileges to such merchants. Khwaja Shamsuddin Gilani, who had settled down in Cannanore after the service of the kingdom of Bijapur, was often helpful to the Portuguese in finding funds on loan.

Some of the local rulers stood surety for the Portuguese when they did not have sufficient money to pay to the merchants for the commodities bought by them. For example, the king of Cochin came forward to help the Portuguese several times making the required volume of commodities available to them on credit.

The Portuguese had banned all vessels for plying in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. They used to confiscate the ships which carried commodities without a pass (cartaz) from the Portuguese officials. All the ships were required to procure pass from the Portuguese officials in case something had to be shipped to India or other Asian countries. Even rulers of India like Akbar and his successors, Nilam Shah of Ahmednagar, Adil Shah of Bijapur, kings of Cochin, the Zamorins of Calicut and the rulers of Cannanore used to procure cartaz when they had to send ships to some places. The fees charged for the issuance of passes also became a source of income for them. Though only a small amount was charged as fees but ships who wished to take passes had to visit ports where the custom houses of the Portuguese asked them to pay tax. Also, the rulers who were defeated by the Portuguese were forced to pay them some money or something in kind. The Portuguese used this method a lot of times to procure money for investment. Thus, the Portuguese used a number of ways to earn money for running their trade in India.

Nature of the Portuguese trade with India

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Right from the time Portuguese arrived at Calicut they had demanded that other merchants, Indian as well as foreign, should be ousted and a complete monopoly over trade be granted to them. Portuguese ships equipped with arms and ammunitions threatened other merchants and confiscated their merchandise and vessels. By 1501, the Portuguese king assumed a grandiloquent title showing his proprietary right over the Indian Ocean regions. The title proclaimed him Lord of Navigation, Conquest and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India.

In 1502, the Portuguese demanded an exclusive right over trade at Calicut to which the Zamorin, the king of Calicut, did not yield. Vasco da Gama declared war on ships plying in the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. He introduced an expedient under which those ships which carried a cartaz duly signed by the Portuguese authorities, namely the royal factor, were not to be attacked. This certificate was first issued in 1502.

Everyone who was involved in maritime activities had to procure cartaz from the Portuguese. There was a condition that they can not load certain items on their ship such as pepper, ginger, ship pitch, horses, sulphur, lead, coir and cinnamon. The Portuguese had monopoly over these items.

Monopoly trade

Till the end of the fifteenth century, merchants from various quarters of the world were found on the coastal regions of India engaged in trade and commerce. Vasco da Gama reported in 1498, there were merchants from Mecca, Ceylon, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Ethiopia and various parts of India at the port of Calicut. It is well-known that Chinese merchants as well as merchants from the Red Sea areas used to come to the Indian ports. There is no record of any group of merchants demanding exclusive right of trade in general, nor of any attempts made to declare a few or all commodities set apart for any body. But, with the arrival of the Portuguese, this state of affairs underwent considerable change. Kings were pressurized to forbid other merchants from trading with their ports. Similarly, certain commodities were declared forbidden to be traded by others.

In other words, the Portuguese demanded monopoly of trade. The treaties concluded with the Indian rulers specifically mentioned this. The setting up of Portuguese fortresses at strategic places, surveillance by their patrolling vessels, and the insistence on passes for other ships were the attempts made to establish monopoly of trade in Asian waters.

Trade of the Indian rulers and merchants

The Portuguese attempts at establishing total monopoly did not bring about a situation in which trade conducted by the Indian rulers and merchants was totally uprooted. The king of Cannanore, for instance, used to collect passes from the Portuguese to send his vessels laden with commodities to Cambay and Hormuz. He imported horses from the above mentioned places though this was identified by the Portuguese a monopoly item. Sometimes such vessels were at the risk of being confiscated by the Portuguese. The same was the case with the kings of Tanur and Calicut on the Malabar Coast. The nobles of Gujarat continued their trade despite the Portuguese monopoly. Malik Gopi, Malik Ayaz, Khwaja Sofar and others interested in trade plied their ships with or without

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passes from the Portuguese. Besides, the local and foreign merchants settled in India carried on their trade with or without cartaz. The area between Calicut and Cape produced approximately 60,000 quintals of pepper but only 15,000 quintals were sent to the Portuguese factories. The rest of the pepper was taken to other ports and this was termed illegal by the Portuguese. The Portuguese were not willing to increase the price of pepper agreed upon in 1503 even after several decades. Hence, the producers of pepper did not have any alternative other than supplying it to the merchants who might buy it and send it to other centers of trade without the knowledge of the Portuguese. Moreover, several Portuguese officials conducted their own private trade in various commodities without the knowledge of their government. In fact, Portuguese monopoly was never effective in the Red Sea zone.

Trade and production

Overseas trade conducted in the sixteenth century in Asia in general and India in particular was, by and large, of long-distance in nature involving the Asiatic ports on one side and the Atlantic ports on the other. The commodities exported from India reached various parts of Europe. There were a number of elements in the pattern of this trade, as explained earlier, which distinguished it from just 'peddling' trade.

In view of the greater demand for pepper, the cultivators strove to increase the production. In the period between 1515 and 1607, the production of pepper in the Malabar area went up by 200 to 275 per cent. Since we are not aware of the amount of production of pepper before the coming of Portuguese, it is difficult to determine the increase in production as well. At any rate, it is reasonable to conclude that the production of pepper in India increased after the Portuguese advent. But it must be borne in mind that the internal demand for pepper from the Mughal Empire and the external one from the Safavi Empire also might have contributed to the increase in pepper production in India.

Causes of decline of the Portuguese

The Portuguese power witnessed a decline as quickly as it had risen; the reasons of their decline were as follows:

- Nobody could carry on the work of Albuquerque.
- The Portuguese rulers were not tolerant towards religions of the country.
- The administrative system of the Portuguese had gradually become corrupt.
- The rise of other European trading powers—the Dutch, French and the British.
- In 1631, they lost Hugli when Qasim Khan, a Mughal noble, drove them out.
- In 1661, the king of Portugal gave Bombay to Charles II of England as dowry when he married the former's sister.
- The Marathas captured Salsette and Bassein in 1739.
- In the end, the Portuguese were left only with Goa, Diu and Daman.

The short-sighted policy of the Portuguese governors, resorting to every kind of corrupt practice in the name of business including selling people as slaves and carrying on piracy led to their gradual decline in India as well in as the East.



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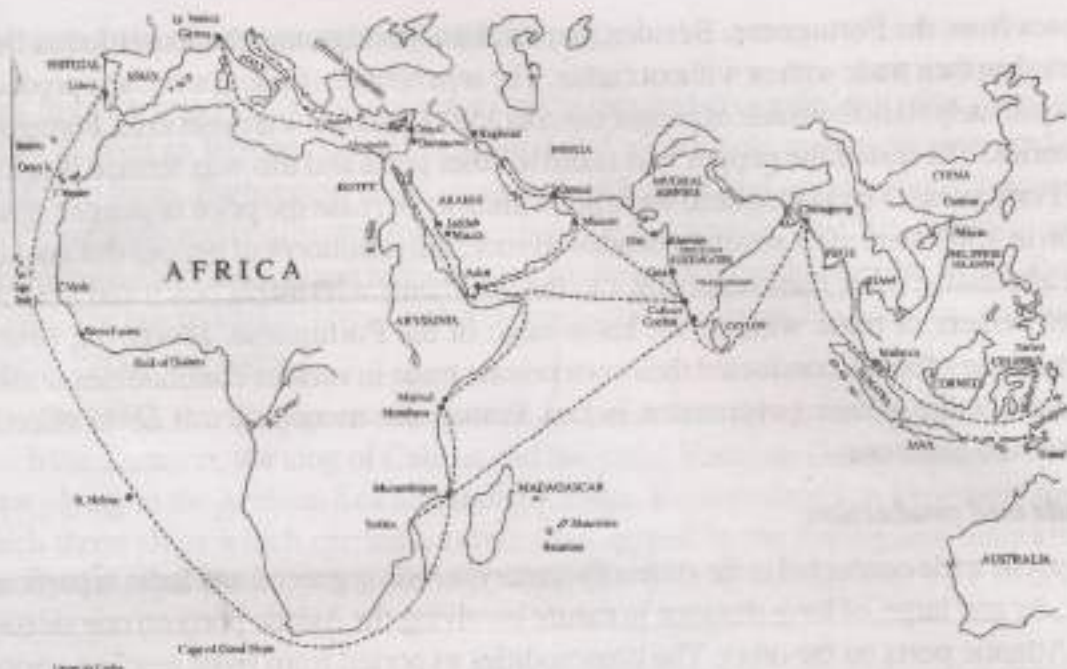


Fig. 1.1 The Portuguese Possessions in the East and the Route to India

1.3.2 The Dutch

After the Portuguese, the Dutch also felt encouraged to trade in India. They wanted to have direct access to the spice market of India. To fulfill their ambition, they undertook many voyages to India from 1596 to 1602. In 1602, they established an organization named the United East India Company. The Dutch had conflicts with the Portuguese and the English merchants.

In 1602, the Dutch Parliament passed a Charter. This Charter led to the formation of the Dutch East India Company. As per this Charter, the company had the authority to make wars in order to acquire territories. It also had the power to make treaties and build fortresses.

Establishment of factories

Many factories were set up by the Dutch. Some of the factories were set up in Masulipatam (1605), Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Bimilipatam (1641), Karikal (1645), Chinsura (1653) and Cochin (1663). In 1668, the company set up factories in Kasimbazar, Patna, Balasore and Negapatam as well. After the establishment of these factories, they became the most dominant power in the European trade with the East. Till 1690, Pulicat was the main centre of their trading activities. After 1690, Negapatam became the main centre of the Dutch merchants.

The Dutch lost the Battle of Bedera to the English in 1759 and conceded to the English after this battle.

Although there were occasional amicable settlements between the English and the Dutch, hostilities were renewed when in 1623 the Dutch massacred ten Englishmen and nine Japanese at Amboyna, which marked the climax of the hatred of the Dutch towards the English as well as the other trading nations.

The Dutch in their bid for expansion of trade, came into conflicts with Mir Jumla and during 1672-74, they repeatedly obstructed the communication between Surat and other English settlements in Bombay and even captured three English vessels on the Bay of Bengal.

Check Your Progress

3. Name the real founder of the Portuguese empire in India.
4. Where did the Portuguese first establish their factory?
5. List any three causes for the Portuguese decline.

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Between 1580 and 1640, Portugal was under Spain. There were hostilities going on between English and Spain, which naturally meant hostilities between the English and the Portuguese. With the Treaty of Madrid in 1630, commercial hostilities between the English and the Portuguese diminished although they did not cease altogether. When in 1640 Portugal became independent of Spain, the relations between the English and Portuguese further improved and the English right to trade in the East was conceded by the Portuguese. This facilitated the conclusion of treaty with the English in 1661 by which the English agreed to support the Portuguese against the Dutch.

Finally, the rivalry of the trading companies ousted the Dutch and the Portuguese from the Indian trading market.

Anglo-French Rivalry

After the Dutch and the Portuguese, the English and the French companies were the only competitors for trade in India.

1.3.3 The French

Compagnie des Indes was the first French company to establish trading relations with India. Louis XIV, the then king of France, granted authority for this company in 1664. After this, the planning of this French company was done by Colbert, the then finance minister of France.

Under this company, the first factory was established in 1668 at Surat. The founder of the first factory was Coron, a Dutchman in the French Service. The next factory was set up in 1669 at Masulipattinam. In 1674, Pondicherry became their capital. From 1690 to 1692, the French set up one more factory at Chandra Nagar, Bengal on the bank of river Hugli. Mahe (now Malabar) and Karikal (now Coromandel) were acquired by the French in 1725 and 1739 respectively.

The company was given a loan of 3,000,000 livres by the king. For this loan, the king did not charge any interest. The Company had the monopoly for 25 years to conduct trading activities from the Cape of Good Hope to India and the South Seas. Aurangzeb gave a *farmaan* in the favour of the company according to which the company had the permission to conduct trading activities in the Gujarat coast as well.

1.3.4 The British

The Company named 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading in the East Indies' was granted a royal charter by Queen Elizabeth. The company was given rights for carrying out trading activities in the East. Later, the company became popular as the English East India Company.

For many years, the company traded only with Java, Sumatra and the Moluccas. At this time, they dealt only in the trading of spices. In 1608, Captain William Hawkins met Jehangir. He showed him the letter which he brought from James I, king of England. In this letter, James I had requested Jehangir to allow the English merchant to establish in the country. The merchants of the Portuguese and Surat strongly opposed the establishment of the English merchant in India. Thus, Jehangir had to decline the request of James I.

In 1609, Jehangir gave permission to the English to set up their factory at Surat. The company also received permission from the Sultan of Golkunda to trade in Golkunda. However, for this the sultan made a condition that the company will have to pay fixed



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custom duty of 500 pagodas per year. In 1651, Nawab Shuja-ud-din permitted the company to continue their trading activities for which the company would be obliged to pay ₹3,000 annually.

In 1656, the English was given the security of trade as well. According to this directive, the English received permission to carry on their import and export activities on land as well water without the need to pay customs or tolls.

In 1691, Ibrahim Khan who was the successor of Shaista Khan issued a *farmaan* in the favour of the English. According to this *farmaan*, the English were given permission to carry out duty free trade but they were asked to pay ₹3,000 annually. After 1691, the company prospered by leaps and bounds in Bengal. In the year 1696, the company gave an excuse that it is at risk from Sobha Singh, a zamindar of Burdwan as he might rebel against the company. With the help of this excuse, the company got the rights for the fortification of their factory.

The zamindari of three villages: Sutanuti, Govindapur and Kalighata or Kalikata, was given to the English in 1698. In return, they were to pay ₹1,200 to Sabarna Chaudhari who was the zamindar of these three villages before the zamindari was granted to the English. In 1700, a separate President and Council took charge of the factories of Bengal. Also, the English constructed a fort. This fort was named after King William II of England. Later, this fort became the seat of the Council which took charge of the factories. The first President and Governor of this Council was Sir Charles Eyre.

In 1714, the English sent John Surman to the Delhi court to arrange all trading facilities for the East India Company. When he met Emperor Farukhsiyar, the emperor issued a *farmaan* by which the company was granted permission to carry on custom free trade in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. In addition to this, the company was also allowed to mint his own coins.

The French vs. The English

In 1749, the French company was to a serious rival of the English Company but it could not survive for a long time due to the following reasons:

- The French Company was controlled by the Government but the Government was not too interested in the company's affairs. On the other hand, the English company was a private concern company.
- The English company had more money as compared to the French company. The area of the English trade was also vast.
- The English were strong on the waters as well. They had big ships and their merchants made regular voyages for trading activities.

War between the English and the French

From 1746 to 1763, English East India Company and French East India Company fought with each other in India. These wars are known as Carnatic wars. They fought with each other in order to get monopoly over trade in India. The Indian rulers, the Mughals, and the subedar of Deccan did not participate in these wars.

Check Your Progress

6. When was the Dutch East India Company set up?
7. Where did the French set up their first factory in India?

1.4 IMPACT OF COLONIALISM

The economic and social impact of British rule was as follows:

- **Commercialization of agriculture:** Under the new system, the peasant produced mainly for the market, which with the steady improvement of means of transport and expanding operations of trading capital under British Rule, became available to him. He did so with a view to realizing maximum cash, primarily to pay land revenue to the state which was fixed fairly high.

This led to the practice of growing specialized crops by the peasants. Thus, the land in groups of villages came to be solely used, because of its special suitability, for the cultivation of a single agricultural crop such as cotton, jute, wheat, sugarcane, oil-seeds, indigo, opium, etc. Further, the commercialization made the agriculturist dependent on the middleman for the sale of their products. The middlemen due to their superior economic position took full advantage of the poverty of the peasants. The poor peasants, having no economic reserves and confronted by the revenue claims of the Government had to sell their products to the middle man at the harvest time. This transaction, originating in sheer necessity, brought a much less amount to the peasants than they would have and if they could wait. The middlemen thus appropriated a very large share of the profit.

- **Growth of rural indebtedness:** There was progressive increase in indebtedness of Indian agriculturists under the British rule. It swelled from decade to decade. After 1880, rural indebtedness rose at such a geometrical rate that it led to the observation: 'One-third of the landholding classes are deeply and inextricably in debt and at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves.' One of the most important reasons for the growth of rural indebtedness was that over 75 per cent of the peasants could not earn even bare minimum livelihood from land.

Under the new system, land became a marketable commodity. While giving the peasants the freedom to mortgage or sell their land, it also gave the creditor of the indebted peasant the freedom to seize the latter's land. In the conditions of poverty due to the new economic environs, more and more land came to be transferred to the moneylenders in lieu of the debt the peasants owed to them. Large-scale expropriation of the Indian peasantry leading to the widespread growth of absentee landlordism also took place.

The situation of rural indebtedness was so grim that it led the Moplahs in Malabar region to revolt only decades after the province came under the Company's rule.

- **Impoverishment of the peasantry:** High revenue demands led to devastation, as it led to poverty and the deterioration of agriculture in the 19th century. It forced the peasants to fall into the clutches of the moneylenders. If the peasants were unable to pay the money, their land was sold-off. Gradually more land passed into the hands of the moneylenders, merchants, rich peasants and other moneyed classes. The growing commercialization also helped the moneylender cum merchant to exploit the cultivators. The peasants were forced to sell their produce to the landlords or the moneylenders just after the harvest and at whatever price they could get to meet the demands of the government in time. Added to the above factors, was the increase of population weighed on the peasants heavily.

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Thus, agriculture began to deteriorate by showing low yields per acre, due to overcrowding of agriculture, excessive land revenue demand, growth of landlordism, increasing indebtedness and the lowering improvement of the cultivation. At a time, when agriculture all over the world was being modernized, the Indian agriculture was technologically stagnating. It also increased the incidence of famines. People died in millions whenever drought or floods caused failure of crops and produced scarcity.

- **Disruption of traditional economy and the decline of artisans and craftsmen:** As far as the traditional handicraft industry and the production of objects of art were concerned, India was already far ahead of other countries in the world.

To quote Vera Anstey, 'up to the 18th century, the economic condition of India was relatively advanced and Indian methods of production and industrial and commercial organization could stand comparison with those in vogue in any other part of the world.' Spinning and weaving and other handicrafts had provided employment to millions of men and women. These handicrafts provided a vibrant economy in India. But the policies of the East India Company not only snatched the foreign markets but also its internal markets by a system of inland custom and transit duties. Import of foreign manufactured articles on a large-scale resulted in a steep decline in the sale of Indian products. The decline of the traditional industries with the absence of new industries to take its place worsened the economic life of the people in India. This deprived millions of workers of employment.

These workers fell upon agriculture as other avenues of employment was not available. The foreign rulers also looked upon India as 'a plantation, growing raw produce to be shipped by British Agents in British ships to be worked into Fabrics by British skill and capital, and to be re-exported to the Dependency by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere.' Another reason of the decline of the indigenous industries was that while the English market for Indian manufactures was progressively narrowed through prohibitions and extremely high tariffs, the Indian markets were thrown wide open to British manufactures by imposing free trade on India.

- **Fear of competition:** Another cause was the competition faced by the Indian industries. Before the advent of the British, these industries did not have any fear of competition. Hence, upgrading of production technology on a continuous basis did not take place in India as it did in Europe making the Indian products less competitive. This led to the process of deindustrialization in India.
- **Changes in agrarian life:** The condition of the peasantry was affected by several factors. First, there was a steady increase in population 'due to the establishment of peaceful conditions amongst people used to war, and possessing high natural fertility.' This led to increasing pressure on land, which was accelerated by the ruin of cottage industries resulting from the growing import of British manufactures. The average size of the holdings was reduced. Secondly, the revenue systems pressed heavily on the peasantry. Thirdly, the introduction of sophisticated law, the establishment of regular law courts, the improvement of communications, the increasing flow of British goods, etc. exposed the rural areas to steadily increasing interference from outside. The net result was the gradual disappearance of economic self-sufficiency and 'the gradual transfer of authority within the village

from the village elders to the agents of the Government.' Their gradual disappearance led to a radical socio-economic transformation of rural life.

- **Disintegration of village communities and emergence of the Indian middle class:** The land revenue system, established by the British in India, led to the break-up of that ancient social framework within which the agricultural population had lived for centuries. 'The social bonds that had held different elements of the rural society together were snapped.' Cooperation was replaced by competition. The collective life of the village gave way to individualism. Agricultural production, instead of catering to the needs of the village population, came to be adapted to the requirements of the external markets. The opening of the village to foreign imports gave a deadly blow to the village crafts and industries.
- **Growth of foreign capital and the rise of modern industries in India:** In terms of chronology, the plantation industries of indigo, tea and coffee were the first to be introduced in India. They were exclusively European in ownership and did not entirely depend on modern mechanical contrivances. The coming of railways heralded the entry of modern machines in India and during the 1850s cotton textile, jute, and coal mining industries were started in India. The two fields were primarily exclusive preserve of European capital.

The trend was towards a dependent and underdeveloped colonial economy. The railways comprised the single biggest item of British capital investment in India but much of its burden was shifted to the Indian taxpayers through the peculiar system of 'private investment at public risk'. The bulk of railway equipment was imported from England and about 90 percent of the superior railway posts were manned by the British. A substantial part of the income generated through railway and other industrial investment in plantations, mines, banking and insurance, shipping, jute mills, etc. was siphoned out. It has been estimated that before 1914 nearly 97 per cent of British capital investments in India was diverted towards completion of government projects (railways, road transport, etc.), plantation industry (tea, coffee, rubber, etc), and development of financial houses (banks, insurance companies, etc.). The foreign banks in India held nearly three-fourths of the total bank deposits. Many multinationals operated their subsidiary companies in India, and penetrated into almost every sector of the Indian economy.

Thus, the predominant control of British finance capital retarded the tempo of free industrial growth and general economic development in India. The Indian nationalist movement which stood for a programme of rapid industrial development of the country as a precondition for the material, social and cultural advance of the Indian people was consequently very critical of the attitude of British finance capital and the economic policies of the Government.

- **Change in the structure of India's trade:** The expansion of British trade in India not only proved ruinous to Indian trade and industry, but also radically changed the structure of India's trade. India was forced to admit British imports either free or at nominal rates of duties, while Indian manufactures of products continued to be subjected to high import duties in England. India, which was the world's principal producer and exporter of fabrics in the first half of the eighteenth century, was in the next century reduced to the position of one of the largest consumers of foreign manufactured products — cotton textiles being the major item of import. Silk and woollen fabrics, machinery and metal manufactures were some of the other commodities of import into India. Competition with imported goods destroyed

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the Indian industry and deprived the artisans of their income and narrowed down the avenues of employment for labour. On the other hand, the exports which came to consist of raw cotton, raw silk, food grains, opium, indigo, and jute, denuded the country of her agricultural surplus, raised the prices of raw materials and 'laid the foundation of future agricultural shortage and famines which held the country in their grip over the next one hundred years.'

1.4.1 Drain of Wealth Theory

R.C. Dutt and Dadabhai Naoroji first mentioned the theory of The Drain of Wealth. In his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* Naoroji first mentioned it. In the book *Economic History of India* R.C. Dutt mentioned the bad result of the British economy on India. It talked of how the income generated in India could not be used by India and its people and instead went to the British Treasury. This had already started after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 when the Company started to take all wealth belonging to Indian rulers, land owners and peasants back to England.

The British Company was purchasing Indian goods with revenue generated in India and exporting them. These purchases were known as Company's investment. No duty was charged and this gave them an edge over the Indians. Drain of wealth was happening due to salaries to English officials also since all this was paid from revenue collected in India and then sent outside. Drain took the form of India's exports over its imports, for which India got no return. This stunted India's economic growth and stopped capital formation. The wealth drained out of India played an important part in financing Britain's capitalist development especially during the 18th century and first part of 19th century. India was made a free trade zone and this stopped India from competing and its surplus income was not invested and instead was sent to England which used to expand its colonial activities and Industry.

This according to many scholars and historians was the main cause of India's poverty. This was one major common cause that brought many Indians on a common platform.

Dadabhai Naoroji through his paper *English Debt to India* which was presented before a meeting of the East India Association on May 2, 1867 in London, brought this to light. He wrote that 'out of the revenues raised in India nearly one-fourth goes clean out of the country, and is added to the resources of England'. He presented some more papers on the same subject like *The Wants and Means of India* (1870) and *On the Commerce of India* (1871) at London. His book *Poverty and un-British rule in India* got a lot of attention from people all over the world. His book called the British rule as plundering, unrighteous, despotic, destructive and un-British. He highlighted that it is a myth that British rule brought any benefit to India.

A social reformer, Justice Govind Ranade, in a lecture delivered in 1872 in Pune, mentioned that 'that of the national income of India more than one-third was taken away by the British in some form or other'. Another prominent nationalist leader Ramesh Chandra Dutt in his book *The Economic History of India* pronounced that one-half of the net revenue "flows annually out of India" and said "verily the moisture of India blesses and fertilizes other lands".

Gopal Krishna Gokhle, P.C. Ray, G.V. Joshi, M.M Malaviya, D.E. Wacha, G. Subramaniya Iyer, Surendranath Banerji, and Bholanath Chandra were other leaders who also talked of drain of wealth. Many newspapers especially Amrit Bazar Patrika

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also talked of drain of wealth. The Indian National Congress recognised this theory in its Calcutta session in 1896. That time Dada Bhai Naoroji was president of the congress.

The difference between the other foreign invaders like Alexander, Mahmud of Ghazni, Shihabuddin Ghorī, Timur, Nadir Shah, and Ahmadshah Abdali and the British is that while the former's loot affected few individuals, the latter's affected the whole country. The British plundering was regularly and systematic, and there was no respite. The former made India their home and the latter just exploited. The former confined the wealth within India the latter took it all out. The former encouraged native art and craft whereas the latter only promoted British products and industry. The nature and form of British rule was responsible for the continuous drain of wealth from India.

The nationalist leaders came to varying figures when they computed the amount of the drain. This was mainly because of the fact that they used different modes of calculation and the gap between export and import grew continuously. In 1867, Dada Bhai Naoroji, computed the amount of the drain to be 8 million pounds. In 1870, this figure increased to 12 million pounds. In 1905, he declared that ₹ 51.5 crore (34 million sterling) worth of Indian produce was being drained out of India annually. G.V. Joshi claimed in 1888, that a total of ₹ 25 crore was being drained every year to England. D.E. Wacha puts this figure at ₹ 30 to 40 crores a year.

Capitalist ventures like plantations, mines, jute mills, banking, insurance export-import ensured a systematic drain of India's wealth to Europe and hindered India's industrial growth.

Visible forms of drain

The process of drain began after the battle of Plassey in the following forms:

- 'Gift' or bribe taken from Mir Jaffer, Mir Qasim and Shuja-Ud-Daula
- 'Profit' earned through trade in Bengal by the misuse of 'Dastak', the free pass.
- The employees of Company bought cheap raw materials and earned huge profit in England. Thus, they deprived Indians from a possible profit.

Invisible forms of drain

Besides visible form, there were some invisible forms of drain, which the nationalist leaders highlighted. They were as follows:

- Drain in the form incomes, salaries and savings of the English employees in government services like military, civil, railway, doctors, lawyers etc.
- Drain in the form of pension and other allowances given to these officials in England, after their retirement from Indian services.
- Home Charges expenditure incurred in England by the Secretary of State on behalf of the India Government. Home charges consisted of:
 - o Salary, allowances, and pension to the Secretary of State and his juniors at India office (London)
 - o Cost of military and other stores supplied to India
 - o Civil and military charges paid in England on account of India
 - o Payment of interest on the Indian public debt
- Profits of private foreign capital invested in trade or industry in India.

Effects of the drain of wealth

The following were the effects of drain of wealth:

(a) Economic effects

According to most scholars like Dadabhai Naoroji, poverty was major effect of drain. All other nationalist leaders also agreed to this theory. There was drain of wealth and capital. This caused unemployment and loss of income. They were of the view if the money was invested in the country then employment could have been created.

This led to lack of industrial growth and modernization of industry in India. There were concerns that the Indian wealth fuelled British industrialization. There was no capital left to be invested with the Indians. Finished goods from India ruined local goods. The peasants were affected by this directly. They had to pay high taxes on land yield. The frequent occurrences of famine and food shortage were also related to the drain. The peasants were compelled to sell food grains, which were exported. The drain deprived agriculture of all productive capital.

(b) Political effects

The Indian nationalist leaders used newspapers, books to highlight the situation to the people. This united leaders and people on a common platform. The conflict that existed between England and India came to the surface. The Indian nationalist leaders highlighted that economic remedies could resolve other economic issues but drain requires a political solution. This made the leaders take active interest in the nation's causes.

The drain theory also created awareness among the common people. The nationalist leaders clarified them in simple terms. The common people could also grasp it as they were facing the heat of high rate of taxation. When the Congress party adopted the resolution of Swaraj at Calcutta, presided by Dada Bhai Naoroji, the drain theory certainly was in their mind.

(c) Effects on handicraft industries

Indian hand-made goods were famous all over the world. Especially goods like silk, jute, cotton fabrics, metalware etc. With British selling factory made cheap products in the market the native goods lost out. Towns like Dacca and Murshidabad in Bengal; Patna in Bihar; Surat and Ahmedabad in Gujarat; Jaunpur, Varanasi, Lucknow and Agra in U.P.; Multan and Lahore in the Punjab; Masulipatnam and Visakhapatnam in Andhra; Bangalore in Mysore and Coimbatore and Madurai in Madras were flourishing centres of textile industry. Kashmir specialized in woolen manufactures. Maharashtra, Andhra and Bengal were prominent centers of ship building industry. India's ships were bought by many European companies for their use. India towards the end of the 18th century was, undoubtedly one of the main centers of world trade and industry.

All this was largely affected by industrial Revolution in England since machine made goods were cheaper and large scale production ensured more goods easily available, India lost out and Indian local industry suffered a major set back.

1.4.2 De-industrialization

De-industrialization means the ruining of industries. This is what happened to Indian economy. India had healthy economy in the seventeenth century. Agriculturally and industrially both sectors flourished in India. And there was good external and internal

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trade. Indian cotton and silk were in great demand in England. Even abroad, almost everything that used to be made of wool or silk, relating to dress of the women or the furniture for homes, was supplied by Indian trade. Beside, Indian indigo, pepper and saltpeter were also in great demand. In 1700 under force from the capitalists, England banned all kinds of cloth, silk, muslin and calicos, not only from India but also from Persia and China. However, smuggling of Indian goods continued despite the ban. In 1720 a penalty of 5 pounds was imposed on anyone found wearing Indian silk or calicos and 20 pounds on anyone found selling it. With the expansion of East India Company the entire scenario of Indian market changed in India. The Industrial Revolution of India brought many changes in India and caused de-industrialisation.

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Causes of de-industrialization

The following were the causes of de-industrialization of India during British rule:

1. The industrial revolution of England which had its beginnings in 1750s and 1760s brought many positive changes for England and many negative changes for India. After the victory at Plassey in the year 1757 and Buxar in 1764, the English East India Company exported raw materials like cotton from India to Manchester and Lancashire mills. This left very little raw material for Indian weavers as it was either very expensive or not available.
2. The manufactured English goods since made in mills were cheaper than those weaved on handloom.
3. The Charter Act of 1813 ended the trade monopoly of the East India Company except in tea trade and trade with China. Hundreds of English companies started coming and selling their products in the now 'free market'.
4. A protectionist policy was adopted in all European countries except in Holland. The European countries imposed heavy duties on Indian goods, as high as 200 per cent to 400 per cent on various items. In India, however, on English goods, the import duty was nominal, as low as 2 to 10 per cent. This unequal competition ruined Indian industries. Thus, the political control over India was directly linked with the decline of industries and emergence of de-industrialization.
5. The annexation policy of the British was also responsible for de-industrialization in India. Earlier the local rulers supported the local crafts and trade and now with the British ruling these states such support was no longer available. The new ruling class, the governor general, the governor, military officers, civil servants were all English and they did not buy Indian goods instead they preferred English goods. The rising rich of India also preferred English things as they wanted to show off their wealth and taste. Due to high taxes the average man had very little purchasing power hence they also preferred industry made goods.
6. The modern communication of transport like rail, roads and ships made it easier for industrial goods to reach the market and this ensured that local goods got weeded out.

Some of the causes were internal as well. For example the Indian manufacturers could not find alternative markets after they were closed to Europe. They could have explored other areas and continents but they did not. The spirit of adventure was missing.

Indian rulers also did not help support expand trade internally or externally. The only ruler who did anything was Tipu Sultan. Most of them were only concerned with land revenue.

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There was no importance given to building navy by the Indian rulers and hence trade through shipping could not be undertaken. The Mughals were based in north India, so navy, sea or commercial shipping never became important for them. Some of the Marathas and rulers in Mysore had ships but these were not as good as the Europeans ones. The English, the Portuguese, Dutch and French, monopolized the Indian coast in the eighteenth century. Once industrial revolution began in England, they started bringing English goods to be sold in India. If India had good control on coastal trade then this would not have happened.

Impact of de-Industrialization

The de-industrialization in India impacted the Indian economy in the following ways:

- (a) It made India primarily an agricultural economy.
- (b) It greatly disturbed the balance between manufacturing industries and agriculture.
- (c) It led to the decline and ruin of Indian art and craft.
- (d) India became a supplier of raw material to England.
- (e) It increased the pressure on agriculture and led to the economy becoming rural.
- (f) The craftsmen and artisans became agricultural workers as they had no work now. Further, they had to work as unwanted labourers. This led to division of land holdings and encroachment of pastures and forest land.

1.4.3 De-urbanization

De-urbanization is the reverse process of urbanization. The process whereby towns and cities decline into rural areas is called de-urbanization. The actual process of deurbanization took place in India in the 19th century. Due to superior production by England goods were mass produced and these were cheaper. This led to decline of sale of Indian goods. Thus Indian industries started to close down and thus major industrial towns like Dacca, Murshibad which were textile hubs got destroyed and people lost gainful work. Cotton from India stopped getting exported and instead cotton from England manufactured in factories started to get imported into India. This was a big blow to the textile industry. This led to de-urbanization. Port at cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras developed as major trading centers and hence these cities developed while others declined. These cities were also developed for administrative purposes and other towns fell behind.

Town and cities where service and trade was conducted flourished while towns which were earlier manufacturing hubs declined. The old cities of Hyderabad, Patna, Murshidabad, Delhi and Agra were completely ruined as they no longer generated any income or trade activity. These cities were no longer the centres of political activity also as the administration had shifted to cities like Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. De-urbanization seems to have occurred particularly in the heartland of Northern India.

Due to lack of work for artisans and craftsmen more and more people found work in rural India. And yet the high land revenue which they were required to pay also did not encourage agriculture. In short there was complete ruin of the local industry both in manufactured goods and agricultural goods. Indian economy became increasingly agrarian and peasant based.

Some new towns were also developed, especially the ones in hill stations. New cities based on modern amenities and concepts were planned like Delhi, Chandigarh and Islamabad. Hill towns like Shimla and Darjeeling were established.

1.4.4 Commercialization of Agriculture and its Effects

Because the peasants now produced for primarily the market and not self consumption, he needed to produce cash crops which would enabled him to use the transport facilities provided by the British. He had to maximize his cash profit so that he could pay taxes. Thus, the land in groups of villages came to be solely used for crops like cotton, jute, wheat, sugarcane oil-seeds, indigo, opium, etc. This also ensured that middle men came into the picture as these were commercial products and food products. This led to exploitation. The peasant sold his product at the harvest. And the middle men made all the profits.

This policy brought misery and poverty in the rural areas. The land revenue acts and the promotion of cash crops led to farmers loosing their lands to money lenders and the tribe of landless farmers also grew.

Commercialisation of the Indian agriculture began around 1860. This meant agriculture was used mainly for commercial crops. Now the survival of the farmer became challenging. Agriculture was now feeding the British Industry and not the people of India. To make higher yield of commercial crop the farmer started to borrow money from money lenders and many times lost their land due to non payment of interest or capital.

With the construction of the Suez Canal in the year 1869, sea transport between India and Europe became even easier and then this increased the demand for commercial crops like cotton, jute, indigo, tea, sugarcane, coffee, tobacco and poppy. Thus the British policies forced Indian farmers to grow commercial crops and food crops. This led to drastic food crisis in India.

According to Gadgil, 'the commercialization of Indian agriculture had progressed most in those tracts where the crops were largely grown for export out of the country. This was so in the Burma rice areas, the Punjab wheat areas, the Jute areas of eastern Bengal and the Khandesh, Berar, and Gujarat cotton tracts.' The producers had to make sure the crop reached the ports quickly. So in the hurry to sell their products and also pay their dues to moneylenders and the tax collectors, many times the farmers had to sell at whatever prices was quoted by the middle men. Many time they also had to buy back the crops they sold after six months as they never got sold.

This led to stopping of isolation of the villages. No region was needed to be self sufficient in all things. But also it led to food crisis as more of cash crops and less of food crops were being grown. Commercial crops fetched more money and since the farmeres had to make more income to pay land revenue and interest to money lenders it was viable to grow commercial crops like silk, cotton, jute, indigo and opium. This led to famine in the year 1866. The major cause of the famine in the states of Orissa and Bengal was that instead of rice indigo was being grown now.

Better irrigated and fertile land was now being used for commercial crops and not food crops. The output of commercial crops was more than food crops. This led to food shortage. This tendency to subsitutute commercial crops for food crops was visible till World War II.

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The area under food grains was considerably reduced. And the whole country now depended on food imported from other countries for survival as the population also grew. No new techniques of agricultural were also introduced by the rulers. It has been estimated that in between the last quarter of the 19th century and first quarter of the 20th century whereas the area under food crops increased by 7 per cent alone that of non-food crops increased by 43 per cent. Poor farmers with small land holdings suffered a lot.

Commercialization of agriculture was also led to fluctuation of the prices of cash crops which led to widespread poverty since sometimes the farmers could not get good enough prices for their produce. This led to local industries also losing out since now British goods were easily available in the market. Traditional occupations became redundant.

Due to improvement of transport facilities, goods were now available at markets which sold factory goods and hence the local goods lost their charm and this led to loss of work for local artisans and craftsmen,

Now farmers stopped storing food grains as most of it was sold immediately and hence surplus of one year was no longer available in another lean year. Food exports grew but local granaries were empty in times of draught and famine.

If a farmer had some funds he would shift to trade as that was more lucrative instead of investing in agriculture. Thus capital in farming reduced drastically. Also most of the cash earned was gone in paying taxes or interest to money lenders and there was hardly any surplus left to use as capital.

1.5 ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

The economic condition that India witnessed after it gained its independence was directly related to the economic conditions and changes that India witnessed in its past. Thus, an enquiry into the economic history of India is required to understand our economic structure.

1.5.1 Indus Valley Civilization

The economic history of our country can be traced back to the Indus Valley Civilization. This civilization began in the basin of the Indus river. The Indus Valley Civilization is basically divided into two parts—the primitive Indus Valley Civilization and the mature Indus Valley Civilization which is popularly called the Harappan Civilization.

The Indus Valley Civilization which was part of the Bronze Age civilization evolved around 3300 BCE and the mature period or the beginning of the Harappan Civilization began around 2600 BCE. The Late Harappan culture began around the period 1700 BCE.

Transportation and trade

The Indus Valley Civilization was heavily dependent upon trade in its mature period which was the Harappan period. Transportation of people and goods was possible during the Harappan period since mode of transportation had developed. From the excavations at the site of the civilization, it has been fixed that there were two modes of transportation that were used in those days:

- Bullock carts
- Boats

Check Your Progress

8. How did de-industrialization impact the Indian economy?
9. Who coined the term of the Drain of Wealth?

Canal work had also begun in those times. Canals were used for irrigation of land where agriculture was conducted. There is evidence of granaries where excess grain was stored.

Archaeological records show that pottery, figurines, ornaments and seals were part of the caravan trade during the Harappan civilization. Records also indicate that the Indus Valley Civilization had trade relations with Afghanistan, Persia and Mesopotamia.

The Harappan civilization had also developed a system of writing of the type of hieroglyphs which helped greatly in communication and in the conduct of trade and commerce.

This was the beginning of the times where India would grow into a land with surplus wealth. The coinage system began around the period of 600 BCE and history gives us proofs that from hereon, India prospered until the coming of the British. Of course, many cultures and civilizations witnessed rise and fall during this period which are as follows:

- Indus Valley Civilization: 3300–1700 BCE
- Late Harappan Civilization: 1700–1300 BCE
- Cemetery Harappan Culture: 1900–1300 BCE
- Swat Culture: 1600–500 BCE
- Iron Age: 1200–180 BCE
- Middle Kingdoms of India: 1CE–1279 CE
- Delhi Sultanate: 1206–1526 CE
- Deccan Sultanates: 1490–1596 CE
- Mughal Empire: 1526–1803 CE
- Company Rule: 1757–1858 CE
- British Raj: 1858–1947 CE

Slave dynasty

The slave dynasty started spreading its roots under Qutub-ud-din Aibak. So what was the reason that his reign was called the slave dynasty? The Muslim rulers were fond of slaves and most of the rulers treated their slaves as mere objects. But there were some rulers who had great affection for their slaves. Mohammad Ghori was one such ruler who was very affectionate towards his slave. He was the sultan and the founder of the Ghori Empire and Qutub-ud-din was his slave, his favourite one. Mohammad Ghori had no son and he treated Qutub-ud-din as his son. Qutub-ud-din was equally devoted towards his master. Mohammad Ghori was a great fighter who had won many battles and Qutub-ud-din Aibak had accompanied him in his conquests.

Upon the death of his master, Qutub-ud-din founded the slave dynasty. The master had no sons who could take his place. So his dynasty was divided among his relatives and slaves. But Qutub-ud-din was the one who rose to power as his master had wished and thus the slave dynasty prospered under him.

The slave dynasty under Qutub-ud-din was founded in the year 1206. Before that Qutub-ud-din had served as a viceroy under his master, so he had understanding of how the administration was run. He started spreading his newly found empire steadily. In doing so, he married a number of women who were daughters of generals and rulers which helped him in forming powerful alliances. His territories included the following:

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- Delhi
- Hansi
- Meerut
- Ranthambore
- Banaras
- Koil
- Gujarat

Qutub-ud-din was an able administrator and thus the territories that were running under his rule prospered greatly. Both Hindus and Muslims were treated equally and given equal opportunities in his kingdom and thus trade and commerce started flourishing. Moreover he was benevolent and helpful for which he was given the title of 'Lakh Bakhsis'. He thus helped not only the poor and the needy but also the enthusiastic merchants and traders in setting up their businesses. There was protection in his kingdom and roads were clean and travel was safe which helped the traders. A famous religious leader praised the reign of Qutub-ud-din in the following words:

'He was not only a great conqueror but also a successful administrator. He administered the country well, dispersed equal-handed justice to the people and exerted himself to promote peace and prosperity of the realm.'

He was also a great lover of literature and architecture and the world famous Qutab Minar was built during his reign. Although many historians argue that the construction of this famous monument only started during the reign of Qutub-ud-din Aibak.

1.5.2 Economic Scenario in Medieval Times

As already mentioned, India during the medieval times was prospering greatly. There was abundance of riches all over the country. Invaders such as Mahmud of Ghazni were attracted towards India because of this abundance of wealth. Kingdoms were invaded, temples were sacked, and this also shows that some of our rulers were careless to some extent. According to recent surveys and calculations done, the amount of wealth gathered by Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad Bin Qasim alone account to over crores of rupees. The wealth accumulated included coined as well as uncoined money, along with precious stones and various other goods. These were the accounts of just two of the invaders and there were several others. Yet they were not able to completely drain out the wealth that our nation possessed. The rulers in the country still enjoyed a lavish lifestyle. In fact saying that they enjoyed a lavish lifestyle would only be an understatement. Thus, there is no doubt that our country was full of wealth all throughout the medieval period and especially from the beginning of the 13th century. Agriculture was our backbone and even without any modern methods of farming, our lands were lush with greenery and crops. Land was very fertile, rainfall was adequate in most parts of the country and thus the farmers produced more than they needed. From the records available, we know that India produced so much of corn that it had to be exported to neighbouring countries to save it from getting wasted. Other crops which were grown were:

- Sugarcane
- Cotton

- Lentils
- Poppy,
- Oilseeds
- Indigo

Export of these agricultural products meant accumulation of more wealth. Fruits of varied varieties were grown in our country. Apart from agriculture, there were other small and big industries of production in both the urban as well as rural areas of India. From these industries, various non-agricultural products were produced in large quantities. These included the following:

- Minerals
- Fisheries
- Opium
- Salt
- Liquor

These and many other products were exported as well. Another reason for our enormous wealth was the abundance of gold, copper, silver, and iron deposits in our country. The towns and villages were well organized for most parts of the country and widespread commerce was evident because of the presence of crafts and guilds. These small forms of association and societies have great significance even in the modern times as these were the bases upon which the basic structure of what we know now as societies were built. What is noteworthy here is that most of these industries ran without any kind of state support and faced the problems of invasions as well as internal revolutions on their own. There were some state sponsored industries as well. Industries or *Karkhanas* as it were called, run by the state were fewer in number than private Karkhanas. Examples of state sponsored Karkhanas were the workshops situated in Delhi where robes and clothes of cotton, silk, and other materials were produced just for the royalty. The royalty also had separate Karkhanas where ornaments and jewellery were made. The private industry flourished in the medieval times at a rapid pace. The most prominent industry among these was the textile industry, the making of cotton, silk and woollen clothes were prominent among traders. Various other industries were:

- Dyeing industry
- Paper industry
- Sugar industry
- Printing industry
- Calico printing industry
- Metal industry
- Stone and brick industry
- Enamelling industry

Some small scale industries that flourished were:

- Liquor industry
- Shoe-making industry
- Brass making industry
- Clay industry

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Although the textile industries were running almost throughout the country, the two major provinces where textile industries flourished were Gujarat and Bengal. These two states were the largest exporter of textile goods in the country. The rulers were hardly helping the private industry in any major way, but still the private industry was growing and flourishing in almost all the regions of the country. This also goes to show that there must have been a healthy competition and camaraderie among the countrymen which resulted in peaceful trade relations among all the regions of the country. Trade relations with the outside world also were particularly good. Apart from the various textiles, agricultural and non-agricultural products that were exported to other countries, horses, mules and other luxury items were also sold out to the nobles and rulers of royal families of various countries. The export of goods outside our country were always larger than the import of goods from other countries. This meant that trade balance was in our favour in those times. There were some rare herbs and gums that were found only in our country and it was so much in demand that merchants were ready to exchange these herbs with equal quantity of pure gold. Some of the countries with whom India had trade relations during the medieval period included:

- China
- Malay Islands
- Afghanistan
- Bhutan
- Tibet
- Persia

Trade was carried out both through the land as well as the sea routes. Since there was division of class even in those times, wealth was not distributed equally. The Rajas, Maharajas and Sultans, who were ruling the Kingdoms, of course comprised the richest class of the society. In fact they were above the society as they were the sole authority and were not answerable to anyone. The top ranking officials and noble class were also enormously wealthy and so were the bankers and merchants who worked for the royal class. The military and civil officers were also part of the privileged class. They lived in huge mansions and enjoyed a luxurious life rolled with wealth, rich food, servants, liquor and concubines. As there were no restrictions, these affluent men kept numerous wives and concubines at their disposal.

The major bulk of the population consisted of people living an ordinary life and although they were not extremely poor, they made just enough to satisfy their basic needs. Of course, the conditions varied from ruler to ruler as some were unkind and harsh while some were benevolent and compassionate towards the general masses.

The peasants mostly gave one-third of what they produced as taxes which was pretty heavy even in those days. But still there was no case of hunger and starvation and the major reason for this was that the goods and products of everyday use were extremely cheap. The basic reason why there was hunger and starvation during the British period was that the products had become expensive and there was drainage of wealth.

Of course there were incidences of starvation and deaths but these were caused by natural disasters such as floods and famines. One such incidence took place during the times of Muhammad bin Tughluq, who was the ruler of Delhi from 1325–1351 and was famously known as the wisest fool because of his poorly executed experiment. Still he was a liberal ruler under whom people of all religions lived peacefully.

During his reign, there was a severe famine and thousands of people died of hunger and many committed suicide along with their families. There was another famine during the rule of Jalal-ud-din Firoz Khilji who was the founder of the Khilji dynasty. He was also famous for his coinage system. The famine that occurred under him was so severe that thousands of people drowned themselves in the river Yamuna. Many died of starvation.

Although the products were cheap, the prices of the products varied from place to place as the means of communication in those days were not very good. Moreover the cheap products became very expensive during the time of natural disasters such as floods and famines. This could be seen by taking an example from the times of Muhammad bin Tughluq when grain which costed around four to five jitals a seer was sold at around seventeen to eighteen jitals a seer.

The prices of the food grains and other products also rose sharply during the times of wars. The prices of all the products whether agricultural or otherwise were considered to be the cheapest in the region of Bengal. During the times of Ibrahim Lodi, the prices of the products were at their lowest. Born in 1526 CE, Ibrahim Lodi was the last ruler of the Lodi dynasty.

1.5.3 Mughal Dynasty

The founder of the Mughal dynasty was Zahir-ud-din Babur. The great military adventurer and the first Mughal ruler, Babur was born in the year 1483. The foundations of the Mughal Empire was laid in the year 1526. He was one of the greatest conquerors of the medieval ages. The Afghan ruler invaded India upon an invitation from Daulat Khan who was the governor of Punjab and was a great rival of Ibrahim Lodi. Ibrahim Lodi was seen as a cruel ruler and Daulat Khan wanted Babur to defeat him. Rana Sanga also had an eye on the throne of Delhi and so he also put his trust in Babur and promised to be part of this alliance. Rana Sanga thought that after defeating Ibrahim Lodi, Babur will go back to Kabul. It never occurred to Rana Sanga that Babur would eventually take over the throne of Delhi. As India was not unified, Ibrahim Lodi was not able to resist the onslaught by Babur who was a strong military general. In addition, he had the support of rulers such as Rana Sanga. Soon Delhi was dethroned and Babur became the new king. But as he ascended the throne, a new rivalry was born between him and Rana Sanga who had never expected Babur to rule Delhi. This rivalry between Rana Sanga and Babur was the beginning of the never ending rivalry between the Mughals and the Rajputs.

Economic conditions under Babur

Babur gave encouragement to agriculture. Agriculture prospered under him and there was development of agricultural works as well and irrigational canals were built. Apart from agriculture, commerce and trade was also given encouragement. Before the Mughals came there was a divide among the Hindus and Muslims. Babur had a vision of a unified India and thus equal opportunities were given to people of all religions under him. He had seen that division was the cause that allowed him to capture the throne of Delhi and he didn't want to get that repeated under his reign. The prices of the products were low although not as cheap as in the times of Ibrahim Lodi but this was because Babur spent huge resources for the building of a huge army. Apart from that, he was engaged in various battles and therefore there was a huge drain of wealth. Despite that, economic conditions prospered under the reign of Babur.

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Sher Shah's conquest of northern India had only come after his conquest over the regions of Bengal and Bihar. Economic conditions thus improved in these regions also. He was also responsible for building the longest highway in the whole of Asia, the famous Grand Trunk Road. The name Grand Trunk Road was actually given by the British authorities. It was previously called 'Badshahi Sadak'. The Grand Trunk Road connected the following regions:

- Delhi
- Punjab
- Uttar Pradesh
- Bengal
- Bihar
- Khyber Pakhtunkhawa (North West Frontier)

Thus the building of the Grand Trunk Road facilitated transportation and helped trade and commerce to flourish in a great way. The Rupee which was introduced by Sher Shah is still our national currency. Interestingly it is also the national currency of countries such as:

- Pakistan
- Nepal
- Sri Lanka
- Mauritius
- Seychelles
- Maldives
- Indonesia

With the help of the Persian ruler, Humayun was able to regain his Kingdom and thus he merely expanded on the work that was already done by the Great Sher Shah Suri. The Mughal Kingdom was prosperous and flourishing.

Akbar the Great

Abul Fath Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar was arguably the greatest Mughal Emperor and one of the greatest rulers that the world has ever known. As V.A Smith has said:

'He was born king of men with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereign known to history; the claim rests surely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas and his magnificent achievements.'

Born in the year 1542, Akbar's birth was an interesting story in itself. He was the son of Humayun's first wife and was born during an escape by their parents to Iran. He was born in Umarkot which lies in the region of Sindh now in Pakistan. It is said that one Sufi saint had prophesized a great future for the son of Humayun and thus he was named Akbar.

Akbar was born and brought up in the rugged regions of Afghanistan under strict training, and although he did not find time to read and write as he was wandering all the time escaping from the clutches of the enemies, he went on to become the greatest of Mughal administrators. This was all because of his hunger for knowledge. When Akbar ascended the throne, he built up a huge library and although he could not read the accumulated collection of books in his libraries, he had his courtiers recite those books to

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him. Thus he went on to become wiser than many of the scholars of those days. It is an irony that the only illiterate Mughal ruler went on to become the most learned of them all.

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Administration under Akbar

Under the reign of Akbar, the Mughal administration underwent drastic changes and most of these changes were for the good. The power of the Emperor was enhanced during his reign. Although this complete authority of the Emperor might have raised a few eyebrows, it actually subdued the influence of the *ulemas* in the state affairs. The *ulemas* serving under the Mughals were manipulative and thus the poor public was deprived of a fair share of their hard earned money. Also there was a rift between the Hindus and the Muslims as the Hindus were not satisfied with the administration. Akbar changed this situation and Mughal Dynasty under him in India was unified and tolerant towards all religions. This prompted the economic growth of the society.

Akbar also cut down on the list of his ministers and thus there were only four kinds of ministers under his reign who were as follows:

- Vakil
- Diwan (Vazir)
- Mir Bakshi
- Sadr-us-Sadar

Mansabdari system

Akbar introduced a unique system through which he regulated the central services of his government. This system was known as the Mansabdari system. The Mansabdari system got introduced in the year 1570. All the officers of the states under the Mughal Empire were classified under grades. There were sixty six such grades. These grades were finally reduced to thirty three under the reign of Aurangzeb. The officers were known as Mansabdars, which means the holder of a rank.

Around five thousand Mansabs were directly assigned to the royal families. Although many historians have found defects in the Mansabdari system, this system made the officers accountable for their actions.

Land revenue system

The Land Revenue system which was used under the reign of Akbar can be credited to Raja Todar Mal who was the finance minister under Akbar the Great.

The Land Revenue system under Akbar was based on a previous system which was used during the reign of Sher Shah Suri. In this system, direct contacts were established with the cultivators of the land and thus state taxes were collected directly from them. Thus, middle men were completely eliminated under this system. This system was known by names such as *zabti*, *ryotwari*, and *dansala*.

The Revenue system was more practical and progressive towards economic development. This system was better than all the earlier systems of land revenue that were used during the Mughal rule. Even the East India Company adopted this system after implementing some of their modifications. The Land Revenue system had five stages which were as follows:

- Survey or measurement of land
- Classification of land
- Assessment of government demand and its kind
- Conversion of government demand into cash
- Mode of collection of land revenue

The state demand was fixed for a period of ten years. The demand for the next ten years was fixed on the basis of production and price level of the past ten years. Through this system, the government did not lose any revenue because of increased production or rise of prices. This was the reason behind the success of the land revenue system under Akbar the Great.

Abul Fazl on the reign of Akbar

Born in the year 1551, Abul Fazl was a high ranking political advisor under Akbar. In three huge volumes, he covered the reign of Akbar which was known as *Akbarnama*.

Akbarnama covered all aspects of the reign of Akbar's rule over India. *Akbarnama* presents a deep insight into the reign of Akbar and how the insight and farsightedness of the great ruler helped the nation to prosper.

Slavery was abolished under the reign of Akbar and he was the first and the only Mughal emperor to do so. In the words of Abul Fazl,

'One of the glorious boons of His Majesty the Shehenshah which shone forth in his auspicious reign was the abolishment of enslavement. The victorious troops which came into the Indian territories used their tyranny by making women and children their prisoners. His Majesty, out of his thorough recognition of and Worship of God, and from his abundant foresight and right thinking gave orders that no soldiers of the victorious armies should in any part of his dominions act in this manner. Although a number of savage natures who were ignorant of the world should make their fastnesses a subject of pride and come forth to do battle and then be defeated by the virtue of the emperor's daily increasing empire, still their families must be protected from the onset of the world-conquering armies. No soldier, high or low, was to enslave them, but was to permit them to go freely to their home and relations.'

The confidence that Akbar the Great had in the general public was the backbone of the economic progress in the society. Hindi and Sanskrit were given its due importance under his reign and thus the lost confidence of the Hindus was gained. *Akbarnama* also gives us the proof that pilgrimage taxes which were imposed by the Mughals on the Hindu travellers was abolished under the rule of Akbar the Great. Thus there was growth in trade relations among travellers of various regions.

Foreign travellers

Many famous travellers have given testimony to the fact that India was a prosperous economy during the medieval times. The Christian merchant named Marco Polo was among the most famous travellers who visited India between the years 1288–1293. Other famous travellers included Ibn Battuta who visited India during the years 1334–1342 and Mahuan who visited India in the year 1406. In the words of Marco Polo there was 'Great abundance of all the necessaries of life.'

Although this observation of Marco Polo was true for that period of time, it is notable that there was a wide gap that existed between the rich and the poor, the producers

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and the consumers. The producing class consisted of agriculturists, traders and industrial workers while the consuming class consisted of the rulers, officers and nobles of various departments as well as people who performed religious duties. Interestingly, the slaves and beggars were also part of the consuming class. The rich led a lavish life and were superfluous in their lifestyles. Being surrounded by servants and slaves was a fashion for the rich and surplus wealth was wasted in various ceremonies which they organized from time to time. Buying and displaying expensive items, jewellery and dresses was part of the culture for both the Hindus as well as the Muslims. Horses and elephants were also bought just to show off. Marriage was one of the most important ceremonies in the lives of Hindus and Muslims and an extravagant amount of money was spent on such functions.

Many famous travellers have given testimony to the fact that India was a prosperous economy during the medieval times. The Christian merchant named Marco Polo was among the most famous travellers who visited India between the years 1288–1293.

Francois Bernier

Francois Bernier was another famous traveller who also served as a physician under the Mughals. Born in the year 1625, Francois Bernier visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb. He stayed in India between the years 1659–1667. He visited the Mughal Empire when it was under the reign of Aurengzeb who was entirely different from the benevolent nature of Akbar the Great. Mughal rule was surely past its golden period, and thus Francois Bernier could not paint a pretty picture of what he saw:

‘There was privately owned land in Mughal India, at least in the cities; we have some mortgage and sale documents to prove this. Nevertheless the vast bulk of land was agricultural, and was held, not owned by the peasant cultivators. They paid a share of their produce to the state in return for being allowed to hold and use their land. The question here is whether the lack of private ownership along the lines on which it had evolved in the west was necessarily determinable. It has been claimed that peasants who have title to the land can then use the land to obtain credit, as had been quite common in Western Europe since the 12th century. Nevertheless, the key thing was not to be the subject to arbitrary dispossession, regardless of the legal basis on which the land was held. If this be accepted, then the Mughal system seems to be not much different not any better than the European system. Although there was nothing to stop the peasant from improving the land; indeed, the state sometimes encouraged this. The frontier was still open, so that peasants, far from being subject to expropriation, were in fact stroked by land controllers, sometimes even encouraged to move from one land to the other. We are sometimes told that power in India consists of control over land, and the people on it; this seems to be correct at least for our period.’

1.5.4 Social Distribution of Landed Property

The social distribution of land in India before Independence was completely unequal. To understand the unequal distribution and reasons behind it, we need to study the feudal structure that existed in India.

Feudalism and unequal distribution of land in India

Although there have been arguments among historians about the rise of feudalism in India, most historians agree that it was the post-Maurya period from where feudalism started entering into our social structure.

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The social structure of our country was pretty distinct and unique. During the post Maurya period, Hinduism was the dominant religion of India. India was probably the only nation where the social structure was based on caste system. The whole caste system was pyramid like, the masses stayed at the bottom which consisted of the bulk of the population and the top-tier consisted of the bunch that ruled these masses. The position of an individual in the society was determined by the virtue of his birth. The Vedas were the religious scriptures upon which the caste system of our country was formed. The Brahmins who were well versed in these scriptures placed themselves in the top tier, but it were the Kshatriyas, the warrior class who were the ruler class.

This was the beginning of inequality in India. The differences between the rich and the poor were determined not through their abilities but merely through their caste they were born in. The lands which the poor cultivated with their sweat and blood was not completely theirs as the landlords held superior rights over those lands. The rulers extracted taxes from the landlords. The Brahmins led a laid back life where they did not have to work in order to meet ends. Thus the peasant, even after owning the land, agricultural implements, oxen and cattle, was still not the sole owner of his land just because he belonged to an inferior class. The lower class people were not allowed to read and write and they were kept ignorant of their rights. This was done so that they could be kept under control.

The rulers were the ultimate authority and the ignorant people were told that the taxes were extracted from them because the King protected them. This was true up to an extent as the rulers needed a huge army to protect the boundaries of their kingdom. But the kind of taxes that were levied were far in excess of what was needed and the enormous amount of wealth extracted from the poor was thus used by the rich to lead a lifestyle that was lavish and luxurious. Moreover they boasted themselves as the land-giver and thus it was assumed as if all the land belonged to the King and he was benevolent enough to distribute it among the general mass.

The actual fact was that the land was forcefully taken from the general mass and it was the ruling class who were dependent on the working class. They needed the peasants to plough their lands, to grow crops. So it was this necessity that led the rulers to distribute the lands among the masses and not due to benevolence. The situation was getting worse as whatever little land that the poor peasants owned was taken away from them by the Zamindars through treachery. Thus they were made to become bonded labours who were given daily wages and did not own anything.

Even as India was gaining prosperity, the rich had much more than they needed, there was no change in the lives of the poor. They barely met their ends. The consumers were given various titles which were derived from the old Indian scriptures. They were called by names such as- *bhogi*, *bhogjana*, *mahabhogi*, *brhadbhogika*, *bhogapatika* and so on. These terms denoted that it was their destiny to consume the labours of the poor.

Meanwhile the Brahmins who were enjoying the fruits of the hard labour done by the peasant class were given acres and acres of land for free. These came as a gift from the Kings during the ritual which these Brahmins conducted from time to time. Thus the Brahmins and the landlords continued to get hold of more and more land while the lower class continued to suffer. The Brahmins also used the peasants to cultivate their land; they did not have to pay taxes to the King as the Brahmins were considered to be the holiest of all.

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Moreover the Brahmins made fool of the lower class peasants who were ignorant and illiterate. The Brahmins were well versed in Sanskrit and old scriptures, thus whatever they preached was taken as the word of God. Thus some of the Brahmins used treacherous means to manipulate and subjugate the property of the poor.

Most of the land was under the rich which constituted the minority of the population. The majority was left with just a small cluster. The peasants needed to buy seeds, agricultural implements, and animals from time to time. Floods and famines also worsened their conditions. Thus they had to take loans from the local Mahajans from time to time. Thus the small portion of the land which they were left with became a mortgaged property under the Mahajan. The interest rates set up by the Mahajans was difficult for the poor to understand and thus most of the peasants were not able to recover their piece of land once it was mortgaged.

The peasants were exploited from all corners. Apart from the Zamindars there were intermediaries such as Deshmukhs and Chaudharies who were similar to Zamindars. The British needed these intermediaries to extract revenue from the poor peasants. Writer Barry Pavier has described the Deshmukhs as:

'These were, in the 1940s, the layer of the very large landowners in Telengana. They owned from 2,000-3,000 acres at the lower end to 160,000 acres (650 km²) at the upper as in the case of the Janareddy family of Nalgonda District. Their origin can be traced to the administrative reforms of Salar Jung I, prime minister of Hyderabad state in the 1860s and 1870s.'

The reforms abandoned the previous practice of auctioning off the revenue collection in the government-administered areas to farmers, in favour of direct revenue collection by the State. The 'revenue farmers' were given land in compensation. Most of them availed the opportunity to seize as much of the best land as they could. According to Barry Pavier,

'They also received a pension. The deshmukhs were thus given a dominant position in the rural economy which they proceeded resolutely to strengthen during the succeeding decades.'

When the British came, the exploitation became even more rampant. This inequality continued and the peasants only gained some respite after the Agrarian movements that took place in different parts of the country. Even after Independence, when aristocracy and Zamindari have been abolished, the unequal distribution of land remains a thorn in our social structure.

Indian society during the medieval periods was divided under two major factions, the Hindus and the Muslims. As the Mughal rule flourished and the Muslims became a more powerful faction of the society, the Hindus started losing political hold and became politically weaker.

Agriculture, as has been already mentioned, was the main source of revenue collection and was entirely dependent upon climatic conditions. There were no modern methods of farming in those days and there was hardly anything that could have been done to cope with situations of flood, shortage of rainfall or any other natural disaster. As farming continued to flourish, the farmers gained knowledge of what crops to grow and in which season and also what to grow in which climate and land type. For example, paddy and other types of water intensive crops continued to grow in the coastal regions of the country while wheat and barley were grown in drier regions.

There were trades that continued to flourish between different kingdoms. Land was the source of power in medieval times and rulers wanted to expand their kingdoms

from time to time. Thus, there were continuous wars that were waged between kingdoms frequently, which also affected the economic condition of the societies in those kingdoms. Apart from the bloodshed that these wars caused, there were various other disasters that the wars created which crushed the economies and societies of not only the losing side but also the kingdoms who won in the war.

Agriculture was the main source of income for the general mass in those times. Apart from the ruling class who dominated every aspect of the economy in those times, various sections of the society were wanting to control and own agricultural land. This case was applicable to all parts of the country. Apart from the agricultural resources that formed the major component of trade and income, luxury trade became an important part of the system more so in the capital cities as the royal classes had different tastes and spent their fortunes in a lavish manner. This was in close comparison with the Marxist statements of the capitalist elites using the poor, where the poor barely met ends and the affluent class had much more than they needed.

Even though there were great inequalities between people prior to the British rule, there was a lot of wealth in India. Of course the surplus wealth was the reason why the British were attracted towards India. It was not as if foreign trade in India started only after the coming of the British in India. Historical accounts give us an overview that various items were exported even during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Textile was the main source of export during those times.

It is a notable fact that agriculture grew under the British regime, as the British gave great attention towards increasing the agricultural productivity. But they did nothing to improve the conditions of the peasants. Increasing the agricultural productivity was necessary for the British regime as agriculture was the chief source of raising the land revenue. The taxes that were imposed by the zamindars on the poor peasants during the British rule shattered them completely. Besides, the British kept experimenting with different measures to increase the productivity without showing any concern of health and other aspects of poor peasants.

Bipan Chandra is one of the most eminent Indian historians who specializes in the field of political and economic history. Bipan Chandra has presented his view that the capitalist nature of the Indian economy was acquired by the British and their ways of the capitalist economy.

Although there was distinction between the rich and the poor even before the coming of the British, money was not the most powerful commodity in the society. So, although there were numerous aspects that were of fascinating interest during the British rule of India, Bipan Chandra points out that the liberation movement, and the change of the economic structure of the Indian society were the two most intriguing aspects during the British period.

Bipan Chandra feels that the change of economic structure that was experienced by India during the British reign was a part of the change that was experienced worldwide under the European occupation of various colonies. He was of the opinion that the history of capitalism shows that it was not an independent move of any colony and that capitalism has always affected nations in a cluster. Bipan observed that although the Indian nation was deemed to be a democratic nation after independence, it was not a complete democratic structure as pure democracy is not possible under a capitalist environment. The methods of production and trade went through drastic changes after the British colonization.

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Check Your Progress

10. Who was responsible for the revenue system under Akbar?
11. Why did the British give importance to agriculture?

1.6 SUMMING UP

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- The growth of nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth century was one of the most significant features of Indian history.
- Though pre-colonial India had a self-sufficient economy based largely on agriculture, Indians as such were not integrated, neither economically nor socially.
- The British conquest of India was followed by the establishment of a centralized government, which brought about political and administrative unification. Introduction of common laws and institutions gradually began to unite India.
- Blurring of geographical barriers was instrumental in instilling a sense of unity, which fostered the urge for an all-India movement.
- Introduction of western education was probably the greatest contribution of British rule in India. Initiation of the English language opened a window towards Western European enlightenment. For the first time Indian intellectuals came in touch with works of European political thinkers and philosophers such as Marx, Spencer, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau and others.
- From being an exporter of processed goods, India was transformed into an exporter of raw materials and buyer of processed goods. This led to severe exploitation of the Indians and increased India's poverty.
- The first sign of national awakening was expressed through the socio-religious reform movements also known as the Indian Renaissance.
- The Indian Press had an important role to play in developing nationalism among the citizens of the country. Indian nationalists used the press as a powerful media to spread the message of nationalism.
- The natives were not allowed to participate in any social gathering. They were kept out of European clubs, restaurants and they were not allowed to travel in same compartments with the Europeans. Clubs and joints often put on placards saying 'Indians and Dogs are not allowed.' The Indians were hurt by this kind of an attitude. They became conscious about this humiliation and united against the foreigners.
- Indians were discriminated against in every field. The Charter Act of 1833 laid down fitness to be the major criterion for jobs.
- Western scholars such as William Jones, Max Muller, Mrs. Mrs. Annie Besant and others tried to rediscover India's glorious past. They emphasized on the richness of India's culture and the importance of Indian philosophy. This in turn was taken up by Indian nationalist leaders who aroused the self-respect and self-confidence in the fellow Indians.
- Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route from Europe to India. He reached the Port of Calicut on the 17 May 1498.
- The discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama ushered the era of Portuguese trade in India.
- In the Malabar region, the Portuguese established their first factory in 1500 at Calicut.

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- The Portuguese collected textiles and other commodities from various port towns of the Coromandel Coast. Some such towns were as follows:
 - o Masulipatnam
 - o Pulicat
 - o San Thome
 - o Pondicherry
 - o Cuddalore
 - o Porto Novo
 - o Nagapatnam
- The chief aim of the Portuguese in discovering the sea route connecting the East with Portugal was to collect spices directly from the places of production rather than from intermediaries like the Italian or the Muslim traders.
- Textiles of various kinds constituted the chief export from the eastern coast of India. Sandalwood from the Coromandel was an important item of export to Portugal.
- Several Indian merchants supplied commodities to the Portuguese on credit when the latter did not have cash or commodities to furnish in exchange.
- The Portuguese attempts at establishing total monopoly did not bring about a situation in which trade conducted by the Indian rulers and merchants was totally uprooted.
- It is calculated that the production of pepper in the Malabar area went up by 200 to 275 per cent in the period between 1515 and 1607.
- The main feature of the Dutch trade in India and South East Asia was their conflict with the Portuguese and the English merchants.
- The first French company that succeeded in establishing permanent trade relations with India was Compagnie des Indes chartered by Louis XIV.
- In 1714, an Englishman John Surman was sent to the Delhi Court for securing trading facilities for the company. He succeeded in obtaining a *farmaan* from Emperor Farukhsiyar in 1717, by which the Company was permitted to carry on free trade in Bengal, Bombay and Madras.
- The English East India Company had the complete monopoly over trade in the East.
- Permanent Settlement was implemented in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1793.
- The Ryotwari Settlement was pioneered by Sir Thomas Munro.
- A modified form of Permanent Settlement, which came to be known as Mahalwari settlement was introduced in the Gangetic valley.
- The economic history of our country can be traced back to the Indus Valley Civilization.
- The Indus Valley Civilization was heavily dependent upon trade in its mature period which was the Harappan period.
- The slave dynasty started spreading its roots under Qutub-ud-din Aibak. Qutub-ud-din was an able administrator and thus the territories that were running under his rule prospered greatly. Both Hindus and Muslims were treated equally and

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- given equal opportunities in his kingdom and thus trade and commerce started flourishing.
- There was abundance of riches all over the country. Invaders such as Mahmud of Ghazni were attracted towards India because of this abundance of wealth.
 - The royalty also had separate *Karkhanas* where ornaments and jewellery were made. The private industry flourished in the medieval times at a rapid pace. The most prominent industry among these was the textile industry, the making of cotton, silk and woollen clothes were prominent among traders.
 - Trade was carried out both through the land as well as the sea routes.
 - Babur gave encouragement to agriculture. Agriculture prospered under him and there was development of agricultural works as well and irrigational canals were built. Apart from agriculture, commerce and trade were also given encouragement.
 - The Land Revenue system under Akbar was based on a previous system which was used during the reign of Sher Shah Suri. In this system, direct contacts were established with the cultivators of the land and thus state taxes were collected directly from them.
 - The social distribution of land in India before Independence was completely unequal.
 - The Brahmins made fool of the lower class peasants who were ignorant and illiterate. The Brahmins were well versed in Sanskrit and old scriptures, thus whatever they preached was taken as the word of God. Thus some of the Brahmins used treacherous means to manipulate and subjugate the property of the poor.

1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Crusado:** A gold coin of Portugal
- **Zamorin:** The title used by the Nair rulers of the erstwhile state of Kerala
- **Harass:** Subject to aggressive pressure or intimidation
- **Autonomous:** Acting independently or having the freedom to do so
- **Bullion:** Gold or silver in bulk before coining
- **Brocade:** A rich fabric, usually silk, woven with a raised pattern, typically with gold or silver thread
- **Emolument:** A salary, fee or profit from employment or office

1.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Geographical barriers of the country were shortened enabling people living in different parts of the country to maintain regular contacts. This blurring of geographical barriers was instrumental in instilling a sense of unity, which fostered the urge for an all-India movement.
2. Lord Ripon introduced the Ilbery Bill.
3. Alfonso de Albuquerque was the real founder of the Portuguese empire in India.
4. The Portuguese first established their factory in 1500 at Calicut.
5. The Portuguese decline was for the following reasons:

- Nobody could carry on the work of Albuquerque.
 - The Portuguese rulers were not tolerant towards religions of the country.
 - The administrative system of the Portuguese had gradually become corrupt.
6. The Dutch East India Company set up in India through a charter in 1602.
 7. The first French factory was established in Surat in 1668.
 8. The de-industrialization in India impacted the Indian economy in the following ways:
 - (a) It made India primarily an agricultural economy.
 - (b) It greatly disturbed the balance between manufacturing industries and agriculture.
 - (c) It led to the decline and ruin of Indian art and craft.
 - (d) India became a supplier of raw material to England.
 - (e) It increased the pressure on agriculture and led to the economy becoming rural.
 - (f) The craftsmen and artisans became agricultural workers as they had no work now. Further, they had to work as unwanted labourers. This led to division of land holdings and encroachment of pastures and forest land.
 9. R.C. Dutt and Dadabhai Naoroji first mentioned the theory of Drain of Wealth in the book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*.
 10. The land revenue system under Akbar can be credited to Raja Todar Mal.
 11. It is a notable fact that agriculture grew under the British regime, as the British gave great attention towards increasing the agricultural productivity. Increasing the agricultural productivity was necessary for the British regime as agriculture was the chief source of raising the land revenue. They also were interested in the agricultural products for their industries in England.

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1.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Who discovered the sea route to India from Europe and how?
2. Write a short note on Albuquerque.
3. List some of the commodities that were imported and exported during the Colonial rule.
4. How did the French establish factories in India?
5. How were the peasants affected by the British policies?
6. What do you understand by 'drain of wealth'?
7. Write a short note on the genesis of national movement in India.

Long-Answer Questions

1. State the basic causes of decline of the Portuguese in India.
2. Why did the British come to India?

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3. How did racial discrimination, the Indian press as well as Indian literature contribute to the growth of nationalism? Discuss in details.
4. Explain the economic policies of the East India Company.
5. Examine the nature and results of commercialization of agriculture.
6. Discuss economic nationalism.

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UNIT 2 EMERGENCE OF ORGANIZED NATIONALISM

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Growth of Political Awareness
- 2.3 Early Political Organizations
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2.0 INTRODUCTION

Impact of western education on Indians, economic exploitation of the country by the British, and the influence of the Indian press as well as racial discrimination all contributed to the growth of nationalism in India. All these causes united the people as they fought for freedom. All these causes led to the formation of the Indian National Congress. This unit discusses the formation and the objectives of the Indian National Congress.

2.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the reasons for the growth of political awareness
- Discuss the early political organizations
- Discuss the formation of the Indian National Congress
- Explain the aims and objectives of the moderates and extremists
- Assess the factors leading to the formation of an extremist class
- Distinguish between the working style of the moderates and the extremists

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There were several triggers to the growth of political awareness among people. Some of these causes are as follows:

- (i) **British imperialism:** It facilitated in uniting Indians as during the British rule, the whole country came under one sovereign power. Thus, Indians had to come together to fight against the British. Before the arrival of the British, South India was separated from the rest of the country except for short intervals.
- (ii) **Role of transport and communication:** The advancement in the field of transportation and communication helped in accelerating the pace of the movement as leaders of the country were able to reach out to all Indians. The leaders were able to meet one another frequently and spread their ideas in all parts of the country.
- (iii) **Administrative unification of India:** During the British rule, the administrative system was highly centralized. The British used modern administrative system to unify the whole country administratively. After the chaotic condition in the 18th century, due to waging of wars by European companies, the British rulers made efforts to establish peace and unified the country through their administrative system.
- (iv) **Influence of India's past:** Many European scholars such as Max Muller, Monier Williams, Roth, and Sassoon conducted historical researches on ancient Indian history. According to them, India had a glorious past and had a rich cultural heritage. These scholars appreciated the Vedas and Upanishads to a great extent. They also said that Indo-Aryans are from the same ethnic group to which Europeans belong. These studies and researches boosted the morale of Indians and instilled the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in them.
- (v) **Western modern thought and education:** Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, T.B. Macaulay and Lord William Bentick introduced English as a medium of instruction in the education system of the country. The introduction of English language was aimed at filling some clerical posts at the administrative level. However, it exposed the Indian to liberal and radical European thought. The outlook of European writers aroused the spirit of nationalism in Indians. Indians also learnt the ideals of secularism and democracy from these writers. Thus, English language became an important cause of Indian nationalism.
- (vi) **Role of press and literature:** The Indian press and literature played a phenomenal role in promoting nationalism. It helped in organizing political movements and mobilizing common people. Some newspapers which helped in arousing the spirit of nationalism were The Kesari, The Hindu, The Amrita Bazar Patrika, The Bengalee, The Hurkura, The Bengal Public Opinion, The Somprakash, The Sulabh Samachar, The Sanjibam, The Reis and Rayet, The Sadharm, The Hitavadi, The Indu Prakash, Rast Gofar, The Standard, The Swadeshmitram, The Herald of Bihar and The Advocate of Lucknow. These newspapers published various articles and reports, which exposed the way British Indian administration exploited Indians. Educated Indians also shared their views about liberty, democracy, and independence through these newspapers. Thus, these newspapers played an important role in promoting Indian nationalism.

Various novels, poems and essays were also published during this period, and these writings helped in arousing the feeling of patriotism among people. Some of the popular writers were Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore, Lakshminath Bezbarua, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, Subramanya Bharathi, Bharatendu Harish Chandra, Prem Chand, Altaf Husain Hali, Mohammed Shibli Nomani and Mohammed Iqbal.

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- (vii) **Impact of socio-religious reform movements:** Some of the prominent social and religious reformers of this period were Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Debendra Nath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramhans and Vivekanand. These reformers influenced common people to a great extent.

When reformers learnt about western philosophy, ideals and science, they started examining the social practices, customs and beliefs of India in the light of western knowledge. These ideas gave rise to various social and religious reform movements like the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Theosophical Society, Ramakrishna Mission and many other movements for the reformation of Muslim, Sikh and Parsi societies.

These movements were aimed at reformation and reorganization of society. Therefore, these movements promoted the ideas of equality, liberalism and enlightenment, and attacked idol worship, superstitions, caste system, untouchability and hereditary priesthood. In this way, reform movements also helped in developing the spirit of nationalism and patriotism.

- (viii) **Influence of contemporary European movements:** Contemporary strong currents of nationalist ideas, which pervaded the whole of Europe and South America also stimulated Indian nationalism. The American Revolution of 1776 infused strong aspirations for liberation and nationalism. In Europe, the national liberation movements of Greece and Italy in general and of Ireland in particular encouraged Indians to fight for their independence. Indians were also greatly inspired by the French Revolution. We find Surendranath Banerji delivering lectures on Joseph Mazzini and the 'Young Italy' Movement organized by him. Lajpat Rai often referred to the campaigns of Garibaldi and the activities of Carbonaris in his speeches and writings.

- (ix) **Racialism:** The British called Indians 'half gorilla, half Negro'. Indians were discriminated on the grounds of racialism and were considered inferior. They were not allowed to share train compartment with the British. They were humiliated by the British. The law and police system of the British was partial towards Englishmen. Whenever, an English person was involved in a dispute with an Indian, the court used to favour the White. Indians were not allowed to enter a number of public places. Thus, the contempt of the British towards Indians made them come together to fight against the British.

- (x) **Economic exploitation:** The British destructed the local self-sufficient economy of India and introduced modern trade and industry. Indians realized that they have been exploited by the British. Under British rule, the economic system of India was made in such a way that it befitted the Englishmen.

The interest and welfare of Indians was not kept in mind. The value of Indian rupee in terms of English pound was kept less to promote import from England and discourage export from India. Indian agriculture was encouraged to produce

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raw materials for the industries of England. This factor made Indians dependent on England for finished goods. Later free trade policy was introduced to help the British industrialists in exporting goods to India without any hassles. All these factors led to increase in public debt.

The extravagant civil and military administration, the denial of high posts to Indians, the ever-mounting 'Home Charges', and the continuous drain of wealth from India resulted in stagnation of Indian economy. Periodical famines became a common feature of Indian economic life. During the second half of the 19th century, 24 famines occurred in various parts of India taking an estimated toll of 28 million lives. What is worse is that even during the famine times, export of food grains from India continued. The acknowledged high priest of the 'drain theory' was Dadabhai Naoroji. Indian nationalists like Romesh Chandra Dutt, G.K. Gokhale, Justice Ranade, K.T. Telang etc., developed the 'theory of increasing poverty in India' and attributed it to Britain's anti-India economic policies. This developed a hatred for foreign rule and love for Swadeshi goods and Swadeshi rule. The spirit of nationalism received a powerful stimulus in the process.

- (xi) **Ilbert Bill controversy:** Lord Ripon made an attempt to address the problems of Indians but Ilbert Bill controversy enraged the Europeans. The objective of this Bill was to bring Indian judges on the same level as that of the European judges in Bengal Presidency. According to this Bill, Europeans could be tried by Indian judges. This Bill enraged all the Europeans and all of them stood against this Bill. Later, the Bill was modified which defeated its original objective. Though this Bill could not favour Indians, yet it made them realize that organized agitation can help them.
- (xii) **Lord Lytton's policies:** The following short-sighted acts and policies of Lord Lytton acted like catalyst and accelerated the nationalist movement.
- To ensure that Indians are not able to share their opinion on a mass scale, Lytton passed Vernacular Press Act in 1878. This Act put a lot of restrictions on the Press. All Indians condemned this Act.
 - Lord Lytton organized the grand Delhi Darbar in 1877. At this time, South India was facing a severe famine. Many people condemned this indifference of Lord Lytton. To show this contempt, one of the journalists of Calcutta remarked 'Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning.'
 - Indians criticized Lytton a lot for the money he spent on the second Afghan War. This money was taken from the Indian treasury.
 - Before the rule of Lytton, the maximum age limit for Indian Civil Service (ICS) Examination was 21 years. He lowered this age limit to 19 years with the help of a regulation that was passed in 1876. This age limit made it almost impossible for Indians to sit for this examination.
 - Lytton passed one more Act in 1878 named the Arms Act. According to this Act, Europeans were given permission to keep arms, however, Indians could not keep arms without a licence. This Act clearly showed his policy of racial discrimination and his contempt towards Indians.
 - In order to help the British manufacturers, Lytton removed the import duty on cotton manufactures.

The British domination gave rise to some forces, which ultimately challenged the British imperialism. For instance, the British forced English as medium of instruction in the education system of India, this went against the British as Indians came across the ideas of nationalism, political rights and democracy. These ideas resulted in a number of political associations, which were not known to Indians until then.

Many political associations were formed after 1836. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organized the East India Association in London. The objective of this association was to influence British 'to promote Indian welfare'. After some time, he opened its branches in various cities of India.

2.3 EARLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

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2.3.1 Political Associations in Bengal

Raja Rammohan Roy was the first Indian leader to start an agitation for political reforms in India. He was greatly influenced by Western ideas. He supported a number of popular movements all over the world. In 1821, when constitutional government was established in Spain, Rammohan Roy celebrated the event in Calcutta.

Rammohan Roy demanded liberty of the press, appointment of Indians in civil courts and other higher posts, and codification of law etc. The task of organizing political associations was left to the associates of Rammohan Roy.

- (i) **Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha:** The first such association called 'Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha' was formed in 1836. The association discussed various topics related to the policy and administration of the Government. It also sought redressal by sending petitions to the Government.
- (ii) **Zamindari Association:** Formed in July 1837, it was more popularly known as the Landholders' Society. It was founded with an objective to safeguard the interests of the landlords in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Although limited in its objectives, the Landholders' Society marks the beginning of an organized political activity. It used the methods of constitutional agitation for the redressal of grievances. The Landholders' Society of Calcutta cooperated with the British India Society, which was founded by Mr. Adams in London in the year 1839. The association functioned till 1844.
- (iii) **Bengal British India Society:** This society was formed in April 1843. The objective of this society was the 'collection and dissemination of information relating to the actual condition of the people of British India...and to employ such other means of peaceful and lawful character as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all

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Check Your Progress

1. What role did the press play in promoting nationalism?
2. What was the Ilbert Bill controversy?

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classes of our fellow subjects.' This organization merged with Zamindary Association in 1851 and formed the British Indian Association.

- (iv) **British Indian Association:** Due to the failure of the Landholder's Society and the Bengal British India Society, the two associations were merged on 29 October 1851 to form a new British Indian Association. This association was dominated by members of the landed aristocracy and the primary objective of this association was to safeguard the interests of this class. However, the association followed a liberal approach and when the time came for the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, it sent a petition to the Parliament in 1852. In this petition, it appealed for the establishment of a separate legislature of a popular character, separation of judicial from executive functions, reduction in the salaries of higher officers, abolition of salt duty, abkari and stamp duties. The appeals of the association were partially met and the Charter Act of 1853 provided for the addition of six members to the Governor-General's Council for legislative purposes. The British Indian Association continued its existence as a political body till 20th century even though it was over-shadowed by Indian National Congress.
- (v) **India League:** Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose founded this association in September 1875. The objective of this association was 'stimulating the sense of nationalism amongst the people'. This association also aimed at promoting political education.
- (vi) **Indian Association:** Within a year, the India League was superseded by the Indian Association. It was founded by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee on 26 July 1876. The Indian Association hoped to attract not only 'the middle classes' but also the masses, and therefore, it kept its annual subscription at ₹5 as opposed to the subscription of ₹50 p.a. fixed by the British Indian Association. Soon, the Indian Association became 'the centre of the leading representatives of the educated community of Bengal.'

Lytton's unpopular measures whipped up political activity in India. A regulation of 1876 reduced the maximum age for appearing in the ICS Examination from 21 to 19 years. Since the examination was held only in London, young Indians had to face innumerable difficulties. The Indian Association took up this problem and organized an all-India agitation against it, which was popularly known as the Indian Civil Service Agitation. The Indian Association merged with the National Congress in December 1886.

2.3.2 Political Associations in Bombay

- (i) **Bombay Association:** Bombay Association was founded on the lines of the British India Association of Calcutta on 26 August 1852. The Bombay Association sent a petition to the British Parliament urging the formation of new legislative councils which should have Indian representative as well. The Association condemned the policy of exclusion of Indians from higher services, and lavish expenditure on sinecure posts given to Europeans. This association did not survive for long.
- (ii) **Bombay Presidency Association:** Policies of Lytton and Ilbert Bill controversy caused political turmoil in Bombay. This led to the formation of Bombay Presidency Association in the year 1885. It was formed by the popularly called brothers-in-

law: Mehta, Telang and Tyabji, representing the three chief communities of Bombay town.

- (iii) **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha:** This was established at Poona by Justice Ranade and others in the 1870s, with the objective to serve as a bridge between the Government and the people. The Bombay Presidency Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha worked in close collaboration.

2.3.3 Political Associations in Madras

- (i) **Madras Native Association:** This was set up as a branch of British Indian Association, Calcutta on 26 February 1852. The Madras Native Association also sent petition to the Parliament on the eve of the passing of the Charter Act of 1853. It made demands similar to that of the British Indian Association and the Bombay Association. However, the Madras Native Association was not popular.
- (ii) **Madras Mahajana Sabha:** This was formed by M. Vijayraghavachari, G. Subramanya Iyer, Ananda Charlu, Rangayya Naidu and others on 16 May 1884. It was aimed at coordinating the activities of local associations and providing a focus for the non-official intelligence spreading through the Presidency. It held two popular conferences: one was from 29th December to 31st December 1884, and second on 1st and 2nd January 1885. It demanded expansion of legislative councils, representation of Indians in legislative councils, separation of judicial from revenue functions, etc.

In the early decades of the 19th century, Raja Rammohan Roy started the cause of modern education in India. On the other hand, Swami Vivekananda became the key architect who strongly projected the rich culture of India to the west during the last few decades of the 19th century. Several of the country's political leaders during the 20th century, including Mohandas K. Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose, were deeply influenced by the teachings of Swami Vivekananda. Surendranath Banerjea and Sir Henry Cotton transformed the Congress into a mass movement during the partition of Bengal in 1905 and the subsequent Swadeshi movement. In 1915, Mohandas Gandhi returned from South Africa and supported by the moderate group led by Ghokhale he became Congress president. He formed an alliance with the Khilafat movement in whose protest several leaders—Chittaranjan Das, Annie Besant, Motilal Nehru—resigned from the Congress and started the Swaraj Party. However, the Khilafat movement could not succeed and the Congress got split. Bengal witnessed the first organized militant movements. Later on, however, these believers in the violent form of nationalism took to the political stage in the form of a mainstream movement in the newly formed Indian National Congress (INC). Within Congress, its prominent moderate leaders sought just their basic right to appear for Indian Civil Service examinations, as well as more rights, economic in nature, for the people of the soil. The initial decades of the 20th century witnessed a more radical approach towards political independence propounded by leaders like Aurobindo Ghosh and the trio of Lal, Bal and Pal.

From the 1920s onwards till the last stages of the freedom struggle, Congress adopted Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's policy of non-violence and civil resistance. The period was also marked by Muhammad Ali Jinnah's constitutional struggle for the rights of minorities in India. Somehow left out of the mainstream freedom struggle, legendary figures like Subhas Chandra Bose later found it feasible to adopt a militant approach to attain freedom. Others like Swami Sahajanand Saraswati wanted both political and economic freedom for India's peasants and toiling masses. Great poets

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like Rabindranath Tagore used literature, poetry and speech as the mechanisms for political awareness. During the Second World War, campaigns such as the Quit India movement (led by 'Mahatma' Gandhi) and the Indian National Army (INA) movement (led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) immensely jolted the roots of the colonial tree in India and eventually resulted in the withdrawal of the British. Ultimately, these movements culminated in the Indian Independence Act 1947, which created the independent dominions of India and Pakistan. India remained a Dominion of the Crown till 26 January 1950, when the Constitution of India entered into force, establishing the Republic of India. On the other hand, Pakistan remained a dominion till 1956.

The Indian National Congress was formed due to the efforts of a number of people. A number of political associations across the country, and spread of the ideals of patriotism and nationalism prepared the foundation of the Indian National Congress. It was formed in the year 1885 but its origin is not known. According to Dr. Patabhi Sitaramayya, its origin is 'shrouded in mystery'. However, many people believe that A.O. Hume laid its foundation under Lord Dufferin. He formed the Indian National Congress to 'provide a 'safety-valve' to the anticipated or actual discontentment of the Indian intelligentsia and to form a quasi-constitutional party similar to Her Majesty's Opposition in England.' According to W.C. Banerjee, the First Congress President, the Indian National Congress was formed Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India. He also believed that Lord Dufferin formed it because he wanted a political organization which can understand the 'real wishes' of the people so that the British government could prevent political outbursts in the country.

On 1 March 1883, in an open letter, Hume had appealed to the students of Calcutta University to set up an organization in India. He officially clarified that his objective was 'to form a constitutional method to prevent the spread of dissatisfaction caused by western ideas, education, inventions, and machines and it was essential to take measures for the security and continuity of the British Government'. Some scholars believe that Ripon advised Hume to form an organization of educated Indians. Recently, some scholars analysed Dufferin's correspondence to Hume as well as the activities of early nationalist, they concluded that the theory of 'safety valve' is a myth.

2.4 FORMATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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Check Your Progress

3. When was the Bombay Association formed?
4. Who formed the Madras Mahajan Sabha and why?

Not many people agree with the theory of the 'safety valve'. Hume had a sincere love for the country as well as its farmers. Probably, Indian leaders took his help because they did not want any British official to be suspicious of their activities.

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The Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885 at Sir Tej Pal Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Bombay. It will not be correct to say that it was a sudden event as Bipan Chandra states, 'the culmination of a process of political awakening that had its beginnings in the 1860s and 1870s and took a major leap forward in the late 1870s and early 1880s'. Also, a lot of attempts were made by Indian Nationalists for the formation of a political organization on all-India scale. For instance, two National Conferences were organized by Indian Association.

However, A.O. Hume succeeded in forming an All India Party, which was attended by 72 delegates. Most of the Indian leaders could not attend this session as National Conference was going on in Calcutta at the same time. The objectives of both these organizations were same thus Indian National Conference was later merged into the National Congress. It would be wrong to believe that he laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress single-handedly as many people were involved in its formation. Most of the leaders were able to accept Hume because they felt that he would not be biased towards any region or caste. It is because he did not belong to any of these groups and he had a sincere love for India.

Some of the members of the Indian National Congress were Pheroze Shah Mehta, W.C. Banerji, Anandamohan Bose, Badruddin Tyabji, Surendranath Banerji, and Romesh Chandra Dutt. This association was different from others as none of the earlier associations had complete independence as their agenda. The Congress made some demands, which can be divided into three categories: political, administrative and economic.

1. Political demands

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

2. Economic demands

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

- (a) Reduction in land revenue
- (b) Establishment of agricultural banks
- (c) Reduction in home charge and military expenditure

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- (d) Ending unfair tariffs and excise duties
- (e) Enquiring the causes behind India's poverty and famines
- (f) Providing more funds for technical education
- (g) Development of Indian industries
- (h) Better treatment for Indian coolies in foreign countries
- (i) Change in forest laws so that tribal can to use forest

3. Administrative demands

- (a) ICS Examination in India as well as England
- (b) Increasing Indian volunteer force
- (c) Understanding of Indian needs on the part of administration
- (d) Separation of Judiciary from Executive power and extension of trial by jury
- (e) Higher posts in the army for Indians

2.4.1 Objectives of the Congress

The primary objective of the Congress was to make people feel that they belong to a single nation—India. The diversity in India in terms caste, creed, religion, tradition, language make this a difficult task. However, it was not impossible.

Many important people like Pherozshah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, K.T. Telang and Dinshaw Wacha, attended the first session of the Indian National Congress. The objectives of the Congress laid down by W.C. Banerjee, the President of the first session of the Indian National Congress, are as follows:

- Promoting personal intimacy and friendship among people who are working for the cause of the country
- Eradicating prejudices related to race, creed and provinces through friendly interaction
- Consolidating the sentiments of national unity
- Maintaining authoritative record of the educated Indians' views on the prominent issues of the day
- Determining methods by which native politicians can work towards public interest during the next twelve months
- Training and organizing public opinion
- Formulating and presenting popular demands before the government through petitions

The Congress was supported by people of all the religions. W.C. Banerjee, the first President of the Indian National Congress, was an Indian Christian. The second President was Dadabhai Naoroji, who was a Parsee. The third President was Badruddin Tayabji who was a Muslim. The fourth and fifth Presidents were George Yule and William Baderburn who were Britishers.

Since its conception in 1885 till the time India won its independence in 1947, the Congress was the largest and most prominent Indian political organization. In its initial stages, the Indian National Congress was a political unit, however in due course of time it supported the cause of social reform and human development. The Indian National Congress is said to have also provide impetus to the spirit of Nationalism. In its early

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stages, there was unity in the Indian National Congress and it was marked by the learning of democratic methods and techniques. The leaders of the INC believed that the British government was responsive to their needs and were willing to make changes accordingly. However, over a period of time, the Indian masses became disillusioned by the concept of nationalism. They suddenly became aware that their petitions were not as fruitful as expected and that the British were subtly avoiding taking any action. Even in the phase of dissatisfaction, there were some Congress leaders who believed in the methods of the British government and came to be known as moderates. Since these moderate leaders failed to produce desired results, a new stream of leaders came up who were known as the extremists. These extremists disagreed with the traditional methods of moderates that were limited to writing petitions and conducting agitations to get themselves heard. The extremists were not satisfied with a dominion status and demanded complete independence from the British Government.

Due to the low-level of political awareness, the achievements of moderate nationalists were immense. However, by 1907, the moderates were pushed to the background with the emergence of an extremist class in the Congress. The failure to produce any results for the welfare of the people resulted in the creation of an extremist group and the division of Congress into two factions. Leaders of moderate phase mainly came from Bombay, Bengal and Madras.

For example, Badruddin Tayabji, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, K.T. Telang and Govind Ranade were from Bombay. Wumesh Chander Banerji, Anand Mohan Bose, Surendra Nath Banerji and Ramesh Chandra Dutta were from Bengal. Similarly, Subamanya Ayer, Anand Charlu, and Raghavacharya were from Madras. Very few leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pundit D.P.Dhar came from North India. These moderate leaders treated British rule as a blessing. They sincerely believed that the British rule would make India a developed democratic and liberal country. They had the illusion that the British would introduce modern institutions and remove superstitious believe. They saw England as a source of inspiration and treated English as their political, guru. Many of these Nationalist leaders had anglicized life style. All they wanted and expected from the British was a 'reform package' for Indians.

2.4.2 Early Nationalists

1. **Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912):** He was of Scottish descent. He joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1849 and made a lot of efforts to remove the social maladies of the country. His superiors did not favour him, thus, he had to retire in 1882. He took initiative to form the Indian National Congress in 1885. In 1889, he helped in setting up the British Committee of the Congress in London as well. This committee started its journal named 'India'.
2. **Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917):** He was known as 'the Grand Old Man of India'. He was associated with the Indian National Congress right from its inception and became its president thrice: in 1886, 1893 and 1906. He was the first Indian to become a Member of the House of Commons on the Liberal Party's ticket. During his stay in England, from 1855 to 1869, he educated British public on Indian affairs through the London Indian Association and the East India Association. A book by Naoroji 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India' was published in 1901. This book had statistics to prove that the drain of wealth from India to Great Britain was the cause of growing poverty in India.

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3. **Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915):** He was born in a middle class Parsi family of Bombay. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian National Congress. He was also a pioneer of the Swadeshi and founded the famous Bombay Chronicle in 1913.
4. **Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925):** He was an eminent leader who passed the ICS examination in 1871 and started his career as an Assistant Magistrate at Sylhet. A controversy with the Government led him to leave the job. He was the founder of the Indian Association in 1876. In 1883, he convened a National Conference which was the precursor of the Indian National Congress. He presided over the Congress sessions twice. He was elected the first President of the Indian National Liberal Federation in 1918 and in 1921, he became a Minister in Bengal.
5. **Badrudin Tyabji (1844-1906):** He was the first Indian barrister at Bombay High Court and was nominated to Bombay Legislative Council in 1882. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian National Congress. He was the President at the third Congress session in Madras in 1887. He helped Muslims in the causes of educational advancement and social reforms as the Secretary and then as the President of the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay. He strongly pleaded for the education of women.
6. **Womesh Chander Banerjee (1844-1906):** He represented the Calcutta University in the Bengal Legislative Council. He was the first Congress President at Bombay in 1885. He left India in 1902 to settle in England to practise before the Privy Council. He financed the British Committee of the Congress in London and its journal 'India'.
7. **Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946):** He was born and educated at Allahabad. He started his career as a lawyer and as an able Parliamentarian. He was a member of the Provincial and Central Legislatures for several terms. He promoted the use of indigenous products and helped in organizing the Indian Industrial Conference and the UP Industrial Association at Allahabad in 1907. In 1926, he organized his own Nationalist Party. He also established the Banaras Hindu University and for several years served as its Vice-Chancellor.
8. **Tej Bahadur Sapru (1872-1949):** He was a conscientious and successful lawyer who specialized in constitutional law. He helped Mrs Besant to build up the Central Hindu College at Banaras and to establish the Banaras Hindu University in collaboration with Malaviya. He entered politics during the Home Rule movement and associated in drafting Nehru Committee Report of 1928. He participated in the Round Table conferences as well.
9. **Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915):** He was a follower of Mahadev Govind Ranade who was popularly known as the Socrates of Maharashtra. He joined the Deccan Educational Society founded by Ranade. He edited the quarterly journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. He played a great part, officially and unofficially, in the formulation of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. His principles attracted Gandhiji, who became Gokhale's pupil. In 1905, he laid the foundation of the 'Servants of India Society' for the training of national missionaries and to promote, by constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people.
10. **Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-1893):** He was a co-founder of the Bombay Presidency Association. He was one of the leading men who founded the Congress and became its first 'hardworking secretary'. He was active in the sphere of

social reforms and was the President of the National Social Conference. He rose to the position of a High Court Judge.

- 11. Rashbehari Ghose (1845-1921):** After obtaining the Law degree, he enrolled himself as an advocate at the Calcutta High Court. He became a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1889. He was the Chairman, Reception Committee of the Congress, in its Calcutta session in 1906. He was also the President-elect for the Surat session of the Congress in 1907. He was deputed by the Congress to proceed with its delegation to England and forward its point of view before the British Government.

2.5 MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS

Due to the low-level of political awareness, the achievements of moderate nationalists were immense. However, by 1907, the moderates were pushed to the background with the emergence of an extremist class in the Congress. The failure to produce any results for the welfare of the people resulted in the creation of an extremist group and the division of Congress into two factions.

2.5.1 Moderates

Leaders of moderate phase mainly came from Bombay, Bengal and Madras. For example, Badruddin Tayyaji, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, K. T. Telang and Govind Ranade were from Bombay. Womesh Chander Banerji, Anand Mohan Bose, Surendra Nath Banerji and Ramesh Chandra Dutta were from Bengal. Similarly, Subramanya Ayer, Anand Charlu, and Raghavacharya were from Madras. Very few leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pundit D.P.Dhar came from North India. These moderate leaders treated British rule as a blessing. They sincerely believed that the British rule would make India a developed democratic and liberal country. They had the illusion that the British would introduce modern institutions and remove superstitious believe. They saw England as a source of inspiration and treated English as their political, guru. Many of these Nationalist leaders had anglicized life style. All they wanted and expected from the British was a 'reform package' for Indians.

Demands of the moderates

The Moderates believed in peaceful methods to get their demands across. They still believed in writing petitions and peaceful protests. Though the moderates failed to make the same impact as the extremists, they petitioned for a number of reforms during this time.

- 1. Constitutional reforms:** The Moderates demanded the expansion and reform of the existing Legislative Councils from 1885 to 1892. They demanded the introduction of the system of direct elections and an increase in the number of members and powers of the Legislative Councils. It is true that their agitation forced the government to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892 but the moderates were not satisfied with what was given to the people of India. No wonder, they declared the Act of 1892 as a 'hoax.' They demanded a large share for the Indians in the Legislative Councils. By the beginning of the 20th century, the moderates put forward the claim for Swarajya or self-government within the British Empire on the model of the other self-governing colonies like Australia and Canada. This demand was made from the Congress platform by Gokhale in 1905 and by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906.

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Check Your Progress

- When was the Indian National Congress founded?
- List any three political demands of the Congress.

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- 2. Demand for economic reforms:** They opposed the British attempt to develop in India the basic characteristics of a colonial economy, namely, the transformation of India into a supplier of raw materials, a market for British manufacturers and a field of investment for foreign capitals. Moderates took note of all the three forms of contemporary colonial economic exploitation, namely through trade, industry and finance. They organized a powerful all-India agitation against the abandonment of tariff-duties on imports and against the imposition of cotton excise duties. The moderates carried on agitation for the reduction of heavy land revenue payments. They urged the Government to provide cheap credit to the peasantry through agricultural banks and to make available irrigation facilities on a large scale. They asked for improvement in the conditions of work of the plantation labourers. They demanded a radical change in the existing pattern of taxation and expenditure which put a heavy burden on the poor while leaving the rich, especially the foreigners, with a very light load. They demanded the abolition of salt tax which hit the poor and lower middle classes hard.

The moderates complained of India's growing poverty and economic backwardness and put all the blame on the politics of the British Government. They blamed the Government for the destruction of the indigenous industries like traditional handicrafts industries in the country. They demanded the rapid development of the modern industries which would help in the removal of India's poverty. They wanted the Government to give tariff protection to the Indian industries. They advocated the use of Swadeshi goods and the boycott of British goods. They demanded that the economic drain of India by England must stop.

Most of them opposed the large scale investment of foreign capital in the Indian railways, plantations and industries on the ground that it would lead to the suppression of Indian capitalists and the further strengthening of the British hold on India's economy and polity.

- 3. Administrative and miscellaneous reforms:** Moderates criticized the individual administrative measures and worked hard to reform the administrative system which was ridden with corruption, inefficiency and oppression. They demanded the Indianization of the higher grades of the administrative services; the demand was put forward on economic, political and moral grounds. Economically, the high salaries paid to the European put a heavy burden on Indian finance, and contributed to the economic drain. Indians of similar qualifications could be employed on lower salaries. Europeans sent out of India a large part of their salaries and also got their pensions in England. That added to the drain of wealth from India. Politically, the European civil servant ignored the needs of the Indians and favoured the European capitalists at the cost of their Indian counterparts. It was hoped that the Indianization of the services would make the administration more responsive to Indian needs. Morally, the existing system dwarfed the Indian character reducing the tallest Indian to permanent inferiority in his own country.

Moderates demanded the separation of the judiciary from the executive so that the people might get some protection from the arbitrary acts of police and bureaucracy. They were opposed to the policy of disarming the people of India by the Government. They opposed the aggressive foreign policy against India's neighbours. They protested against the policy of the annexation of Burma, the attack upon Afghanistan and the suppression of the tribal people in North-Western India. They wanted the Government to spend more money on the spread of

education in the country. They also took up the cause of the Indians who had been compelled by poverty to migrate to the British colonies in search of employment. In many of these foreign lands they were subjected to severe oppression and racial discrimination.

- 4. Defense of civil rights:** They opposed the restrictions imposed by the government on the modern civil rights, namely the freedom of speech and the press. Almost from the beginning of the 19th century, politically conscious Indians had been attracted to modern civil rights especially the freedom of the press. As early as 1824, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had protested against a regulation restricting the freedom of the Press. In the period from 1870 to 1918, the main political task was that of politicization of nationalist ideology. The Press was the chief instrument for carrying out this task. Indian newspapers began to find their feet in 1870's. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878, directed only against Indian language newspapers, was conceived in great secrecy and passed at a single sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council. The act provided for the confiscation of the printing press, paper and other materials of a newspaper if the government believed that it was publishing seditious material and had flouted an official warning. Indian nationalist opinion firmly opposed the Act. Various public bodies and the Press also campaigned against the Act. Consequently, it was repealed in 1881 by Lord Ripon. Surendranath Banerjee was the first Indian to go to jail in performance of his duty as a journalist. But, the man who is most frequently associated with the struggle for the freedom of Press during the nationalist movement was Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

In 1897, B. G. Tilak and many other leaders were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for spreading affection against the Government through their speeches and writings. The Natu brothers of Poona were deported without trial. The entire country protested against this attack on the liberties of the people. The arrest of Tilak marked the beginning of new phase of the Nationalist movement.

Failure of the moderates

The basic weakness of the Moderates lay in their narrow social base. Their movement did not have wide appeal. In fact, the leaders lacked political faith in the masses. The area of their influence was limited to the urban community. As they did not have the support of the masses, they declared that the time was not ripe for challenging the foreign rulers. That was likely to invite mature repression. However, it must not be presumed that moderate leaders fought for their narrow interests. Their programmes and policies championed the cause of all sections of the Indian people and represented nation-wide interests against colonial exploitation.

Critically evaluating the work of the moderates, it appears that they did not achieve much success. Very few of the reforms advocated by them were carried out. The foreign rulers treated them with contempt. The moderates failed to acquire any roots among the common people and even those who joined the Congress with high hopes were feeling more and more disillusioned. The politics of the moderates was described as 'halting and half-hearted.' Their methods were described as those of mendicancy or beggary through prayers and petitions.

Moderates failed to keep pace with the yearnings and aspirations of the people. They did not realize that the political and economic interests of the Indians and the British clashed and consequently the British people could not be expected to give up

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their rights and privileges in India without a fight. Moreover, it was during this period that a movement started among the Muslims to keep away from the Congress and that ultimately resulted in the establishment of Pakistan. In spite of their best efforts, the moderates were not able to win over the Muslims.

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The social composition of Congress remained, by and large the same till 1905. A. O. Hume tried his best to bring Muslims and peasants into the Congress fold, but with little success. The Muslim elite, especially from Aligarh, felt that they would lose from the elected councils and that the Hindus would dominate (Hindus were in majority in most places). The Muslim elite also opposed competitive examinations for the recruitment into civil services, as it was based on modern English education and the Muslims were far behind the Hindus in this field. They feared Hindu domination in the civil services too. All these factors kept Muslims away from the Congress; neither did the Congress give a serious look into inducting Muslims. This was a big mistake, as they realized in later years.

2.5.2 Extremists

The last decade of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress which was sharply critical of the ideology and methods of the old leadership. These 'angry young men' advocated the adoption of Swaraj as the goal of the Congress to be achieved by more self-reliant and independent methods. The new group came to be called the Extremist Party in contrast to the older one which began to be referred to as the Moderate Party.

Growth of extremists

The militant form of Nationalism is found in the teachings and preaching of Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Swami Dayananda Saraswati. Bankim Chandra Chatterji was inspired by Bhagavad Gita and visualized a united India through Sri Krishna, who (according to Bhagavad Gita) established Dharam Rajya after destroying evil. Vivekanand added spiritual dimension to the idea of Nationalism. Bipin Chandra Pal called him the prophet of Nationalism. He inspired the youth of his time, more than anyone else.

The root of extremism lies in two important factors—the policies of Colonial rule, and the failure of moderate leaders to attract younger generation and common people. However, there are many other factors that led to the rise of the Extremist class. They are as follows:

- (i) **Political events:** The political events between 1892 and 1905 disappointed nationalists and forced them to think of more radical politics. The Indian Council Act of 1892 was a complete disappointment. On the other hand, even the existing political rights of the people were attacked. In 1898, a law was passed making it an offence to excite 'feeling of disaffection' towards the foreign government. In 1899, the number of Indian members in the Calcutta Corporation was reduced from 75 to 50. The 25 members who were eliminated were those persons who were the representatives of the people of Calcutta. The result of this measure was that there was a European majority in the Corporation. In 1904, the famous Official Secrets Act was passed. The definition of the term 'sedition' was widened. The Official Secrets Acts of 1889 and 1898 related to the disclosure of only military secrets. The Act of 1904 also covered the official secrets relating to the civil affairs and newspaper criticism which were likely to bring the government into contempt. The Natu brothers were deported in 1897 without being tried; even the charges against them were not made public. In the same year, Lokmanya

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(iv) **International influences:** Events outside India exercised a powerful influence the growth of militant nationalism in India. The humiliating treatment meted out to Indians in British colonies especially in South Africa, created anti-British feelings. Further nationalist movements in Egypt, Persia, Turkey and Russia gave Indians new hopes and new inspirations. The rise of modern Japan after 1868 showed that a backward Asian country could develop itself without western control. Indian nationalists gained more confidence and drew inspiration from Abyssinia's repulsion of the Italian army (1896) and Japan's thumping victory over Russia (1905). If Japan could become a great power on its own, what—but for the British grip—was holding India back. The spell of European invincibility was broken. It greatly inspired the liberation hopes of the Indians.

(v) **Increasing westernization:** The new leadership felt the stranglehold of excessive Westernization in Indian life, thought and politics. Christianity and utilitarianism (visible in the teachings of Brahma Samaj) were a challenge to Indian religion and thought; the materialistic and individualistic Western civilization was eroding the values of Indian culture and civilization; and the merger of Indian national identity in the British empire was being attempted.

The intellectual and emotional inspiration of the new leadership (Extremists) was Indian. They drew inspiration from Indian spiritual heritage; they appealed to heroes of Indian history and hoped to revive the glories of ancient India. The writings of Bankim Chandra, Vivekananda and Swami Dayanand appealed to their imagination. Vivekananda a great Vedantist gave a feeling of self-confidence to the youth and gave them a new mission to conquer the West with India's spirituality. Swami Dayanand exploded the myth of Western superiority by referring to India's rich civilization in the Vedic Ages, when Europe was steeped in ignorance.

(vi) **Militant nationalist school of thought:** From almost the beginning, of the national movement a school of militant nationalism represented by Rajnarain Bose and Ashwini Kumar Dutt in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra had existed in the country. The most outstanding representative of this school was Bal Gangadhar Tilak, later popularly known as 'Lokmanya Tilak'. Born in 1856 and graduated from the Bombay University. He helped to form the New English School in 1880s, which later became the Fergusson College; newspapers the Mahratta (in English) and the Kesari (in Marathi) through which he preached nationalism. In 1893, he started using the traditional religious Ganapati festival to propagate nationalist ideas through songs and speeches, and in 1895, he started the Shivaji festival to stimulate nationalism among young Maharashtrians by holding up the example of Shivaji for emulation. During 1896-97, he initiated a no-tax campaign in Maharashtra. He asked the famine stricken peasants of Maharashtra not to pay the land revenue if their crops had failed. He was arrested in 1897, on the charge of spreading hatred and disaffection against the Government and was sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment. Thus, he became a living symbol of the new national spirit of self sacrifice.

At the dawn of the 20th century, the school of militant nationalists found a favourable political climate and its adherents came forward to lead the second stage of national movement. The most outstanding leaders of militant nationalism, apart from Lokmanya Tilak, were Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, and Lala Lajpat Rai.

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- (vii) **Growth of Self-respect:** Leaders like Tilak and B.C. Pal preached the message of self-respect and asked the 'nationalists to rely on the character and capacities of the Indian people. They called upon the people to build their own future by their own efforts. They advocated agitation and mass action. They had no faith in the efficacy of constitutional methods. Indians in the countries belonging to the commonwealth and empire were maltreated. They were meted out discriminatory treatment.
- (viii) **Growth of Education:** The growth of education in India increased the influence of Western ideas of democracy, nationalism and radicalism. The educated Indians became the strongest advocates of militant nationalism. The treatment given to them by the foreigners added to their bitterness. They were low paid. Many of them were unemployed. They felt very strongly the foreign domination. There was a feeling in the country that self-government was necessary for the economic, political and cultural advancement of the country.
- (ix) **The Partition of Bengal:** The worst and most-hated aspect of Curzon's administration was the partition of Bengal into two provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam. The partition forced in teeth of Bengali opposition and protests from the Indian National Congress (in 1904) showed the contemptuous disregard Curzon and the Home authorities had for Indian public opinion. It was abundantly clear that the Partition of Bengal was a Machiavellian device to divide the people on the basis of religion and to put the Muslims against the Hindus. The utter disregard Curzon showed for public opinion gave ample evidence, if any evidence was still needed, that the Moderates' policy of 'petitions, prayers and protests' was barren of results.

Objectives and methods of extremists

The new turn in Indian politics found expression in two forms-the formation of the Extremist group within the Congress and the growth of Terrorism or Revolutionary movement in the country at large. Four prominent Congress leaders-Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose and Lala Lajpat Rai, defined the creed of the new group, gave articulate form to its aspirations and guided its operations. One of the earliest leaders who criticized the moderate politics systematically, in a series of articles entitled *New Lamps for Old* was Aurobindo Ghose. He did not like constitutional method of struggle based on English model and attacked the soft attitude of the Congress. He told them not to take inspiration from England but to take inspiration from French Revolution (1789). He also suggested bringing proletariat (working) class in the national movement.

The emerging leaders in the Congress were not happy with the 'prayers' and 'petitions' methods. They were in favour of self-reliance, constructive work, mass contact through melas, public meetings, use of mother tongue in education and political work. Leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Ashwini Kumar Dutta, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak were of this view. They argued that 'good government is no substitute for self-government'. The issue of Swadeshi Movement widened the gap between the moderates and the extremist. The extremists wanted to spread the movement in the entire country and complete non-cooperation with the Government. Lajpat Rai and Tilak were more aggressive in their ideas and plan. Lajpat Rai thundered 'no national is worthy of any political status if it cannot distinguish between begging rights and claiming them'. He further argued that 'sovereignty rests with the people; the state exists for them and

rules in their name.' But the true founder of militant Nationalism was Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahmin of Poona. He criticized the moderates in his unique style—'we will not achieve any success in our labours if we croak once a year like a frog'.

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He was quick to set the political goal of India—'Swaraj' or self-government instead of reform in administration. He showed greater confidence and ability when he declared 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it'. He was a pioneer in many ways:

- (i) Used religious symbols and festivals like Ganesh festival since 1894, to mobilize people.
- (ii) Used patriotic-cum-historical cult through Shivaji festival since 1896, to inspire the youth.
- (iii) Started no-revenue campaign in 1896-97, during severe famine in Maharashtra. He called upon the Government to take those measures of relief, which were provided under law in the Famine Relief Code. Then, through his paper, *Kesari*, he made an appeal to the people to refuse to pay taxes. He wrote angrily 'can you not be bold even in the grip of death.'
- (iv) Started Boycott Movement on the issue of countervailing cotton exercise of 1896.

It should be clearly understood that the extremists demand for Swaraj was a demand for 'complete freedom from foreign control and full independence to manage national affairs without any foreign restraints.' The Swaraj of the moderate leaders was merely a demand for colonial self-government within the Empire. The methods employed by the two groups (Moderates and Extremists) were different in their tempo and approach. The extremists had no faith in the benevolence of the British public or parliament, nor were they convinced of the efficacy of merely holding conferences. The extremists also affirmed their faith in passive resistance, mass agitation and strong will to suffer or make self-sacrifices. The new leadership sought to create a passionate love for liberty, accompanied by a spirit of sacrifice and a readiness to suffer for the cause of the country. They strove to root out from the people's mind the omnipotence of the ruler and instead give them self-reliance and confidence in their own strength. They had deep faith in the strength of the masses and they planned to achieve Swaraj through mass action. They, therefore, pressed for political work among the masses and for direct political action by the masses. The extremists advocated boycott of the foreign goods, use of Swadeshi goods, national education and passive resistance.

Thus, the emergence of militant nationalism had developed when in 1905 the partition of Bengal was announced and the Indian National Movement entered its second phase. On 20 July 1905, Lord Curzon issued an order dividing the province of Bengal into two parts: Eastern Bengal and Assam with a population of 31 million and the rest of Bengal with a population of 54 million of whom 18 million were Bengalis, and 36 million Biharis and Oriyas. Although the main argument advanced by the government in favour of the partition was that the existing province of Bengal was too big to be efficiently administered by a single provincial government, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and Muslims, and destroying the solidarity of 78 millions of Bengalis by dividing them into two blocs.

The Indian National Congress and the nationalists of Bengal firmly opposed the partition. They realized the principal motive behind the partition was the destruction of the solidarity of the Bengalis on religious grounds—for in the eastern part Muslims

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would be in big majority and in the western part Hindus- and thus to disrupt and weaken nationalism in Bengal. Besides in the new province of Bengal, the Bengalis, 18 million, would be outnumbered by the Hindi speaking population, 20 million, to which may be added the Oriya speaking minority. Thus, the Hindus of Bengal would be in minority in both the provinces in which their homeland was to be divided. There was still deeper apprehension among the Bengalis. They could not but feel that the partition was a measure deliberately adopted to kindle rivalry and animosity between the Hindus and Muslims- the two great communities in Bengal.

The partition led to widespread agitation. Its most prominent leaders at the initial stage were moderate leaders like Surendranath Banerjee and Krishna Kumar Mitra; militant and revolutionary nationalists took over in the later stages. The anti-partition agitation was initiated on 7 August 1905 at the Town Hall, Calcutta, where a massive demonstration against the partition was organized. 16 October, 1905 was the day fixed for the coming into force of partition and after a month, Lord Curzon left India. 16 October 1905 was declared to be a day of national mourning throughout Bengal. It was observed as a day of fasting. There was a hartal (strike) in Calcutta. People went to the Ganges barefooted in the early hours of the morning and took their bath. Rabindranath Tagore composed a national song, *Amar Sonar Bangla*, for this occasion which was sung by huge crowds parading the streets. There were cries of *Bande Mataram* which became a national song of Bengal. The ceremony of Raksha Bandhan was observed on 16 October 1905. Hindus and Muslims tied rakhies on one another's wrists as a symbol of the unbreakable unity.

Extremists leaders

Though the moderates sowed the seeds of Indian Nationalism, they were unable to gain anything fruitful for the cause of independence. The moderates believed in the peaceful resistance through prayers and petitions and the Indian people were tired of this subdued method followed by the moderates. Very soon disagreements in the Congress led to the emergence of another faction who believed in direct action in the form of protests and agitations. This group of Congress came to be known as the extremists. They not only believed in strong action, but they also wanted complete independence from British rule. Some of the main leaders of the extremist sect have been mentioned in detailed.

1. **Shri Aurobindo (1872-1950):** He passed the ICS examination with record marks and returned to India in 1892. He had flair for composing poems, contemplated an armed rebellion in India and planned for secret societies in Maharashtra and in Bengal from 1902; showed his political leadership during the partition of Bengal in 1905. He started the Bengali daily *Jugantar*; joined Bipin Chandra Pal in running *Bande Mataram*, forged unity with Tilak, and fostered the extremist challenge against a moderate Congress. He started weeklies *Karma Yogin* and *Dharma*; in 1910 and withdrew from political activities to French Chandranagore and finally to the life of Yogi at Pondicherry. He met Paul and Madame Richard (the Mother) and started with their help the monthly philosophical review the *Arya*.
2. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1857-1920):** He was the first nationalist leader who sought close contact with the masses in this respect Tilak was a forerunner of Gandhiji. He started akharas, lathi clubs, Shivaji and Ganapati festivals to inculcate among the people the spirit of service to the nation. He started two newspapers— *The Mahratta* (English) and *Kesari* (Marathi). The first Congress leader to suffer several terms of imprisonment for the sake of the country, he played a leading

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role in organizing, in collaboration with Lala Lajpat Rai and B.C. Pal in the Nationalist Party (the Extremist Party). He openly declares: 'Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it'. Due to his efforts the Congress resolution at Calcutta (1906) demanding Self-Government, Boycott and National Education was passed. He favoured a policy of responsive cooperation, and wrote *Gita Rahasya*.

3. **Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932):** He entered into the Brahma Samaj and founded the English weekly-*New India*. Initially a follower of Surendranath in politics, B.C. Pal grew into a radical. He was the first great publicist to give an articulate expression to national aspirations and one who also led the Swadeshi movement. He founded *Bande Mataram* in 1906 and was imprisoned for refusing to give evidence in the *Bande Mataram* sedition case in 1907. He opposed the Gandhian programme of non-cooperation.
4. **Chakravarti Vijayaraghavachariar (1852-1944):** He was the first Indian leader to undergo imprisonment in 1882. He assisted Hume and Naoroji when the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. He was a member of, the committee that framed the constitution of the Congress and a distinguished member of the Imperial Legislative Council between 1913 and 1916. He brought a resolution in 1919 on the declaration of Fundamental Rights and obtained the approval of the Congress. Chakravarti Vijayaraghavachariar presided over the Congress session in 1920, which adopted the Gandhian plan for Non-Cooperation. He was the first Indian to draft a Swaraj Constitution for India which he presented at the Madras session in 1927.
5. **Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928):** He was popularly known as Sher-e-Punjab; philanthropist, a social reformer and a true nationalist. He was also an Arya Samajist and was associated in the foundation of the DAY College, Lahore. He founded and edited *The Punjabee*, the *Bande Mataram* and the English Weekly *The People*. Although inclined towards 'extremism', he was initially not in favour of the policy of non-cooperation but later on fell in line with Gandhiji. He entered the Central Legislature as a Swarajist and in 1928 led a demonstration against the Simon Commission when it visited Lahore; in which he succumbed to the injuries received in a brutal lathi charge.

Differences in the aims and methods of moderates and extremists

Though the moderates and extremists were both part of the Indian National Congress, they were as different as chalk and cheese in their objectives, methods and approach towards the British Government. These differences are evident in their features which have been summed up below:

Moderates

- Most of the moderate leaders were loyal to the British. Many of them held high ranks under the British government.
- Moderates aimed at administrative and constitutional reforms. They wanted more number of Indians in the administration and not to an end of British rule.
- Moderate leaders had faith in the British sense of justice and fairplay.
- Moderates believed in constitutional means and worked within the framework of the law. Their methods included passing resolutions, persuasion, sending petitions and appeals. They believed in cooperation and reconciliation.

- Moderates received their support from the intelligentsia and urban middle class. They had a narrow social base.
- Most of the Moderate leaders were inspired by the ideas of western philosophers like Mill, Burke, Spencer and Bentham. They imbibed western ideas of liberalism, democracy, equality and freedom.

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Extremists

- Extremists rejected British rule and held it responsible for the backwardness and poverty of the Indian people.
- Extremists aimed at nothing short of Swaraj as it existed in United Kingdom and in its self-governing colonies. Tilak said, 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it.' They wanted an end to British rule.
- The Extremists were radical in their approach. Their demands were aggressive. They believed in militant methods including Swadeshi and boycott; According to Tilak, freedom had to be fought for. They believed in atma-shakti or self-reliance as a weapon against domination.
- Extremists drew their support from the masses. Their supporters included people from all sections including the lower middle class, workers and farmers. They thus, had a wider social base.
- Extremists denounced British rule and defied it. Many of them were arrested because of anti-British activities.
- Extremists drew their inspiration from India's past. They revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals to arouse the masses. They wanted to inculcate pride in India's glorious culture to generate the spirit of nationalism. They invoked goddesses Kali or Durga for strength to fight for the motherland.

Surat Split (1907)

The partition of Bengal brought into prominence the rise of extremists which differed in some essential points from the moderates. The fundamental differences between the two concerned both the political goal and the method to be adopted to achieve it. The difference between the moderates and the extremists remained under the surface at the Congress session of 1904. A split was narrowly averted at the Benaras Session Congress in 1905, over which Gokhale presided, by a compromise.

There was much public debate and disagreement between the moderates and extremists. The latter wanted to extend Swadeshi and boycott movement from Bengal to the rest of the country and to extend the boycott to every form of association with the colonial government. The moderates wanted to confine the boycott movement to Bengal and there too limit it to the boycott of foreign goods. There was a tussle between the two groups for presidentship of the National Congress for that year (1906). The cleavage between the two was saved by the election of Dadabhai Naoroji, respected by both as the 'grand old man' of India, as the president. With a view to conciliating the Extremists, and the moderates, Naoroji boldly defined the goal of Indian national movement was 'self-government or swaraj like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies'. The Congress also adopted the resolutions on self-government, boycott, swadeshi and national Education.

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The difference between the Moderates and Extremists was accentuated by the return of Liberal Party to power in Britain in 1905. The autocratic regime of Lord Curzon, which was a great blow to the Moderate Party's cherished ideals, seemed to blast the hope of people in general of receiving any justice from the British. The liberal traditions of the new government, and specially the appointment of John Morley as Secretary of State for India, revived the hope that Indians might still achieve a great deal by following the old policy of petitions and agitations. On the other hand, Extremists were encouraged by Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. The emergence of Extremist Party alarmed the British and made them turn towards the Moderates as the only friends of the British Government. Hence, grew the British policy of rallying the Moderates. They were coaxed into the belief that the Liberal Party, which was in power in Britain, would grant India substantial instalment of reforms. But it soon became clear that the condition precedent to it was the dissociation of the Moderate Party from the Extremists. The lure of achieving their cherished goal through constitutional means, on which they had hitherto pinned their faith, made the Moderates swallow even this bitter pill and in 1907, at the Surat session of the National Congress the Extremists were forced to leave Congress because the Moderates were bent upon altering the resolutions of 1906 National Congress Session.

But, in the long run, the split did not prove useful to either party. The moderate leaders lost touch with the younger generation of nationalists. The British government played the game of 'divide and rule'. While suppressing the militant nationalist, it tried to win over moderate nationalist opinion so that the militant nationalists could be isolated and suppressed. To placate the moderate nationalists, it announced constitutional concessions through the Indian Councils Act of 1909 which are known as the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. In 1911, the government also announced the annulment of the Partition of Bengal. Western and Eastern Bengals were to be reunited while a new province consisting of Bihar and Orissa was to be created, at the same time the seat of the central government was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi.

Analysis of extremists

Advocates of extremism ranged from active revolutionaries at one end to secret sympathizers of revolutionary activities, to those who were opposed to all violent methods at the other end. Furthermore, its top leaders such as Aurobindo, Tilak, Pal and Lajpat Rai differed in their emphasis regarding political ideals and practical course of action. Even the views of individual leaders underwent change with changing circumstances. For example, Tilak's conception of Swaraj meant, some sort of self-government while Aurobindo conceived of Swaraj as 'complete independence' from foreign rule. Further, Tilak's revolutionary fervour somewhat mellowed towards the end of his political career and he showed signs of cooperation with the government, while Aurobindo's concept of 'complete independence' was transformed into 'human unity' and 'world union' in his later career. However, it must be stated that all extremist leaders were one in realizing the evils of foreign rule and in demanding some degree of independence from colonial stranglehold. Extremism was, in fact, an attitude of mind and a practical strategy to meet a particular situation. The extremists talked of democracy, constitutionalism and progress and talked of broadening the social base of the national movement. Most of them represented the urban lower middle class and aimed at spreading the Congress message to the people. They spoke, wrote and edited newspapers in vernacular languages and thus, succeeded in conveying their message to a larger audience.

The extremists saw clearly the clash of interest between the British rulers and Indian national interests. Thus, the main aim of their politics was (i) to get a larger share for Indians in the administration of their country and (ii) to end Britain's economic exploitation of India. They also realized that these objectives could not be realized without pressure tactics and some sort of direct action. Hence the moderates' philosophy of operation gave place to non-cooperation and resistance to unjust acts of the government. Thus, the extremists gave new slogans to the Indian nationalist movement—non-cooperation, passive resistance, mass agitation, self-reliance, discipline of suffering, etc.

Socially speaking, the rise of extremist ideology proved to be a reactionary development. In contrast to the moderates (who were modernists and enlightened in matters of social reform) extremists became revivalists and obscurantists in matters social reforms. Tilak's opposition (for whatever reasons) to of Consent Bill (which proposed to raise the age of consummation of marriage for girls from 10 to 12 years), his association with Anti-cow-killing societies, his organization of the Ganesh Festival (1893) as a national festival projects him the leader of Hindu orthodoxy and Hindu nationalism. Similarly, Lala Lajpat Rai and B.C. Pal, though ardent advocates of social reform spoke of Hindu nation and need for protection of Hindu interests at political levels. Though the revivalist dimension of Extremist politics was mainly directed against the foreign rulers, it developed an unhealthy inter-relationship between religion and politics apart from encouraging communalism and Muslim separatism.

The policy of the extremists yielded good dividends. The partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911 which gave a new self-confidence and self-assurance to Indian nationalists. The aim of Swaraj though denied by Lord Morley was no longer looked upon as a revolutionary demand and the shock of the First World War forced the British Government to proclaim self-governing institutions as the goal of constitutional development in India.

2.6 SUMMING UP

- The advancement in the field of transportation and communication helped in accelerating the pace of the movement as leaders of the country were able to reach out to all Indians.
- European scholars appreciated the Vedas and Upanishads to a great extent. They also said that Indo-Aryans are from the same ethnic group to which Europeans belong. These studies and researches boosted the morale of Indians and instilled the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in them.
- Some of the prominent social and religious reformers of this period were Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Debendra Nath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramhans and Vivekanand. These reformers influenced common people to a great extent.
- Contemporary strong currents of nationalist ideas, which pervaded the whole of Europe and South America also stimulated Indian nationalism. The American Revolution of 1776 infused strong aspirations for liberation and nationalism.
- The British destructed the local self-sufficient economy of India and introduced modern trade and industry. Indians realized that they have been exploited by the British. Under British rule, the economic system of India was made in such a way that it befitted the Englishmen.

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Check Your Progress

7. Name any three Moderates leaders.
8. Why did the moderates demand separation of the judiciary from the executive?
9. Who were the extremists?

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- Short-sighted acts and policies of Lord Lytton acted like catalyst and accelerated the nationalist movement.
- Raja Rammohan Roy was the first Indian leader to start an agitation for political reforms in India. He was greatly influenced by Western ideas. He supported a number of popular movements all over the world.
- Madras Mahajana Sabha was formed by M. Vijayraghavachari, G. Subramanya Iyer, Ananda Charlu, Rangayya Naidu and others on 16 May 1884. It was aimed at coordinating the activities of local associations and providing a focus for the non-official intelligence spreading through the Presidency.
- Some of the members of the Indian National Congress were Pherozeshah Mehta, W.C. Banerji, Anandamohan Bose, Badruddin Tyabji, Surendranath Banerji, and Romesh Chandra Dutt.
- The primary objective of the Congress was to make people feel that they belong to a single nation- India.
- Dadabhai Naoroji was known as 'the Grand Old Man of India'. He was associated with the Indian National Congress right from its inception and became its president thrice.
- Womesh Chander Banerjee represented the Calcutta University in the Bengal Legislative Council. He was the first Congress President at Bombay in 1885.
- Leaders of moderate phase mainly came from Bombay, Bengal and Madras. For example, Badruddin Tayybjji, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, K.T. Telang and Govind Ranade were from Bombay.
- Due to low-level of political awareness, the achievements of moderate nationalists were immense. However, by 1907, the moderates were pushed to the background with the emergence of an extremist class in the Congress.
- Moderates sincerely believed that the British would develop India into a democratic and liberal country. They saw England as a source of inspiration and treated English as their political, guru. Many of these Nationalist leaders had anglicized life style. All they wanted and expected from the British was a 'reform package' for Indians.
- The Moderates demanded the expansion and reform of the existing Legislative Councils from 1885 to 1892. They demanded the introduction of the system of direct elections and an increase in the number of members and powers of the Legislative Councils.
- The moderates complained of India's growing poverty and economic backwardness and put all the blame on the politics of the British Government. They blamed the government for the destruction of the indigenous industries like traditional handicrafts industries in the country.
- The social composition of Congress remained, by and large the same till 1905. A. O. Hume tried his best to bring Muslims and peasants into the Congress fold, but with little success. The Muslim elite, especially from Aligarh, felt that they would lose from the elected councils and that the Hindus would dominate.
- The root cause of extremism lies in two important factors-the policies of colonial rule, and the failure of moderate leaders to attract a younger generation and common people.

2.7 KEY TERMS

- **Nationalism:** Devotion to the interests or culture of one's nation
- **Liberalism:** Political doctrine that takes protecting and enhancing the freedom of the individual to be the central problem of politics
- **Imperialism:** When a strong nation takes over a weaker nation or region and dominates its economic, political, or cultural life
- **Moderates:** Individuals who are not extreme, partisan nor radical
- **Extremists:** One who advocates or resorts to measures beyond the norm, especially in politics

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2.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Indian press and literature played a phenomenal role in promoting nationalism. It helped in organizing political movements and mobilizing common people. Newspapers published various articles and reports, exposing the way British Indian administration exploited Indians. Educated Indians also shared their views about liberty, democracy, and independence through these newspapers. Thus, newspapers played an important role in promoting Indian nationalism.
2. The objective of Ilbert Bill was to bring Indian judges on the same level as that of the European judges in Bengal Presidency. According to this Bill, Europeans could be tried by Indian judges.
3. Bombay Association was founded on the lines of the British India Association of Calcutta on 26 August 1852.
4. The madras Mahajana Sabha was formed by M. Vijayraghavachari, G. Subramanya Iyer, Ananda Charlu, Rangayya Naidu and others on 16 May 1884. It was aimed at coordinating the activities of local associations and providing a focus for the non-official intelligence spreading through the Presidency.
5. The Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885 at Sir Tej Pal Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Bombay.
6. Some of the political demands were
 - (a) Greater power to the Supreme Council and local Legislative Council
 - (b) Discussion on budget to be held by the council
 - (c) Representation of the council through local bodies like Universities and Chambers of Commerce
7. Some of the moderate leaders were Badruddin Tayyaji, Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozshah Mehta.
8. Moderates demanded the separation of the judiciary from the executive hoping the people might get some protection from the arbitrary acts of police and bureaucracy.
9. The last decade of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress which was sharply critical of the ideology and methods of the old leadership.

These 'angry young men' advocated the adoption of swaraj as the goal of the Congress to be achieved by more self-reliant and independent methods. The new group came to be called the Extremist Party in contrast to the older one which began to be referred to as the Moderate Party.

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2.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the reasons for the growth of nationalism.
2. Name some of the prominent leaders of Indian National Congress.
3. State the reason for the formation of the Indian National Congress.
4. Describe the methods of extremists.
5. How did extremists ultimately change the character of the Congress?
6. Discuss the differences between extremists and moderates.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the causes for the growth of nationalism in India with special reference to western education and economic exploitation.
2. How did racial discrimination, the Indian press as well as Indian literature contribute to the growth of nationalism? Discuss in details.
3. Write a note on the Indian National Congress.
4. Write in detail the demands of the Indian National Congress.

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UNIT 3 PARTITION OF BENGAL AND SWADESHI MOVEMENT

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Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Partition of Bengal
 - 3.2.1 Factors Responsible for the Partition of Bengal
 - 3.2.2 Reunion of Bengal
- 3.3 Swadeshi Movement
 - 3.3.1 Significance of Swadeshi Movement
 - 3.3.2 Role of Students, Women, Muslims and the Masses
- 3.4 Summing Up
- 3.5 Key Terms
- 3.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
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3.0 INTRODUCTION

The partition of Bengal, which played a vital role in the growth of Indian nationalism, came into effect in October 1905 and separated the largely Muslim eastern areas of the province from the largely Hindu western areas. The provinces of Bengal and Assam were reconstituted to form two provinces of manageable size: Western Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam. Although the British government stressed that this was an attempt to improve administration, the Indians were outraged at this 'divide and rule' policy. The partition stimulated the Hindus, while the Muslims were forced to form their own association, the Muslim League, to safeguard their interests. However, in view the fluid political situation in India and the growth of Hindu revivalism, the British decided to undo their earlier decision and the provinces were reunited in 1912. In this unit, you will learn about the factors leading to partition of Bengal and its reunion, the Swadeshi movement and contribution of the masses.

3.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Analyse the role of partition of Bengal in Indian nationalism
- Discuss the factors responsible for the partition of Bengal
- Explain the significance and impact of the Swadeshi movement

3.2 PARTITION OF BENGAL

The decision to partition Bengal was announced under the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1899-1905) on 16 October 1905. In the history of modern Bengal, this was recorded to be a very significant event. Since 1765, Bengal included Bihar and Orissa, which was

considered by British India to be very large for a single province. Because of its massive size, it was difficult for the British Empire to execute proper administration, and, therefore, it felt that the province required reorganization and intelligent division.

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3.2.1 Factors Responsible for the Partition of Bengal

The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was responsible for managing an area of 189,000 sq. miles. Moreover, by 1903, the population had grown to 78.50 million. Several districts of eastern Bengal did not receive proper attention due to lack of efficient communication and governance. The government focused most of its attention only on Calcutta (now Kolkata) and its nearby districts. The cruel administration of the landlords made the peasants' life miserable. The administrative system of a province did not have adequate staff, which significantly affected trade, commerce and education. The provinces of east Bengal in particular suffered the most as they were cut off by rivers and streams. Inefficient administration also led to organized piracy in the waterways for almost a century.

Besides administrative difficulties, other factors which prompted the British Empire to consider reorganizing the territorial boundaries of Bengal were problems of famine, defence and linguistics. These factors prompted to rearrange the administrative system of Bengal, which was, however, irregular. Some of these arrangements were as follows:

- 1836: The upper provinces were separated from Bengal and were placed under the control of a Lieutenant Governor.
- 1854: Direct administration of Bengal was taken away from the Governor-General-in-Council and was placed under a Lieutenant Governor.
- 1874: Assam and Sylhet were separated from Bengal in order to form a chief-commissionership.
- 1898: Lushai Hills district was annexed from Bengal and placed under the administration of chief commissioner of Assam.

In 1903, the first proposal for the partition of Bengal was considered, mainly on the grounds of inefficient administration. As this raised a hue and cry, officials first drafted the possible advantages of a partitioned Bengal. According to the original scheme of partition, the division was to be made on a geographical basis, and not on political or communal grounds.

The government argued that the decision to partition Bengal was based on administrative requirements with three main objectives, which are as follows:

1. It wanted to reduce the burden of administration of the government of Bengal and ensure more efficient administration in the remote districts.
2. The government wanted to encourage the development of Assam, which was ruled by a Chief Commissioner, by expanding its jurisdiction and provide it with an outlet to the sea.
3. The government wanted to unite the Oriya-speaking population, which was scattered, under a single administration.

Moreover, the government also had plans to separate Chittagong and the districts of Dacca (now Dhaka) and Mymensingh from Bengal and join them with Assam. It also planned to annex Chhota Nagpur from Bengal and include in the Central Provinces.

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In January 1904, these proposals of partition were published. In February 1904, Lord Curzon went on an official tour to assess the condition of the districts of eastern Bengal and to consider the opinion of the public on the proposals of the government. He discussed the proposals of partition with important personalities of different districts and also delivered speeches on the same in Dhaka, Chittagong and Mymensingh (all of them now in Bangladesh). This tour further propelled his decision to seriously put into action the proposal of partition. The proposal would involve:

- The formation of an autonomous new province under the control of a lieutenant governor with a Legislative Council
- A self-governing revenue authority
- Transfer of a large territory that would validate an efficient administration

The governments of Assam and Bengal gave their consents to the proposal, according to which the new province would comprise of:

- Tripura
- The divisions of Chittagong
- Dhaka
- Rajshahi (excluding Darjeeling)
- The district of Malda amalgamated with Assam

Therefore, as per the proposal, Bengal had to hand over not only these large eastern territories but also surrender five Hindi-speaking states to the Central Provinces. However, the Central Provinces would give Sambalpur and a small tract of five Uriya-speaking states to Bengal as an addition to its western territory. After the division, Bengal would have only an area of 141,580 sq. miles out of 189,000 sq. miles. It would be left with a population of 54 million, with 42 million Hindus and 9 million Muslims.

The name of the new province was proposed to be 'Eastern Bengal and Assam', which would have its capital at Dhaka, with subsidiary headquarters at Chittagong. It would comprise of:

- Area: 106,540 sq. miles
- Population: 31 million with 12 million Hindus and 8 million Muslims

It was proposed that the new province would have a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue with two members. The jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court would remain undisturbed. The new province would also have a well-defined western boundary, along with significant social, geographical, linguistic and ethnological features. A unique feature of the new province would be the concentration of neglected typical homogenous Muslim population of Bengal. It would also have the entire tea industry, except Darjeeling, and a major section of the jute growing area under a single administration. The final decision was publicized by the government in a Resolution dated 19 July 1905 and the partition of Bengal was finally brought into effect on 16 October 1905.

The original proposals for the partition were published at the end of 1903, which was strongly protested, particularly by the dominant and educated middle-class Hindus. The lawyers of Calcutta anticipated that the creation of the new province would significantly affect the importance of the Calcutta High Court and also result in the formation of a Court of Appeal at Dhaka. The journalists were worried that the new province would lead to the development of local newspapers which would affect the circulation of Calcutta Press. The businessmen also feared that the formation of the

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new province would shift the trade to Chittagong from Calcutta, as it was much nearer and cheaper port, and therefore affect their livelihood. Even the zamindars, owning large estates in both east and west Bengal, feared that the new province would force them to maintain separate establishments at Dhaka, which would incur high expenditure. The partition was seen by the educated Bengali Hindus as Curzon's intentional plan to repress the spirit of nationalism and the strengthening unity of the Bengali-speaking population.

Most of Bengal's trade and commerce and other professions were mostly controlled by the Hindus of Bengal who were also incharge of the rural society. They were worried that the partition of Bengal would make them a minority in the new province, which would mainly comprise of the whole of Orissa and Bihar. According to them, the government's aim was mainly to encourage the growth of Muslim power in eastern Bengal in order to suppress the rapidly growing national consciousness of the educated Hindu community. The partition was therefore strongly opposed by economic, social and communal interests.

From the very beginning, the partition was strongly opposed by some important administrators, the Indian and Bengali press, and also the British press and the Anglo-Indian press. The partition resulted in violent protests in west Bengal, which further stimulated the Indian nationalism. This further encouraged the Indian National Congress to take the lead in the Indian Nationalist Movement. The Indian National Congress had remarkable strength and dynamism which not only attracted the middle class but also the nation-wide mass population to participate in the Indian Nationalist Movement.

The partition was seen by the Indian National Congress as the government's 'divide and rule' policy. It also was viewed as a strong opposition of the government towards the honest intellectuals of the Indian society. Staunch religious Bengali Hindus, who saw Bengal as their 'Mother Goddess', viewed the partition as the anatomization of their 'Mother province'. The Bengali nationalism aimed to defeat the partition, for which mass meetings were held as a form of protest and the Swadeshi Movement boycotted the British-manufactured goods. The main objective of Indian nationalism was Swaraj, which it wanted to achieve with its two twin weapons—Swadeshi and Boycott movements.

Indian political leaders, like Surendranath Banerjee, and journalists, like Krishna Kumar Mitra, encouraged people to break all contacts with the British officials, boycott the use of British goods and observe mourning for the freedom fighters who had laid their lives while fighting for the nation. A meeting was held on 7 August 1905 wherein it was decided to refrain from purchasing British goods as long as the resolution of partition was not withdrawn. Patriotic songs, written by Bengali poets, playwrights and lyricists, including Rabindranath Tagore, Rajanikanta Sen and Dwijendralal Ray, further stimulated the national spirit.

On 28 September 1905, the Hindu religious passion reached its peak when several Hindus in Calcutta gathered at the temple of goddess Kali, the symbol of power and energy in Hinduism. Although such a religious fervour strengthened the unity among the Hindu masses, it aroused antagonism in average Muslim minds, which created a rift between the Hindus and Muslims. As an economic movement, the 'Swadeshi' Movement was accepted by the Muslims. But it provoked the Muslims when the Movement was used to fight against the partition, which was supported by the Muslims, and it had religious influences of Hinduism.

Although the spirit of nationalism against the partition of Bengal originated in Bengal, it spread across the country in Punjab, Poona (now Pune), Madras, Bombay

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and other cities. The Indians boycotted the British products and vowed to wear only swadeshi cotton and clothing materials that were produced in India. The Swadeshi Movement not only stimulated the Indian cotton mills but also other factories, such as the match factories, glassblowing shops, iron and steel foundries. The protests also provoked people to boycott English education and encouraged them for national education. The movement for national education also reached far and wide places in Bengal and also extended to Banaras (now Varanasi), where it motivated national leader and freedom fighter, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, to establish the Banaras Hindu University in 1910.

The students in Bengal, whether school or college, actively participated in the campaigns of Swadeshi and Boycott movements. As a retaliation, the government issued the Carlyle Circular on 10 October 1905, according to which all the magistrates and collectors were asked to suppress the participation of the students in the Swadeshi Movement. This repressive measure was severely condemned by both students and teachers, whose protests further strengthened and took a universal approach. As a matter of fact, this protest movement resulted in the first organized student movement in Bengal, which was known as the 'Anti-Circular Society'. Along with this, a militant student organization was also formed.

In the beginning, the anti-partition movement was lawful and nonviolent but when it was unsuccessful in achieving the desired results, the movement attracted the participation of more militant leaders. The two methods used to make this objective successful were boycott and terrorism. As a result, the younger generation became a part of politics unintentionally and adopted terrorist methods by erratically using firearms, bombs and pistols. The once peaceful protest now became so violent and aggressive that it went to the extent of commitment of several assassinations and attempts to kill British officials including Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal from 1903 to 1908. Consequently, the terrorist movement soon became an integral part of the Swadeshi agitation. From 1908 to 1910, the anti-partition movement in Bengal reached its peak and so did the repressive measures of the government, which became stern and cruel increasingly. The national newspapers, including the *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* and *Jugantar*, extensively wrote about the new militant spirit and played a vital role in circulating the ideas of revolution and nationalism.

At its annual session in 1907 in Surat, the Indian National Congress was divided into two groups—one being moderate, liberal and evolutionary; and the other extremist, militant and revolutionary. Some important moderate leaders were Mahatma Gandhi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Chitta Ranjan Das and Bhagat Singh, while some important extremist leaders included Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Surendranath Banerjee. Tilak's extremist party, which included the young revolutionaries, mainly supporting the 'cult of the bomb and the gun', which was opposed by moderate leaders as they feared that such activities would inevitably result in uncontrollable violence and disorder. Although Surendranath Banerjee was an important extremist leader, he was against terrorist activities.

In 1903, when the proposal for partition was published for the first time, it was strongly opposed by the Muslims. It was condemned by the weekly newspaper, *Moslem Chronicle*; political organization, the Central National Muhamedan Association; and Chowdhury Kazemuddin Ahmad Siddiky, the zamindar of the Baliadi estate in east Bengal, social worker and political personality of Bengal towards the end of the nineteenth century. In the beginning, the proposal was also referred to as 'beastly' by Nawab Sir

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Khwaja Salimullah Bahadur, the fourth Nawab of Dhaka and one of the leading Muslim politicians during the British Raj. Initially, the Muslims opposed the control of a new province under the rule of a chief commissioner as they felt that it would severely affect their educational, social and other interests. They also feared that the partition would threaten the unity of Bengal.

However, the elite and the educated Muslims criticized the ideas of the extremist militant nationalism as they believed it to be against the spirit of the religion of Islam. As a result, the Muslim press advised its educated co-religionists to remain loyal and committed to the government. Largely, the supporters of the Swadeshi Movement were unsuccessful in winning the trust and support of the Muslim masses in east Bengal. The revolutionary spirit for the partition did not continue for long among the Muslims as the concept of the formation of a self-contained separate province changed their views completely. They realized that as a result of the partition, the new administration would give special attention to their problems.

As a result, the Muslims cordially greeted Sir Joseph Bampfylde Fuller, the first Lieutenant Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The *Moslem Chronicle* also changed its outlook towards the partition. The formation of the new province strengthened the unity of the Muslims and motivated them to form an association which would give them a platform to put forward their views and aspirations in terms of social and political issues. To champion the Muslim interests, a political front called the Mohammedan Provincial Union was established on 16 October 1905. This association invited all other existing Muslim organizations and associations to affiliate with it and Nawab Sir Khwaja Salimullah Bahadur was chosen as its patron.

Despite this, a minor group of educated liberal Muslims continued to extend their support to the anti-partition movement and the Swadeshi Movement. Although less in number, they strongly supported the Indian National Congress and opposed the partition. One of the prominent figures of this broad-minded group was Khwaja Atiqullah, a philanthropist and a man of liberal, progressive and secular ideas. In 1906, at the Calcutta session of the Congress, he moved a resolution which condemned the partition of Bengal. The important Muslim leaders who urged their community members to participate in the anti-partition campaign were:

- Abdur Rasul: A nationalist leader and lawyer
- Khan Bahadur Muhammad Yusuf: A political leader and a member of the Management Committee of the Central National Muhamedan Association
- Sheikh Mujibur Rahman: A Bengali nationalist politician and the founder of Bangladesh
- A.H. Abdul Halim Ghaznavi: A politician, philanthropist and a zamindar
- Syed Ismail Hossain Siraji: A Bengali writer, orator and peasant leader
- Muhammad Gholam Hossain: A writer and a promoter of Hindu-Muslim unity
- Maulvi Liaqat Hussain: A liberal Muslim who vehemently opposed the 'divide and rule' policy of the British
- Syed Hafizur Rahman Chowdhury of Bogra
- Abul Kasem of Burdwan

However, liberal nationalist Muslims including A.H. Ghaznavi and Khan Bahadur Muhammad Yusuf supported only the Swadeshi Movement and not the Boycott Movement.

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The partition created a rift between the Hindus and the Muslims. A section of the Muslim community made an attempt to promote harmonious relations between the two religions. Well-known Bengali statesmen, Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq and Nibaran Chandra Das, promoted non-communal ideas through their weekly and monthly journals, *Balaka* and *Bharat Suhrd*, respectively. Due to this rift, only a minor section of Muslim intellectuals became a member of the Indian National Congress and participated in the anti-partition movement.

Majority of the Muslims were in favour of the partition. The circumstances generated over the partition of Bengal further led to the establishment of the All India Muslim League in 1906, which supported the partition. The partition was also supported by traditional and reformist Muslim groups—the Faraizi, Wahabi and Taiyuni. Moreover, the Bengali Muslim press supported the partition, while monthly magazine, *Islam Pracharak*, portrayed Swadeshi as a Hindu movement. The Muslim intelligentsia disliked the Swadeshi Movement as it was tied to the anti-partition agitation and had religious tone added to it.

To some extent, the Swadeshi Movement was considered responsible for encouraging separatist forces within the Muslim society. The Muslims felt unprotected because of the dominance of the Hindus in trade and commerce, and this prompted them to protect their own interests. The pattern of the land system in Bengal during the partition also influenced the mindset of the Muslims significantly. The Hindu zamindars were not taking effective measures to improve the conditions of several raiyats, who were mostly Muslims. Furthermore, the agrarian disputes between the tenants and the landlords further aggravated because of communal discord. It was asserted that the Hindu zamindars tried to impose Swadeshi ideas on their Muslim tenants and tempted them to join the anti-partition movement.

As an attempt to emphasize their separate identity, an Islamic conference was organized by the Muslims in 1906 at Keraniganj in Dhaka. Muslims masses of eastern Bengal and Assam were encouraged by their community members to break all relations with Hindus. The anti-protest movement adopted several measures, such as the song *Bande Mataram* as the song of inspiration or using the cult of Shivaji as the national hero, which alienated the Muslims further. As a result of the clashes between the Hindus and the Muslims, the Comilla riot broke out in March 1907, which was followed by Jamalpur riots in April 1907. These communal disturbances were not only restricted to eastern Bengal and Assam but also spread in other places of the country. These riots marked a turning point in the history of modern Bengal.

The weakening of the Hindu-Muslim relationship resulted in several political changes in the policies of the government. It further affected the relations of the Bengali Muslim leaders with their non-Bengali counterparts. The communal relations in east Bengal were severely affected by these political changes. The implementation of several constitutional reforms, particularly the Morley-Minto Reforms in 1909 that introduced separate representation for the Muslims, marked a turning point in further deteriorating the Hindu-Muslim relations.

The officials of the new province passionately and wholeheartedly conducted its development works. The leaders of the anti-partition movement accused Sir Joseph Bampfylde Fuller for being extremely partial to the Muslims. Due to some indifference with the government, Fuller resigned in August 1906. However, his resignation was seen by the Muslims as a political victory of the Hindus. They also felt that the government

had surrendered to the pressures of the anti-partition movement and this made them overlook the loyalty of the Muslims to the government.

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As a result, the bitterness between the two communities became more critical in the new province. The Hindu landlords felt threatened by the acts of terrorism by the Muslim agitators, as a result of which the landlord-tenant relationship in the new province deteriorated and took a communal turn. The Muslim leaders felt that the protest of the Hindus against the partition of Bengal was basically a communal movement, which was a threat to the Muslims as a separate community. Thus, they now aimed at uniting the different sections of their community to create an opposition movement against the Hindus. They decided to faithfully follow their leaders, Nawab Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury (a noted philanthropist, zamindar, social worker and politician) and Nawab Sir Khwaja Salimullah Bahadur, and established organizations like the Mohammedan Provincial Union.

Even though the severity of the Hindus-Muslim relations had reached its peak, some educated upper class Hindus and Muslims wanted to put an end to this communalism. On 15 March 1907, some significant members of both the communities met the Viceroy Lord Minto and requested him to put an end to this communal violence and promote religious harmony between the two communities.

Meanwhile, on 30 December 1906, the All India Muslim League was formed in Dhaka. In the first meeting at Dhaka, one of the resolutions of the League stated: 'That this meeting in view of the clear interest of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal consider that Partition is sure to prove beneficial to the Muhammadan community which constitute the vast majority of the populations of the new province and that all such methods of agitation such as boycotting should be strongly condemned and discouraged'.

The government further aggravated the communal resentment between the Hindus and Muslims. On one hand, it decided to cancel the partition to tone down the bitterness of the aggressive Bengali Hindus, while on the other hand, it stated the Muslims had a major population in the new province of eastern Bengal. It also said that the interests of the Muslims would be protected and they would be having a special representation in the Legislative Councils and the local bodies.

3.2.2 Reunion of Bengal

In 1910, Lord Hardinge succeeded Lord Minto as the Viceroy of India. During his tenure, a Coronation Durbar was held in December 1911 to greet the King of England, George V. King George V announced the annulment of the partition of Bengal, which was decided to formally end on 1 April 1912. Besides, the King also announced certain administrative changes in India, which are as follows:

1. The Government of India shifted the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. This attempt to shift the capital to the site of past Muslim glory was made to pacify the Muslim community of Bengal who were afflicted by the loss of provincial power and privilege in eastern Bengal.
2. The five main Bengali speaking divisions, including Burdwan (also known as Bardhaman), Dhaka, The Presidency, Chittagong and Rajshahi, were to be united under one Presidency, which would be governed by a Governor-in-Council.
3. A province comprising of Chhota Nagpur, Orissa and Bihar was to be administered by a Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council with a Legislative Council.
4. Assam was to go back under the administration of a Chief Commissioner again.

Although the reunification of Bengal pacified the Bengali Hindus to a great extent, they were severely affected by the shift of the capital to Delhi as it demoted Calcutta from an imperial to a mere provincial status. The shift of the capital to Delhi from Calcutta, which was the nerve centre of political activity, weakened the influence of the Bengali Hindus significantly. The government was enjoying the main advantage of the capital shift as it had sensed that the agitated atmosphere of Bengal could have shaken their establishment in India.

Lord Carmichael was appointed as the first Governor of Bengal after the annulment of the partition of Bengal. Under his tenure, Bengal was turned into a Governor's province in 1912. The agitation of the partition of Bengal had far-reaching effects on Indian history and nationalism. Its twin weapons of Swadeshi and Boycott became a statement of belief for the Indian National Congress and was effectively used in other parts of India as well in future conflicts. They formed the basis of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-Cooperation, Satyagraha and Khadi movements.

However, the Muslims were severely affected by the annulment of the partition as a result of the agitation against it. The support of the Congress to the anti-partition movement was disliked by the politically conscious Muslims, who now strongly felt that their interests were not safe in the hands of the Congress. As a result, they became more anxious to emphasize their separate communal identity. Therefore, they became dependent on the Muslim League to protect their interests against the dominance of the Hindus in India, which was still undivided.

The travails of Bengal played a vital role in initiating the Indian nationalism. Besides, the agitation against the partition also was responsible for Muslim nationalism, which encouraged them in separatist politics. Not only the Bengali Muslims but also the Muslims of the whole of India were severely disappointed by the annulment of the Partition of Bengal as they felt that the agitation had become much more important to the government than their loyalty. Subsequently, the Muslims felt dejected which forced them to take an anti-British stance.

3.3 SWADESHI MOVEMENT

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

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

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Check Your Progress

1. What argument did the British government give for Bengal partition?
2. How did Surendranath Banerjee react to the partition of Bengal?
3. What role did the newspaper *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* and *Jugantar* play in post-Bengal partition?
4. Name the first organized student movement in Bengal.
5. Name some Muslim leaders who urged its community members to participate in anti-partition campaign.

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

There was another controversy over cultural ideas between the modernistic nationalists and the proponents of Hindu revivalism. In general, the Swadeshi mood was strongly linked to the efforts to associate religious revivalism with politics. The method of Swadeshi vows in temples was first used by Surendranath Banerjea. Usually, the national education plans possessed a very strong revivalist content. Further, 'boycott' was planned to be enforced through traditional caste sanctions. Such aggressive brand of Hinduism usually got inextricably reflected in the pages of *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* or *Yugantar*. Nonetheless, Brahma journals such as *Sanjibani* and *Prabasi* were very critical of this view.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.1 Significance of Swadeshi Movement

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

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

3.3.2 Role of Students, Women, Muslims and the Masses

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4 SUMMING UP

- The decision to implement the partition of Bengal was announced under the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1899-1905) on 16 October 1905. In the history of modern Bengal, this was recorded to be a very significant event.
- The administrative system of a province did not have adequate staff, which significantly affected trade, commerce and education. The provinces of east Bengal in particular suffered the most as they were cut off by rivers and streams. Inefficient administration also led to organized piracy in the waterways for almost a century.
- In 1903, the first proposal for the partition of Bengal was considered, mainly on the grounds of inefficient administration.
- The proposal would involve:
 - The formation of an autonomous new province under the control of a Lieutenant Governor with a Legislative Council
 - A self-governing revenue authority
 - Transfer of a large territory that would validate an efficient administration
- From the very beginning, the partition was strongly opposed by some important administrators, the Indian and Bengali press, and also the British press and the Anglo-Indian press. The partition resulted in violent protests in west Bengal, which further stimulated the Indian nationalism.

Check Your Progress

6. What triggered the swadeshi movement?
7. In what ways were the students involved in swadeshi movement?
8. How did the government react to the agitation by the students?

- The partition was seen by the Indian National Congress as the government's 'divide and rule' policy.
- The students in Bengal, whether school or college, actively participated in the campaigns of Swadeshi and Boycott movements.
- In the beginning, the anti-partition movement was lawful and nonviolent but when it was unsuccessful in achieving the desired results, the movement attracted the participation of more militant leaders.
- In 1903, when the proposal for partition was published for the first time, it was strongly opposed by the Muslims. It was condemned by the weekly newspaper, *Moslem Chronicle*; political organization, the Central National Muhamedan Association; and Chowdhury Kazemuddin Ahmad Siddiky, the zamindar of the Baliadi estate in east Bengal, social worker and political personality of Bengal towards the end of the nineteenth century.
- Majority of the Muslims were in favour of the partition. The circumstances generated over the partition of Bengal further led to the establishment of the All India Muslim League in 1906, which supported the partition.
- The Swadeshi movement was born as a unified reaction against the partition of Bengal in 1905 and continued up to 1908. In fact, it was the most successful of the pre-Gandhian movements.
- Primarily, the scheme of partition was opposed through a comprehensive use of conventional 'moderate' means of press campaigns, petitions and several meetings, massive conferences at the Calcutta town hall, etc.
- At the theoretical level, two significant trends can be specified in the Swadeshi movement—(i) constructive Swadeshi and (ii) political 'extremism'.
- Constructive Swadeshi comprised self-help through the means of Swadeshi industries, national schools and attempts at village improvement.
- There was another controversy over cultural ideas between the modernistic nationalists and the proponents of Hindu revivalism. In general, the Swadeshi mood was strongly linked to the efforts to associate religious revivalism with politics.
- The Swadeshi movement was fairly different from the earlier movements conducted by the national leaders. In this movement, a programme of direct political action was undertaken which was opposed to the policy of 'prayer and petition'.
- The students of Bengal played a prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation. They propagated and practiced Swadeshi and took the lead in organizing picketing of shops selling foreign items.

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3.5 KEY TERMS

- **Swadeshi:** The practice of favouring domestic products and refusing to buy imported goods
- **Carlyle Circular:** A circular passed by the British to curb student's participation in Swadeshi movement

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- **Revolutionary:** A person who either actively participates in, or advocates revolution.
- **Raiyat:** A nomenclature used customarily and legally for the peasantry of Bengal during the Mughal and British periods.

3.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The government argued that the decision to partition Bengal was based on administrative requirements with three main objectives, which are as follows:
 - It wanted to reduce the burden of administration of the government of Bengal and ensure more efficient administration in the remote districts.
 - The government wanted to encourage the development of Assam, which was ruled by a Chief Commissioner, by expanding its jurisdiction and provide it with an outlet to the sea.
 - The government wanted to unite the Oriya-speaking population, which was scattered, under a single administration.
2. Surendranath Banerjee encouraged people to break all contacts with the British officials, boycott the use of British goods and observe mourning for the freedom fighters who had laid their lives while fighting for the nation.
3. National newspapers, including the *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* and *Jugantar*, extensively wrote about the new militant spirit and played a vital role in circulating the ideas of revolution and nationalism.
4. The movement was called Anti-Circular Society.
5. Some of the leaders were Abdur Rasul, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Yusuf, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, H. Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, and Syed Ismail Hossain Siraji.
6. The swadeshi movement was born as a unified reaction against the partition of Bengal in 1905 and continued up to 1908. In fact, it was the most successful of the pre-Gandhian movements.
7. The students of Bengal played a prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation. They propagated and practised swadeshi and took the lead in organizing picketing of shops selling foreign items.
8. The government tried its best to suppress the students. It issued orders to penalize such schools and colleges whose students were actively involved in the Swadeshi agitation. Their grants-in-aid and other privileges were withdrawn. Further, they were disaffiliated and their students were not allowed to compete for scholarships and were to be restricted from all governmental services. Penalizing action was taken against such students who were found guilty of participating in the nationalist agitation. A good number of them were fined, expelled from schools and colleges, arrested and at times beaten by the police.

3.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the factors responsible for the partition of Bengal?
2. How was Bengal divided?

3. Write a short note on the reaction of the people on the participation of Bengal.
4. How did the students react to the partition?

Long-Answer Questions

1. To some extent, the Swadeshi Movement was considered responsible for encouraging separatist forces within the Muslim society. Discuss.
2. The travails of Bengal played a vital role in initiating the Indian nationalism. Explain.
3. Discuss the reaction and role of the Muslims in the partition of Bengal.
4. Write a note on the significance of the Swadeshi Movement.

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Structure

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- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Outbreak of World War I
- 4.3 Growth of Revolutionary Terrorism in India
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4.0 INTRODUCTION

The early years of the 20th century were turbulent. It was a time when historical catastrophes were happening. Big changes were taking place across the political scenario, globally. One can imagine the dynamics of these changes because even the British started to feel the heat. Discontentment and disapproval was building up. There was a lot of political discontent because the government had failed to organize effective relief during the period of famine and plague. To stem the tide of discontent, the British used the political trump card very shrewdly. It was for the first time that they used their divide-and-rule policy with great force. The early years of the 20th century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group. These 'angry young men' advocated the adoption of *swaraj* as the goal of the Congress.

In this unit, you will learn about influence of World War I on the nationalist movement, rise of the revolutionary terrorism in India, the call for *sawraj* given by Tilak and the Lucknow Pact that saw Tilak returning to the Congress fold.

4.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain why Indian leaders supported the British during World War I
- Analyse the contribution of the revolutionary activists in the Indian freedom struggle
- Examine the rise of Home Rule League under Tilak and Annie Besant
- Discuss the Lucknow Pact and its role in unity at Lucknow

4.2 OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I

World War I began in June 1914. France, Great Britain, Russia and Japan were on one side, and Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey were on the other side. Later Italy joined the former group. This war awakened the spirit of nationalism in people.

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When the war began, the Congress was led by Gokhale and the moderates. The Congress decided to help the British because they took it as their duty. Another reason to support the British was that they thought that after getting help from India, the British would feel grateful and would allow India to have self-government. Indian leaders at that time did not realize that the war was fought between these groups in order to safeguard their colonies. However, the Congress did not support the British when Tilak came back from jail. Tilak opined that pleading to the British for their rights was of no use. He believed that freedom was the birthright of every Indian. Thus, he laid the foundation of the anti-government movement which was later led by Gandhiji.

Most of the Indian leaders realized that the British government would not allow India to have self-government if they were not pressurized for the same. Thus, they felt the need to begin a mass movement. There were many reasons behind the decision of the people to start a mass movement. During the war, heavy taxes were imposed on people and the prices of the necessary goods were also increased. Thus, these years led to intense agitation towards the British government.

With the involvement of Great Britain in the World War I, India's national movement acquired new dimensions. At the time of the outbreak of war in 1914, India was passing through a state of growing political unrest. The Indian National Congress was no longer a group which simply discussed issues in conferences. It grew to become a body that was pushing for self-government. Before the start of the War, the Germans had spent a good deal of time and energy to stir up an anti-British movement in India. They held the view that if Britain got embroiled in a crisis in India, Britain will definitely feel its heat during the war. William Archer states: 'The moment Britain gets into trouble elsewhere, India, in her present temper, would burst into a blaze of rebellion.'

However, these fears were unfounded. With the declaration of War on 4 August, India rallied behind the British cause. Influential section in India believed that the cause of Indian independence will be best served by helping out Britain in whatever capacity India could manage. From all over the country, the offers of financial and military help poured on the British table. Wealthy princes offered huge sums of money. Even the areas outside British India offered help—Nepal provided help and sent 100,000 Gurkha soldiers; the Dalai Lama in Tibet provided 1000 of his troops for the cause. In spite of the pre-war fears about unrest, Britain, in reality, was in a position to take many troops and most of her military equipment out of India because the fear of unrest came down immensely. In fact, the Indian troops were ready for battle before most of the troops in other dominions.

Indian troops were stationed on the Western Front by the winter of 1914 and participated in the first Battle of Ypres. By the end of 1915, they had suffered many casualties. Because of the casualties from battles and sickness, it was decided to withdraw the Indian Corps from the front line duty by the end of 1915.

About 800,000 Indian troops participated in all the theatres of war with 1½ million volunteering for fight. They valiantly fought in majority of the theatres of war including Gallipoli and North and East Africa. In total 47,746 Indian troops were classed as killed or missing with 65,000 wounded. The Indian Corps won 13,000 medals for gallantry including 12 Victoria Crosses. Khudadad Khan won the Corps first Victoria Cross.

However, the cost of the war was huge and India's economy was pushed to the brink of bankruptcy. But the Indian support given to Britain surprised the establishment in Britain. *The Times* wrote: 'The Indian empire has overwhelmed the British nation by the completeness and unanimity of its enthusiastic aid.'

For its efforts and support, India expected to be rewarded with a significant move towards independence or at the least self-government. However, when it turned obvious that it was not going to occur, the mood in India turned more antagonistic and militant. During the last stages of the war Mahatma Gandhi stated: 'Seek ye first the recruiting office, and everything will be added unto you.'

So, the British government's post-war attitude quickly alienated Gandhi and provided a great stimulus for the independence movement. In 1919, the Government of India Act was introduced. Its main features were:

- It introduced a national parliament for India having two houses.
- Around 5 million of the wealthiest upper class Indians were provided the right to vote (a very small percentage of the total population).
- In the provincial governments, the Indian national were entitled to become the ministers of education, health and public works.
- The act had the provisions for a commission to be held in 1929, to find out if India was ready for more concessions/reforms.

Nonetheless, the British still controlled all the central government portfolios and even within the provincial governments they controlled the key positions of tax and law and order. Many Indians felt that they had been severely let down by the British government for their support provided during World War I. But despite such feelings of being let down, India still played a major part in World War II as well.

4.3 GROWTH OF REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM IN INDIA

Even the reactionary activities of the extremist school of leaders could not satisfy the Indian youths. They opposed the British with the use of violence through pistol and bomb. They maintained that the tyranny and oppression of the government was to be handled with one-point programme, i.e., by murdering the British officers involved in atrocities.

Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra

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

Revolutionary activities in Bengal

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

In Calcutta, Aurobindo Ghosh organized the revolutionaries. He tried to strike terror in the minds of the British officials by killing some British officers. In Alipore conspiracy case, Aurobindo, his brother Barinas and others were captured and tried. Namenda Gosling, the approver in the case, was shot dead. A similar fate awaited the

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Check Your Progress

1. Why did the moderates support in the British World War I?
2. How many Indian soldiers were declared dead in the war?

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public prosecutor and the deputy superintendent of police. Although Aurobindo was acquitted his brother and the others were deported to Andaman. Sateen Bose and Kanai Dutta, who had killed the approver, were sentenced to death. Another revolutionary named Baghdad Jain was killed in an encounter with police in 1915. He was involved in the Dacca conspiracy case.

Revolutionary activities in Punjab

Punjab also became a centre of revolutionary activities under the leadership of Lala Hardayal, Avado Bihar, Amir Chandra, and M. Chatterjee. The revolutionary associations like 'Kitty Kinas Party' and 'Naujawan Sabha' were also set up. Chandra Shekhar Azad founded 'Hindustan Republic Association'. It was later rechristened as 'Hindustan Socialist Republic Association'. Its leading members like Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev were sentenced to death for their involvement in the Kakori train robbery, bombing the Assembly hall and other terrorist activities. In fact, Punjab became a smouldering volcano for the British government.

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

Revolutionary activities in Madras

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

Revolutionary activities in rest of India

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

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

4.3.1 Revolutionary Activities Abroad (Gadar Party)

Even outside India the revolutionary activities continued in full swing. After the murder of District Magistrate Rand, Shyamji Krishna Verma of Kathiawar went to London and started Home Rule Society in the due course of time. In 1906, V.D. Savarkar went to London and joined 'Indian Society'. It promoted revolutionary terrorism. Madan Lal Dhingra, one of the members of this society, killed Sir William Curzon Willy, the ADC to the Secretary of State of India.

Among the revolutionary activities abroad, the role of Gadar Party is worth mentioning. Lala Hardayal, a revolutionary young man from Punjab, established Gadar Party and also published a weekly paper *The Gadar*. It aimed at bringing about a revolution in India to set the country free from the British clutch. Lala Hardayal was ordered by the USA government to leave the country due to his engagement in the anti-British propaganda. During the World War I, the Indian revolutionaries abroad approached the

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

Raja Mahendra Pratap led an Indo-German mission to Afghanistan and set up a free government there. The Komagata Maru case fanned the fire of revolutionary terrorism. This Japanese ship which took revolutionary Sikhs to Canada was denied anchoring in the port in Canada and returned to Calcutta. The passengers revolted not to board train for Punjab arranged by the British government. Some of them died due to the government's strict action. All these happenings inspired the terrorist movement in Punjab.

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

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

4.4 HOME RULE LEAGUE

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

As we have already seen, when World War I started the Indian National Congress supported the government in its war efforts with the presumption that the British government will bring about some administrative reforms for the benefit of the Indians after the war. However, the extremists viewed it as a God-sent opportunity and took a decision to advance their own cause. They thought that it was the fitting time to force Britain to agree to the Indian demands for extracting political concessions during their time of difficulties.

The extremists were basically influenced by the emergence of the Irish Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Issac Butt. B.G. Tilak returned to active politics in 1914 after completing his term of imprisonment. He tried to join hands with the Congress on the issue of demanding 'Home Rule' for India. However, when he did not succeed in this, he founded the Home Rule League on 28 April 1916 with its headquarters at Poona. Due to the British indigestibility for the word 'swaraj', Tilak opted for the term 'Home Rule' in place of 'swaraj' as the main objective of the movement.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- Who was Khudiram Bose?
- Name a few revolutionary associations.
- Who founded the Gadar party?

NOTES

The main aim of the Home Rule League was to 'attain Home-Rule or self government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organise public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same'. Annie Besant, an Irish lady, had arrived in India as a member of the Theosophical Society. She later joined the Congress. Besant had set up a Home Rule League in London in 1914 and ultimately founded a Home Rule League on 15 September 1916. The latter had its headquarters at Adyar near Madras. Both these leagues supported each other and hence, divided their areas of activities among themselves. Tilak's Home Rule League confined its activities to Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Berar, while Besant's League functioned in the rest of the country.

Tilak and Besant toured all over India and propagated the message of the Home Rule among the masses. They used the means of newspapers, mass meetings and distribution of leaflets to spread their message. Tilak used *Young India* to stir the popular sentiments. Besant, on her part, used *New India* and *Common Weal* to educate the masses about the League's objectives. The movement attracted liberal leaders such as Motilal Nehru and Tej Bahadur Sapru who became its members. Hence, the Home Rule Movement turned a powerful phenomenon during the phase of World War I. The movement strived for the grant of self-government to India within the British dominions. However, it always remained within constitutional limits.

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

However, the movement got weakened after some time and the Home Rule movement came to an abrupt end. Some of the reasons for this were: the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919; factionalism in the Congress on the issue of the Act; departure of Tilak to London for a legal case; and Besant's consent to the new scheme of reforms of 1919. Although the Home Rule Movement could not achieve its objectives, it kept the fire of nationalism burning among the Indians during the course of the war. It was crucial because during this period the congress had failed to provide any direction to the people.

On the issue of the significance of the Home Rule Movement, S.R. Mehrotra states: 'The Home Rule Leagues created a significant impact on the national movement in India. For the first time an agitation had been aroused on a nation-wide scale and a network of political committees covered much of India.'



Fig. 4.1 Balgangadhar Tilak

NOTES

The objective of Home Rule League was

1. Work for national education, social and political reforms.
2. Tilak linked up the question of swaraj with the demand for the formation of linguistic states and education in vernacular. He also used Home Rule to put an end to caste feeling among the common people and advocated abolition of untouchability.
3. Self Government for India in British Empire.
4. Tilak (April) and Annie Besant & S. Subramaniam Iyer (September) established Home Rule Leagues in 1916.
5. Tilak's League was to work in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Central Provinces and Berar and Annie Besant's in the rest of India.
6. Annie Besant set up the newspapers—New India, Commonweal and Young India (1916)
7. Tilak published—Mahratta & Kesari
8. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Shankarlal Banker, Indulal Yagnik, George Arundale, B P Wadia and L. P. Ramaswamy Iyer were in Besant's League.
9. Home Rule Movement declined after Besant accepted the proposed Montford Reforms and Tilak went to Britain to fight the libel suit against Valentine Chirol's Indian Unrest.

Methods

- Create public opinion in favour of Home Rule through public meeting, also organising discussions, reading rooms propangda through public meetings, newspapers, pamphlets, posters, etc.
- Emphasis shifted to the masses permanently organizational link established between town and country prepared a generation of ardent nationalists, influenced Moderate-Extremist reunion at Lucknow (1916).

Results

- (a) It discredited moderates of INC and created condition for readmission of neo-nationalists in 1916
- (b) The movement marks the beginning for attainment of *Swaraj*.
- (c) Education Programme
- (d) Montague declaration of 1917—Greatest political achievement

Check Your Progress

6. Who pioneered the concept of Home Rule in India?
7. Why did the Home Rule League fail?

4.5 UNITY AT LUCKNOW

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The nationalists very soon realized that disunity among them was harming their cause and that they should put up a united front against the government. The emerging nationalist feeling in the country and the urge for national unity resulted in historical developments during the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1916. Most importantly, the two factions of the Congress were reunited. The old controversies were no longer relevant because most of the leaders realized that the split in the Congress had borne political inactivity. Tilak, after his release from jail in 1914, instantly felt the change in the situation and strived to unify the two streams of Congressmen. To pacify the moderate nationalists, he stated:

I may state once for all that we are trying in India, as the Irish Home-rulers have been all along doing in Ireland, for a reform of the system of administration and not for the overthrow of government; and I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence which have been committed in the different parts of India are not only repugnant to me, but have, in my opinion, only unfortunately retarded to a great extent, the pace of our political progress.

Further, the emerging tide of nationalism forced the old leaders to welcome Lokamanya Tilak and other militant nationalists back into the Congress. The Lucknow Congress was the first united Congress since 1907. It asked for further constitutional reforms as a step towards self-government. At Lucknow, the Congress and the All India Muslim League buried their old differences and forwarded united political demands before the government.

The War and the two Home Rule Leagues were generating a new sentiment in the country which changed the character of the Congress. Similarly, the Muslim League had also been undergoing gradual changes. We have already observed earlier that the younger section of the educated Muslims was taking to bolder form of nationalist politics. The War period witnessed further developments in that direction. As a result, in 1914 the government took punitive measures against the publication of *Al Hilal* of Abul Kalam Azad and the *Comrade* of Maulana Mohamed Ali. The government also interned the Ali Brothers (Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali), Hasrat Mohani and Abul Kalam Azad. Even though partially, the League at least reflected the political militancy of its younger members. It steadily began to outgrow the limited political outlook of the Aligarh school of thought and shifted nearer to the general Congress policies.

This growing unity in the objectives of the Congress and the League culminated in the signing of the Congress–League Pact, popularly called the Lucknow Pact. Lokamanya Tilak and Mohammad Ali Jinnah played an important role in bringing the two together. They believed that India can win self-government only through Hindu-Muslim unity. Tilak stated at the time:

It has been said, gentlemen, by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mohammedan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Mohammedan community only.

I would not care if they are granted to the lower and the lowest classes of the Hindu population. When we have to fight against a third party, it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united, united in race, united in religion, as regard all different shades of political creed.

The two organizations passed similar resolutions at their sessions. They also put forward a joint scheme of political reforms on the basis of separate electorates and demanded that the British government should make a declaration to the effect that it will confer self-government to India at the earliest.

In the field of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Lucknow Pact marked an important step forward. Regrettably, it did not involve the Hindu and Muslim masses and accepted the harmful principle of separate electorates. It was meant to bring together the educated Hindus and Muslims as distinct political entities. But it lacked on the critical issue of secularizing their political outlook, which would have made them understand that in politics they possessed no distinct interests as Hindus or Muslims. Therefore, the Lucknow Pact left the scope for the future resurgence of communalism in Indian politics.

Nonetheless, the immediate effect of the developments at Lucknow was wonderful. The unity between the moderate and militant nationalists as well as between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League created immense political enthusiasm in the country. Even the British government found it essential to appease the nationalists. Till then it had heavily depended upon repression to control the nationalist agitation.

Earlier, scores of radical nationalists and revolutionaries had been jailed or interned under the provisions of nefarious Defense of India Act and other similar regulations. The government now realized the requirement to appease nationalist opinion and on 20 August 1917 declared that its policy in India was 'the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government of India as an integral part of the British empire'.

In July 1918, the Montague-Chelmsford reforms were declared. However, the Indian nationalism could not be appeased. Actually, the Indian national movement was soon to enter its third and last phase, i.e., the phase of mass struggle or the Gandhian Era.

4.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- When the war began, the Congress was led by Gokhale and the Moderates. The Congress decided to help the British because they took it as their duty.
- Indian leaders at that time did not realize that the war was fought between these groups in order to safeguard their colonies. However, the Congress did not support the British when Tilak came back from jail.
- Most of the Indian leaders realized that the British government would not allow India to have self-government if they were not pressurized for the same. Thus, they felt the need to begin a mass movement.
- With the involvement of Great Britain in the World War I, India's national movement acquired new dimensions.
- The Indian National Congress was no longer a group which simply discussed issues in conferences. It grew to become a body that was pushing for self-government.
- The cost of the war was huge and India's economy was pushed to the brink of bankruptcy.

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Check Your Progress

8. What is the Lucknow Pact?
9. The Lucknow Pact did little for the unity of the Hindus and the Muslims. (True/False)

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- Even the reactionary activities of the extremist school of leaders could not satisfy the Indian youths. They opposed the British with the use of violence through pistol and bomb.
- Bengal became the hotbed of terrorist activities. In 1908, Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose threw a bomb at Kennedy's carriage assuming it to be that of Kingsford, the judge of Muzaffarpur.
- Punjab also became a centre of revolutionary activities under the leadership of Lala Hardayal, Avado Bihar, Amir Chandra, and M. Chatterjee.
- In Calcutta, Aurobindo Ghosh organized the revolutionaries. He tried to strike terror in the minds of the British officials by killing some British officers.
- Among the revolutionary activities abroad, the role of Gadar Party is worth mentioning. Lala Hardayal, a revolutionary young man from Punjab, established Gadar Party and also published a weekly paper The Gadar.
- The revolutionary terrorists carried out political dacoities at Amritsar, Jalandhar and Ludhiana in Punjab. These revolutionary activities lasted abroad till 1945 when Subhas Chandra Bose met a mysterious death.
- With the rise of revolutionary movements and extremism, the British government followed a two-edged policy: (i) adopting the policies of repression and dividing the Indians, specifically the Hindus and the Muslims; and (ii) bringing about gradual reforms which resulted in passing of the Act of 1909.
- The extremists were basically influenced by the emergence of the Irish Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Issac Butt. B.G. Tilak returned to active politics in 1914 after completing his term of imprisonment. He tried to join hands with the Congress on the issue of demanding 'Home Rule' for India.
- The main aim of the Home Rule League was to 'attain Home-Rule or self government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organise public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same'.
- Besant had set up a Home Rule League in London in 1914 and ultimately founded a Home Rule League on 15 September 1916.
- Tilak and Besant toured all over India and propagated the message of the Home Rule among the masses.
- The nationalists very soon realized that disunity among them was harming their cause and that they should put up a united front against the government.
- Most importantly, the two factions of the Congress were reunited. The old controversies were no longer relevant because most of the leaders realized that the split in the Congress had borne political inactivity.
- Further, the emerging tide of nationalism forced the old leaders to welcome Lokamanya Tilak and other militant nationalists back into the Congress.
- The War and the two Home Rule Leagues were generating a new sentiment in the country which changed the character of the Congress.
- This growing unity in the objectives of the Congress and the League culminated in the signing of the Congress-League Pact, popularly called the Lucknow Pact.
- The immediate effect of the developments at Lucknow was wonderful. The unity between the moderate and militant nationalists as well as between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League created immense political enthusiasm in the country.

4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Swadeshi movement:** Part of the Indian independence movement aimed at removing the British Empire from power and improving economic conditions in India by following the principles of swadeshi (self-sufficiency)
- **Boycott:** An act of voluntarily abstaining from using, buying or dealing with a person, organization or country as an expression of protest, usually for political reasons
- **Extremism:** Any ideology or political act far outside the perceived political center of a society
- **Passive resistance:** Resistance by nonviolent methods to a government, an occupying power or specific laws, as refusing to comply, demonstrating in protest or fasting
- **Satyagraha:** Generally translated as 'insistence on truth', it is a particular philosophy and practice within the broader overall category generally known as nonviolent resistance or civil resistance
- **Swaraj:** Generally means self-governance or 'self-rule', and was used synonymously with 'home-rule' by Gandhi

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4.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Congress, which was at that time led by Gokhale and the moderates, decided to help the British because they took it as their duty. Another reason to support the British was that they thought that after getting help from India, the British would feel grateful and would allow India to have self-government.
2. In total 47,746 Indian troops were classed as killed or missing with 65,000 wounded. However, about 800,000 Indian troops participated in all the theatres of war with 1½ million volunteering for fight. They valiantly fought in majority of the theatres of war including Gallipoli and North and East Africa.
3. Khudiram Bose was a young revolutionary who threw a bomb at Kennedy's carriage in 1908 assuming it to be that of Kingsford, the judge of Muzaffarpur. He was accompanied by another revolutionary Prafulla Chaki. While Paula shot himself dead before he could be captured by the police. On the other hand, Khudiram was tried and hanged.
4. Some of the revolutionary associations were Kitty Kinas Party, Naujawan Sabha and Hindustan Republic Association.
5. Lala Hardayal, a revolutionary young man from Punjab, founded the Gadar Party.
6. In India, Bal Gangadhar Tilak founded the Home Rule League on 28 April 1916 with its headquarters at Poona. Due to the British indigestibility for the word 'swaraj', Tilak opted for the term 'Home Rule' in place of 'swaraj' as the main objective of the movement.
7. The Home Rule movement weakened after some time due to the following reasons: (1) the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919; (2) factionalism in the Congress on the issue of the Act; (3) departure of Tilak to London for a legal case; (4) Besant's consent to the new scheme of reforms of 1919.

8. The Lucknow Pact is the agreement the Congress and the Home League Movement signed declaring their joint intension to work for independence.
9. False

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4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Highlight the basic features of the Indian freedom struggle during the World War I.
2. Discuss the features of the Lucknow Pact in 1916.
3. Write a short note on the Home Rule League movement.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss how did the World War I mark the maturing of nationalism?
2. What were the main objectives of the Home Rule League in India? Evaluate its significance for the cause of Indian freedom.
3. Analyse the factors that gave rise to Indian revolutionary activities abroad. Name famous Indian revolutionaries abroad and discuss their activities to meet their objectives.
4. State the factors that led to the emergence of revolutionary terrorism in India. Discuss the activities of prominent revolutionaries in different parts of the country in this context.

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UNIT 5 NATIONALISM: INTER-WAR YEARS

NOTES

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Objectives
- 5.2 Emergence of Mahatma Gandhi and his Ideologies
 - 5.2.1 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920); 5.2.2 Khilafat Movement
- 5.3 The Swarajists
- 5.4 Programme of Constructive Work
- 5.5 Emergence of Communalism and its Different Phases
 - 5.5.1 Anti-Muslim British Policy
 - 5.5.2 Role of Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan
 - 5.5.3 Foundation of the Muslim League
 - 5.5.4 Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory
 - 5.5.5 Hindu Communalism
 - 5.5.6 Communal Interpretation of Muslim History
 - 5.5.7 Militant Nationalism with Communal Overtone
 - 5.5.8 Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909
- 5.6 Civil Disobedience Movement
- 5.7 Provincial Autonomy
- 5.8 Summing Up
- 5.9 Key Terms
- 5.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.11 Questions and Exercises
- 5.12 References and Suggested Readings

5.0 INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 20th century, Indians raised their voice for self-rule, a movement that came to be known as the struggle for Swaraj. The Indian National Congress demanded more powers for bodies with Indian representatives, such as the legislative council. There was also a clamour for recruiting to higher posts. The Congress proposed that the civil services examinations should be held in India rather than in England. They also demanded that steps should be taken to promote Indian industry and enterprise. In 1906, the Congress in a session presided by Dadabhai Naoroji, called for *swaraj* (a type of self-government elected by the people within the British Dominion) as it prevailed in the white colonies of the British Empire like Australia and Canada. Nationalist movements were gaining greater support, led by leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, who were arrested, while Tilak was deported to Burma for six years.

In order to control the volatile situation, the British made an attempt to placate the educated and moderate nationalist leaders, a move designed to isolate the militant movements. They announced some reforms in the structure of the government through the Indian Council Act of 1909, known as the Morley-Minto Reforms. Under these reforms, the number of additional members in the central Legislative Council was increased from 16 to 60, of which 27 were to be elected not only by a restricted number of people but also by the organizations of landlords and industrialists. Apart from this, representation was given to the Muslims separately. However, these measures did not satisfy the Indians, who only intensified their struggle for Swaraj.

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During World War I (1914–1918), Indians supported and cooperated with the British and their Allies against the Central powers, and a large number of Indians lost their lives. They had hoped that in return, the British would agree to their demand for granting a Dominion status to India after the war.

After the end of the War, in response to the demand for Swaraj and Dominion status, the British introduced another set of reforms – the Government of India Act of 1919, also known as the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The reforms did little to meet the aspirations of Indians, who felt short-changed after fighting alongside the British in the War. They were not ready to settle for anything less than self-rule, or Swaraj.

People's anger, disgust and discontent with the British spilled over in the form of violence and demonstrations all over the country. To suppress the volatile situation, the British passed the Rowlatt Act in 1919, giving the government power to arrest and detain people in jail without trial. The situation culminated in the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy of 13 April 1919, in which General Dyer ordered indiscriminate firing on unarmed protestors in an enclosed ground near the Golden Temple, Amritsar. The victims had gathered to protest peacefully against the British government's excesses against Indians. In one of the most heinous acts by the British in India, hundreds were killed, including men, women and children.

Meanwhile, the international situation came to play in Indian politics. Indian Muslims were outraged by the humiliation of their Caliph, the Turkish sultan and the Khilafat movement started in India. Gandhi was able to unite this Khilafat movement with his Non-Cooperation movement. Both Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements aimed at large-scale mobilization and participation by the Hindus and the Muslims. They tried to influence people to spin their own cloth, picket liquor shops, and uphold their honour and integrity in the face of British imperialism.

In this unit, you will learn about emergence of Gandhi in national politics, how his ideologies like Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience worked in the prevailing situation.

5.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain how Gandhi entered the national political scene
- Analyse his ideologies and explain them in context of the prevailing situation
- Discuss the importance of Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements
- Interpret the role of the Swarajists
- Describe the constrictive work programme
- Assess the effect of Civil Disobedience Movement
- Explain the steps taken to establish provincial autonomy

5.2 EMERGENCE OF MAHATMA GANDHI AND HIS IDEALOGIES

Towards the end of World War I Indians had become increasingly conscious of their rights and became vocal in their demand for self-rule. They demanded a share in governing their own country. They had supported the British during World War I, in the hope that the British would grant them the right to govern their own country. Their demands and

concerns were articulated by the Indian National Congress, which was led by moderates who remained loyal to the British despite the demand for self-government. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and the widespread disillusionment with their provisions gave rise to an extremist faction within the Indian National Congress, which saw the moderates as ineffective in achieving any demands on behalf of the Indians. The extremists wanted to drive out the British and take full control of the government rather than plead with the British for some limited self-rule. As the moderates failed to win any concessions from the British, the extremists gained more support.

With the Indian leadership split between the moderate and extremist factions, another leader emerged who came to dominate the freedom struggle with his principle of non-violent opposition to British rule. This was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, a person with mass appeal who enjoyed the support of both the moderates and the extremists. Gandhi, or Mahatma Gandhi, as he came to be known, turned the national movement into a mass movement of the people. He had returned to India from South Africa in early 1915. Gandhi had been a moderate to begin with and had supported the British government during the war. However, a number of events, like the conduct of the British government in Champaran and Kheda, passing of the Rowlatt Act, and the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, turned him from a loyalist to rebel. He considered Gokhale to be his political mentor and, therefore, often turned to him for advice. He went around the country for a year, travelling in third class in trains, and getting acquainted with the people and their problems at the grassroots level.

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

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

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

Champaran satyagraha

The satyagraha at Champaran took place in 1917. It was the first major incident in Gandhi's movement against the British. Though it came to be known as satyagraha, the term was first used during the Rowlatt Agitation of 1919. The Champaran satyagraha was in support of the poor farmers of Champaran district in Bihar, who were forced to grow cash crops, such as indigo. The crop was bought at very low price fixed by the European planters. In addition, the British also started levying a tax on the farmers, which pushed them to the brink. The farmers had heard about Gandhi and they invited him to their district to help them against the British. Gandhi came to Champaran accompanied by young leaders like Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalani, Mahadev Desai and Mazhar-ul-Haq. He demanded an inquiry into the condition of the poor indigo farmers. Gandhi was ordered to leave Champaran, but he refused. The government had to consider his demands and appointed a committee to find out the conditions of the farmers and their problems. Gandhi was also made a member of the committee. According to the

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committee report, the peasants were free from the clutches of the European planters. Gandhi emerged as a leader with mass appeal.

Kheda

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

Ahmedabad Mill Strike

There were many textile mills in Ahmedabad, where Gandhi was looking for a suitable place for his ashram. In 1918, there was a dispute between the workers and mill-owners of Ahmedabad. This was because of increase in prices, and the mill workers wanted higher wages. The mill owners did not agree. Gandhi supported the workers and started a struggle in which he used peaceful resistance. Gandhi suggested the workers to go on strike and to demand a 35 per cent increase in wages. However, he cautioned them against resorting to violence against the employers. He himself went on a fast unto death to keep up workers' resolve to continue the strike. His fast-unto-death succeeded in putting pressure on the mill-owners who gave in to the workers' demands on the fourth day and agreed to give the workers a 35 per cent increase in wages.

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

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

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

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- (i) **Non-cooperation and satyagraha:** This was the most common method initiated by Gandhi where he led peaceful protests through non-cooperation with the British authority. Another ideology of his was Satyagraha, which Gandhi explains as fearless agitation based on non-cooperation, fearlessness and truthfulness. Gandhi used Satyagraha to bend the British government in accepting the valid demands of the Indian people.
- (ii) **Non-violence:** Mahatma Gandhi was aware that the poor Indians could not compete against the British government and that any violent protest would only result in more Indian casualties. Therefore, he adopted the policy of non-violence during all his movement.
- (iii) **Truthfulness:** Similar to non-violence, truthfulness was a symbol of Gandhi's ideologies and methods. It is known that he not only preached but practiced absolute truthfulness that gave him inner strength to fight the British government. Apart from inner strength, it convinced the Indian masses of his intentions towards the British.
- (iv) **Involvement of Masses:** The involving of common man in his cause of freedom was an important step in uniting the entire nation against the British. Previously, the nationalist movement was run by a small group of intellectuals and the masses were neither involved nor informed about the developments taking place in the national movement. This trend was reversed under the leadership of Gandhi.

5.2.1 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920)

When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-Cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922. This movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism. Under his guidance and leadership, the Indian National Congress adapted the policy of passive resistance against British rule. The launch of the Non-Cooperation Movement was set against the backdrop of the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, which increased the bitter resentment people had towards the British rule, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Montague Chelmsford Report (1919) with its ill-considered scheme of diarchy. The British government passed the report with the intension to gradually introduce self-governing institutions in India. However, not only did these reforms frustrate the Indian hope of self-governance, the British were also very critical of the policies of this reform.

Discontent against the British increased with the appointment of the Hunter Commission to report the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. The Hunter Commission did not take any disciplinary action against General Dyer and rather favoured this act of violence as an attempt to subdue a protest. This report infuriated the Indian leaders and made present conditions ripe for another protest.

At this point, a large number of educated Muslim leaders emerged, who had their own issues with the British government. The Muslims were discontent with the British regarding the insensitive treatment of Turkey in World War I as they regarded the Caliph of Turkey as their spiritual leader. The Muslims had been assured that the Caliph would be treated leniently after the defeat of Turkey and its allies in World War I. However, the post-war treaty ruthlessly curtailed the powers of the Caliph, and the Indian Muslims started the Khilafat movement. Gandhi found the time was ripe to align with this movement

and bring the Hindus and Muslims together. His skill at the political game ensured he won over the Muslims.

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On the initiatives taken by the Ali brothers Mohammad and Shaukat, the first call for non-cooperation came from the All India Khilafat Conference in Delhi on 22-23 November 1919. At a Khilafat Conference held in Allahabad, a four stage non-cooperation programme was announced. This non-cooperation programme included the boycott of the following:

- (i) Titles
- (ii) Civil services
- (iii) Police and Army
- (iv) Payment of taxes

The Non-Cooperation Movement was officially launched on 1 August 1920, after the notice given by Gandhi to the Viceroy expired. In this notice, Gandhi had demanded the right recognized 'from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules'. At its session held in Kolkata in 1920, the India National Congress decided the aims and charter of the movement, which were similar to those of the Khilafat Conference of Allahabad. These resolutions were endorsed at the session of the Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920. In addition, other resolutions for the betterment of the party organization were also drawn up. Membership to the party was opened to all adult men and women based on the payment of 4 annas as subscription fees.

The movement enjoyed massive popular appeal, and in the first month scores of students left government schools and colleges and joined national institutions that had started all over the country. This boycott was particularly successful in Bengal under the leadership of Chitta Ranjan Das and Subhas Chandra Bose. Punjab also supported this educational boycott and Lala Lajpat Rai played a monumental role there. Other states where educational boycott were seen include Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Legal boycott was not as successful as educational boycott. However, many leading lawyers including C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M.R. Jayakar, Asif Ali, C Rajagopalachari and S Kitchlu left their flourishing legal practice and joined the cause of independence. Their sacrifice proved inspirational for people. Khadi was given importance as it was an indigenous handspun product and charkas were also distributed. This led to the boycott of foreign goods. Advertisements in nationalist newspapers were given, inviting people to participate in burning of foreign goods. These nationalist efforts led to the decline in cloth exports to a great extent. This was the first time that picketing of liquor shops took place.

The Muslim support to the nationalist cause was also one of the main features of the Nationalist Movement. In the July of 1921, Muhammad Ali appealed to all Muslims in the British army that they should consider it morally wrong to be a part of the British army and, therefore, should discontinue their services. Due to this propaganda against the British, Muhammad Ali was arrested. After he was arrested, this call was taken up by Gandhi and the Congress who issued a manifesto to all Indians to sever all ties with the British Indian army.

Another dramatic event to unfold was the visit of the Prince of Wales in November 1921. The day of the Prince's visit was observed as a day of a pan-India *hartal*. He was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went. However, due to the strong anti-British feelings, a riot occurred between the people dispersing from Gandhi's

meeting and the people who had joined the procession of welcoming the Prince. In order to reduce this tension, Gandhi had to go on a four day fast.

These measures made the volunteers of the Non-Cooperation Movement bold and urged by the successful defiance of the government, they became increasingly aggressive.

There were some indirect effects of the Non-Cooperation Movement as well.

- In the United Provinces, one could not differentiate between a Non-Cooperation Movement meeting and a peasant meeting.
- In Kerala, the movement helped to provoke Muslim tenants against their landlords.
- In Assam, tea plantation laborers went on strike.
- In Punjab, the Akali movement became a part of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

The Non-Cooperation Movement also ensured that the women nationalists organized their efforts under the Mahila Karma Samaj. The movement was so popular that the government put into action Sections 108 and 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Various volunteers' groups were declared illegal and scores of people were arrested from all over the country. Only Gandhi was spared. Various attempts were made to negotiate with these volunteers, but the conditions offered were so rigorous that it would lead to sacrifice of the Khilafat leaders. Gandhi was under tremendous pressure from the rank and file of the Congress to start the mass civil disobedience.

The Chauri Chaura incident, in which a mob burned alive twenty-five policemen and one inspector, made Gandhi suspend the Non-Cooperation Movement. But the movement still managed to achieve several positives, including the following:

- Provide a platform for the unification of all religious communities so that a joint force could fight against the foreign rule
- Provide the required impetus and mass support for future agitations and movements
- Provide a sense of courage, direction and confidence to masses and fill them with self-respect and esteem.
- Provide a sense of representation to the Muslim community in the nationalist movement

The limitations of the Non-Cooperation Movement were that the movement failed to secure the objective of Khilafat and rectify the wrongs suffered by the masses in Punjab. Also, *swaraj* was not achieved within the year as was promised.

5.2.2 Khilafat Movement

The Khilafat Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1924 was an Islamic movement that derived its inspiration from Indian nationalists. The basis of this movement lies in a pan-Islamic movement launched by Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909), the Ottoman emperor, to utilize his role as the Sultan-Khalifa of the Muslim community the world over to protect his rapidly falling apart empire from attacks by foreign powers and destroy the nationalistic democratic movement brewing within the country. Jamaluddin Afghani's, his emissary, visit to India in the late nineteenth century to spread his Islamic ideas received a favourable response from the Muslim leaders in India. The twentieth century saw the intensification of these sentiments during the following times:

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Check Your Progress

1. Who gave the Gandhi the title of mahatma?
2. The Non-Cooperation Movement lasted from _____ to _____.
3. The _____ was an orthodox Islamic movement launched by Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.
4. The most successful resolution of the Non-Cooperation Movement was the boycott of _____.
5. The _____ spelled out the provisions for the division of Turkey and its territories after the First World War.
6. The Champaran satyagraha was in support of the poor farmers of Champaran district in Bihar, who cultivated cotton. (True/False)
7. After the Champaran satyagraha, the government appointed a committee to study the condition of the peasants, and Gandhi was also a member of that committee. (True/False)

- The 1905 partition of Bengal being revoked in 1911
- The Italian (1911) and Balkan (1911–1912) attacks on Turkey
- The participation of Great Britain in the First World War (1914–1918)

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Turkey suffered defeat in the First World War and its territories were divided according to the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres between the European countries. This led to widespread apprehension in India over the custodianship of the Khalifa.

This was the backdrop against which the Khilafat Movement was initiated in September 1919. It was an orthodox Islamic movement that was started by the following Muslim stalwarts:

- Muhammad Ali
- Shawkat Ali
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
- Dr Ansari
- Hasrat Mohani

Conferences for this movement were organized in cities across northern India. The Central Khilafat Committee, with provincial branches, was set up in Bombay. The president of the central office was Seth Chotani and its secretary was Shawkat Ali. This committee also started a fund to finance the nationalist movement in Turkey and to start the Khilafat Movement here in India. In 1920, Muhammad Ali and Shawkat Ali also drafted the Khilafat Manifesto.

5.3 THE SWARAJISTS

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

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

5.4 PROGRAMME OF CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

Although the term 'constructive programme' is associated with end of the Civil Disobedience Movement of Gandhi in 1934, it was not new. In 1923, after the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement, there was a division among the Congressmen over

Check Your Progress

8. Gandhi undertook a fast to support the strike for increased wages for mill workers in Calcutta. (True/False)
9. The Chauri-Chaura incident made Mahatma Gandhi suspend the Non-Cooperation Movement. (True/False)
10. The failure of the Non-Cooperation Movement was that Swaraj was not achieved within a year. (True/False)
11. Name two Swarajist leaders.
12. Who did the Swarajists defeat in the elections?

participation in the legislatures. Gandhi reluctantly gave the permission for council entry to the 'pro-changer' group led by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru. The hardcore Gandhians, known as 'no-changers' remained outside the legislative politics and devoted themselves to grassroots constructive work around the promotion of khadi and spinning, boycott of foreign cloths, national education, Hindu-Muslim unity, tribal uplift and the struggle against untouchability. Some of these programmes had developed even earlier during the anti-partition movement in Bengal in 1905.

In 1933, the Civil Disobedience Movement was withdrawn. A major section of the Congress party obtained Gandhi's support to participation in legislative politics again. But Gandhi remained outside this mainstream tendency. He advised his followers to revive the constructive programme. This time the focus on Khadi and basic education apart, there was special movement for abolition of untouchability. At the background of this abolition of untouchability programme was the Gandhi-Ambedkar pact signed at Pune in 1932 and the temple entry movement of Peryar Ramaswami Naikar in Madras. It became controversial because the politically inclined Congressmen thought it to be a digression from the main programme for independence while many conservative Hindus disliked it on the ground of pollution. However, there was positive impact on the 'Harijan' community in India which was drawn closer to the Indian national movement.

5.5 EMERGENCE OF COMMUNALISM AND ITS DIFFERENT PHASES

Communalism is basically an ideology. It is the belief that in India Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are from different and distinct communities. Inherent in communalism is the second notion that the social, cultural, economic and political interests of the followers of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the interests of the followers of another religion. When religious 'communities' are seen to be mutually incompatible, antagonistic and hostile communalism is said to be at its apex. Thus, at this stage, the communalists assert that Hindus and Muslims cannot have common secular interests, and that their secular interests are bound to be opposed to each other.

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

Though the British East India Company was able to suppress the 1857-Revolt, they could not curb the political awareness and nationalist feeling. In December 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded. It was the first association that brought together educated Indians and gave them a platform for civic and political dialogue with the British government. It was the viable embodiment of the national awakening in the country. Retired British civil servant Allan Octavian Hume was the brain behind the formation of INC. Though several Muslim leaders joined the Congress, people like Sayed Ahmed Khan, a prominent Muslim figure, became its staunch opponent. Details about the Indian National Congress are given in Unit 2.

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Check Your Progress

13. Who are the no-changers?
14. What were the areas of focus during the second phase of constructive programme?

5.5.1 Anti-Muslim British Policy

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

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

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

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

5.5.2 Role of Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan

Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan was an Indian educator, politician, reformer and modernist, who pioneered modern education for Muslims in India by establishing the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. This institute later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. The liberal social reforms and cultural movement founded by Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan are collectively known as the Aligarh Movement, because it began in Aligarh. The Mohammedan-Anglo Oriental College was established in 1875. It developed into the Aligarh Muslim University in 1890. Along with it, an All India Muslim Educational Conference was also organized. The Aligarh Movement was successful in spreading western education among Muslims without weakening their commitment to Islam.

The second task it undertook was to introduce social reforms in the Muslim society. The Aligarh Movement strived to evolve the Muslim community as a distinct social and cultural community, on the lines of modernism. Saiyed Ahmed Khan was of the belief that the problem of illiteracy among Muslims in India could be solved by blending English education with Islamic teachings. His education institute was aimed at resolving this problem.



Fig. 5.1 Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan

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An ex-employee of the East India Company, Saiyed Ahmad Khan started his political career as an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. He had described the Hindus and Muslims as 'two eyes of the beautiful bride that was India.' He had declared in 1884 at Gurdaspur that the Hindus and Muslims should try to become of one heart and soul and act in unison. 'If united, we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both,' he said.

However, speaking at the Central Legislature in January 1883 on Ripon's Bill for establishment of local self-government in the Central Provinces, Khan had referred to the vital difference between different races and different religions and the unequal or disproportionate progress of education among different sections of the population. He said that the fear that any system of election, pure and simple, would result in the larger community overriding the interest of the smaller community. A true devotee of the Muslim cause, Saiyed Ahmad Khan was fully aware of Muslim backwardness in the fields of education and politics and came to the conclusion that India was not fit for the introduction of Western political institutions like representative or responsible government, for his community could not get its due share in it. His policy was based on fear of permanent domination of Muslims by Hindus educationally, economically and politically.

Contrast with this, Sir Saiyed's speech at Meerut on 16 March 1888, where he maintained that the Hindus and Muslims were not only two nations, but as two warring nations who could never lead a common political life, should the British ever quit India. The Muslim demand for separate electorates almost synchronized with the introduction of the system of election in the constitution of local bodies.

The Anglo-Indian administrators were quick to work on Muslim apprehensions and strove to drive a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims. The three English principals of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Beck, Morrison and Archbold, gave the pro-British and anti-Hindu bias to the Aligarh Movement. The Aligarh Movement worked to instil into the minds of the Muslims a spirit of loyalty towards the British

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Crown and worked consciously and deliberately to keep them away from the mainstream of Indian political life. In August 1888, Saiyed Ahmad Khan set up the United Indian Patriotic Association with the avowed object of countering the Congress propaganda and policy in England and in India. This was followed a few years later (1893) by the exclusively sectarian Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India to keep the Muslims aloof from political agitation and to strengthen British rule in India.

5.5.3 Foundation of the Muslim League

The separatist and loyalist tendencies among a section of the Muslim intelligentsia and the big Muslim nawabs and landlords reached a climax on 30 December 1906, when the All India Muslim League was founded under the leadership of the Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Founded as a loyalist, communal and conservative political organization, the League made no critique of colonialism, supported the partition of Bengal, raised the slogan of separate Muslim interests, demanded separate electorates and safeguards for Muslims in government services, and reiterated all the major themes of communal politics and ideology enunciated earlier by Sir Ahmad and his followers. The aims of the League were as follows:

- (i) To promote among Indian Muslims feelings of loyalty towards the British Government and to remove any misconception, that may arise, as to the intentions of the Government with regard to any of its measures.
- (ii) To protect the political and other rights of the Indian Muslims and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government in temperate language, and
- (iii) So far as possible without prejudice to the objects mentioned under (i) and (ii) to promote friendly relations between Muslim and other communities of India.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Muslim League propaganda gained by the existence of such communal bodies among the Hindus as the Hindu Mahasabha. They too accepted the two-nation theory. They actively opposed the policy of giving adequate safeguards to the minorities so as to renovate their fears of domination by the minorities.

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

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

5.5.4 Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory

The British Government harped on 'the issue of minorities' and some talked of the unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. Mahatma Gandhi held that it was a domestic problem, which would disappear if the British withdrew from India. At the Ramgarh session of the Congress, held in March 1940, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President, emphasised the heritage of a common nationality between the Hindus and the Muslims in India and significantly remarked, 'Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible'. Various factors fanned communal bitterness and at its annual session, held at Lahore in March 1940, the Muslim League enunciated the theory that the Muslims are not a minority but a 'nation' and they must have their separate homeland. It was of the view that 'the areas in which the Muslims were numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units would be autonomous and sovereign'. Indeed, the influence of the Muslim League over the Muslims had increased much by that time. Gandhi's reaction to the Lahore resolution was prophetic, 'I can never be a willing party to the vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it. For it means the undoing of centuries of work done by numberless Hindus and Muslims to live together as one nation. Partition means a patent untruth.'

5.5.5 Hindu Communalism

Simultaneously, Hindu communalism was also being born and Hindu communal ideas were arising. Many Hindu writers and political workers enjoyed the ideas and programmes of Muslim communalism and the Muslim League. From the 1870s, a section of Hindu

zamindars, moneylenders and middle-class professionals began to arouse anti-Muslim sentiments. Fully accepting the colonial view of Indian history, they talked and wrote about 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 took up, correctly, the question of Hindi, but gave it a communal twist, declaring totally unhistorical, that Urdu was the language of Muslims and Hindi of Hindus. All over India, anti-cow slaughter propaganda was undertaken in the early 1890s. The campaign was, however, primarily directed not against the British but against Muslims; the British cantonments, for example, were left free to carry on cow slaughter on a large scale.

5.5.6 Communal Interpretation of Muslim History

British writers on Indian history also served the imperial cause by initiating, developing and emphasizing the Hindu-Muslim approach in their study of Indian history and development of Indian culture. This communal approach to history also imitated by Indian scholars and fostered the communal way of thinking. For example, the ancient period of a history was described as Hindu period and the medieval period labelled as Muslim period of Indian history, implying thereby that religion was the guiding force behind politics during whole of the medieval period. True, both the rulers and the ruled, not often used religious slogans to suit their material and political ambitions, but it was certainly a distortion of history to infer-as was done by these writers-that all Muslims were the rulers and all Hindus were the ruled. In fact, the Muslim masses as poor, if not more, as the Hindu masses and were thoroughly oppressed and exploited by the Muslim rulers and their Hindu collaborators. All the same, this communal approach Indian history did foster divisive communal tendencies in Indian politics in the last quarter of the 19th century and first of the 20th century.

5.5.7 Militant Nationalism with Communal Overtone

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

This does not mean that militant nationalists were anti-Muslim or even wholly communal. Most of them including Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo and later Gandhiji were strong believers in Hindu-Muslim unity. True, the references to Hindu theology were intended to involve the politically inert masses into the nationalist struggle by explaining

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to them nationalism couched in a language within their comprehension, i.e., religious phraseology, but it did have the undesired effect of rousing Muslim communal susceptibilities—feelings cleverly exploited by the British rulers.

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

5.5.8 Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909

The Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) introduced the system of separate electorate in the Council election under which all Muslims were grouped in separate constituencies from which Muslims alone could be elected. This was done in the name of protecting the Muslim minority. But in reality, this was a part of the policy of dividing Hindus and Muslims and thus, maintaining British supremacy in India. The system of separate electorates was based on the notion that the political and economic interests of Hindus and Muslims were separate. This notion was unscientific because religions cannot be the basis of political and economic interest or of political groupings. What is even more important, this system proved extremely harmful in practice. It checked the progress of India's unification, which had been a continuous historical process. It became a potent factor in the growth of communalism—both Muslims and Hindus—in the country. Instead of removing the educational and economic backwardness of the middle class Muslims and thus, integrating them into the mainstream of Indian nationalism, the system of separate electorates tended to perpetuate their isolation from the eloping nationalist movement. It encouraged separatist agencies. It prevented people from concentrating on economic political problems, which were common to all Indians—Hindu or Muslim.

Check Your Progress

15. When was the Indian National Congress launched?
16. Who established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College?
17. Who founded the Muslim League and when?
18. What were the aims of the Muslim League?
19. What was the biggest contribution of the Morley-Minto Reforms?

5.6 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT AND ITS REGIONAL VARIATION

After authorization from the Indian National Congress, Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement. For this he put forward an eleven-point ultimatum to Lord Irwin in January 1930. The ultimatum was basically a demand for administrative reforms for Indians and it also stated that if these reforms were introduced no more agitation would take place. The reforms mentioned under the eleven-point ultimatum were as follows:

- Decrease expenditure on the army and civil services
- Total prohibition of intoxicants
- New reforms for the criminal investigation department
- Changes in Arms Act which would allow popular control of issue of license
- Political prisoners to be released
- Postal Reservation Bill to be accepted and passed as law

- Reduction in rupee-sterling exchange ratio
- Textile protection to be introduced
- Reservation of coastal shipping for Indians
- Land revenue reduction
- Salt tax to be abolished

Since there was no response from Lord Irwin regarding the eleven-point ultimatum, on 30 March 1930, Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement with a march to Dandi. The issue was tax on salt, which affected the poorest of poor. Thus, salt became a symbol of deprivation and oppression and many Indians related to this issue. Gandhi accompanied by seventy-two of his faithful followers marched from Sabarmati Ashram towards the sea at Dandi. Large crowds were drawn to the Dandi march who followed Gandhi all the way. Many spun yarns on charkhas as a symbol of their solidarity. By 6 April 1930, Gandhi finally reached Dandi where he launched the nationwide Civil Disobedience Movement by picking up a handful of salt. This started the illegal manufacture of salt nationwide. Since salt production was limited to certain areas, other parts of India showed their support to the Civil Disobedience through different methods of which some have been mentioned below:

- Picketing of liquor shops
- Large-scale resignations by rural officials
- Distribution of illegal pamphlets
- Singing of national songs
- Satyagraha

The Civil Disobedience Movement spread throughout the country from one part to another. There was also a massive demonstration at Peshawar where Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his followers who were known as Khudai Khidmatgars or Red Shirts had been actively doing constructive work for the past few years. The response to their demonstration was tremendous. The masses controlled the city for at least a week and the soldiers of the Garhwali regiment refused to fire at unarmed people. During this time, Nehru was arrested and this was followed by protests in Madras, Calcutta and Karachi. All these developments during the Civil Disobedience Movement put the British Government in a quandary as they had not expected the Salt Satyagraha to have such an impact. The British Government in response arrested Gandhi, which further intensified the protests. The most important outcome of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the widespread participation of youth especially students. This movement also saw women participating on a large scale by picketing liquor shops and shops that sold foreign goods. In order to curb the influence and affects of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the government reduced the civil liberties of the Indian people drastically and they also banned civil disobedience organizations in the provinces. In lieu of this, a number of local committees were banned. The Congress Working Committee was also banned and Motilal Nehru, who was the Congress president at that time, was arrested.

During the same time, the Simon Commission report was published and it had no mention of India being given dominion status. This further intensified the protests which had started during the Civil Disobedience Movement. In order to pacify the Indians, the viceroy extended an invitation to the Round Table Conference and repeated his intention of discussing the award of dominion status to India. However, despite discussions between Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi, no decision could be taken. Any further

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discussions with the British were stopped. The First Round Table took place in London in 1930. This conference took place between Indian leaders and the British government and the interesting point to note here was the Congress got no representation at the first Round Table Conference. Thus, any negotiations between the Indian leaders and British government on an equal basis would not prove fruitful unless the Congress was involved.

The government finally agreed to release Gandhi and other members of the Congress Working Committee unconditionally. After a lot of deliberation and discussion, the delegates of the First Round Table Conference assigned Gandhi the task to negotiate with the viceroy. The discussion between Gandhi and Lord Irwin went on for a fortnight and finally on 5 March 1931 the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed. The pact addressed the following terms:

- Immediate release of all people arrested for non-violent protest.
- Cancellation of all fines that had not been collected
- Peasant lands which had been confiscated by the British were to be returned to the rightful owner.
- Government employees who had resigned in the wake of the Civil Disobedience Movement were to be treated leniently.
- The right to make salt for consumption was to be granted to the villages settled near the coast.
- Right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing to be granted

After the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5 March 1931, the Congress agreed to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement and agreed to participate in the Second Round Table Conference. However the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was viewed by many as a temporary truce amongst the Indians and British Government. Many Indians were not convinced of the necessity of this agreement and this renewed revolutionary activities and radical communist movements. As the communist movement spread, freedom fighters such as Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged. In the 1931 Karachi session, the Congress repeated its main objective of 'Purna Swaraj' and endorsed the Delhi Pact between Gandhi and Lord Irwin. Though the Delhi Pact did not mention any clause regarding independence, the Congress at the Karachi session went ahead in preparing a constitution and adopted resolutions on fundamental rights and national economic policy. The framing of constitution was nonetheless a landmark in constitutional history. The constitution had underlined specific areas which are as follow:

- Free speech
- Free press
- Freedom of association
- Equality before law
- Neutrality in religious matters
- Universal adult franchise
- Free and compulsory education

Apart from these many other provisions were made in the Constitution draft of free India. The Second Round Table Conference was held at London in 1931 and was attended by Gandhi. The attitude of the British government towards India was becoming more rigid day by day and with Willington replacing Irwin, the attitude of the Home Government also changed. The discussions at the Second Round Table Conference did

Salient features of the Government of India Act of 1935**NOTES**

The Government of India Act of 1935 is considered a milestone leading to the birth of a full-responsible government. The act was a detailed and complicated document containing 321 Sections with 10 Schedules. The striking features of the Act were the introduction of partial responsibility at the centre and provincial autonomy. Apart from this, the establishment of an All India Federation was considered a unique feature. The salient features of the Act have been discussed in detail below:

- (i) **All India Federation:** This Act made provisions for the establishment of an All India Federation. The federation would include British provinces and those India states who wished to be a part of this alliance. It was mandatory for British India to be a part of this federation but optional for the Indian states. However, the Indian states could only be a part of the federation when 50 per cent of the princes had formally agreed to it. It was observed that under all previous acts the Government of India was unitary, however, under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Provinces and Indian states were taken as one unit.
- (ii) **Dyarchy at the centre:** Dyarchy was abolished at the provincial level and introduced at the centre through the Act of 1935. The governor-general had all executive powers at the centre. Federal subjects were divided into reserved and transferred categories. The reserved category included subjects like defense, external affairs, ecclesiast and tribal areas and were made y the discretion of the Governor-General who was assisted by a group of councilors who were not responsible to the Legislature. On the other hand, the transferred category was to be administered by the governor-general who was to act on the advice of a council of ministers that were responsible to the Legislature.
- (iii) **Provincial autonomy:** The key feature of the Act of 1935 was that it heralded the beginning of provincial autonomy. The Act divided legislative powers between the provinces and central legislatures. The provinces now were autonomous units of administration and no longer delegates of central government. Through this aspect the Government of India assumed the role of a federal government vis-à-vis the provincial governments, even though the Indian states did not join the complete scheme of federation. A governor exercised executive authority of a province on behalf of the Crown and not as a subordinate to the Governor-General. The governor was required to act with the advice of ministers who were responsible to the legislature.

Though provinces gained autonomy by the Act of 1935, the central government retained control over the provinces in matters which required the governor to act in his discretion or exercise individual judgment in certain issues. In such matters the governor was to act without the advice of his ministers, however under the control and directions of the Governor-General and secretary of state.

- (iv) **Federal legislature:** The federal legislature was divided into two houses, the Council of States and the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly or the Lower House had 375 members, of which 250 were from British Indian Provinces and 125 represented the Indian states. The tenure of the Legislative Assembly was five years, unless dissolved earlier. The Council of States or the Upper House consisted of 260 members out of which 156 members were to represent the British provinces. In the Council of States, six member were nominated y the Governor-General and the rest were elected directly. The remaining 104 members

were to be nominated by the Indian states. Although, the Federal Legislature had limited powers, both its houses shared equal powers amongst them. If there was a point of difference between the two houses, the act had made provisions for a joint session to solve the problem.

(v) **Provincial government:** The executive at the provincial level consisted of a governor and his council of ministers who advised him on various matters. The Governor was the head of the provincial executive and was vested with three types of power. They are as follows:

- (a) Discretionary powers
- (b) Powers exercised through individual judgment
- (c) Powers exercised on the advice of the ministers

However, in matters of special responsibility, he had to override advice given by the ministers.

(vi) **Provincial legislatures:** The people directly elected the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. After the Act of 1935 was passed, the Legislatures of Bombay, Bengal, Madras, Bihar, Assam and the United Provinces were made bicameral, i.e., two houses, while the other five provinces the legislatures were unicameral or one house. The provincial assembly structure was different from province to province. For instance the voting qualifications for the membership of the council were not similar in all provinces. The assembly was elected for a period of five years. In the election of the members to the assembly, the principle of communal electorate was followed. Power was granted to the provincial legislature to make laws given in the provincial list. However, they were also authorized to make laws on the subjects given in the concurrent list. The power to make laws was also extended to residuary subjects assigned by the governor-general. While introducing a bill, a previous sanction from the governor and the governor-general was obligatory. However, financial bills could only be introduced on the recommendation of the governor. No bill passed by the Legislature could become an act until it had the governor's approval. If the governor felt that the bill needed further deliberation, he had the right to return the bill. Due to his discretionary powers and responsibilities, the governor could be visualized as somewhat of a dictator in the provinces. The distribution of seats for various Legislative Assemblies was as follows:

Bengal	250
United Provinces	228
Madras	215
Bombay	175
Punjab	175
Bihar	192
Central Provinces	112
Orissa	60
Sind	60
NWFP	50

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The policy of a separate electorate continued and as per an agreement taken during the Poona Act of 1932, certain seats were reserved for the depressed class in the general constituency. Though the British Government granted maximum autonomy to the provinces, it was the governor, the centre's nominee that had special powers. He had the power to veto legislative and administrative measures concerning the issues of:

- (a) Minorities
- (b) Rights of civil servants
- (c) Law and order
- (d) British business interests

Apart from these powers, the governor also had the right to run the administration of a province for an indefinite period.

(vii) Distribution of legislative power between the centre and the provinces:

Through the Act of 1935, a division of power between the centre and provinces was made. This division was done on the basis of three lists, which are as follows:

- (a) Federal list
- (b) Provincial list
- (c) Concurrent list

The federal legislature had exclusive powers of legislation over the subjects mentioned in the Federal List, which consisted of 59 subjects. Matters pertaining to national importance and matters which were essential and vital for the existence of the Federation were mentioned. Some of the important subjects were related to external affairs, currency and coinage, naval, military, census, etc. The Provincial List consisted of 54 subjects and these were matters pertaining to local importance such as police, public services, education, etc. The Concurrent List consisted for 26 subjects pertaining to criminal law, criminal procedure, civil procedure, marriage and divorce, arbitration, etc. One important fact about the Concurrent List was that it required a uniform policy throughout the country despite being local and provincial in nature.

The Federal Legislature was bestowed with legislative powers in respect to the subjects of the Provincial List, in case a proclamation of emergency was made by the Governor-General. When two or more provinces came together for a common interest, the Federal legislature was authorized to legislate on matters of provincial subject. If the concurrent field had to deal with matters of repugnancy, the federal law had more power than provincial law. However, if the Governor or the British Crown authorized the provinces, then the provincial law prevailed. The allocation of residuary powers as mentioned in the act was neither vested in central or provincial legislatures. It was the Governor-General who had the right to authorize federal or provincial legislature to enact a law pertaining to matters which were not evaluated in any of the three lists.

- (viii) Secretary of state:** The secretary of state in England was assisted by advisers who might or might not be consulted. Due to rampant agitation in India, the Indian council was abolished. The main aim of the act was to divide and weaken the nationalist movement. To an extent the British government succeeded too as it was evident from the formation of ministries in 1937. Nonetheless, the act was also an inspiration to the members of constituent assembly to frame the constitution of free India.

(ix) **The Federal Court:** The Act of 1935 established a Federal Court which had one Chief Justice and the number of judges were limited to six. The judges were appointed by the British Crown and the retiring age of these judges was sixty-five years. Necessary qualifications of the judges were also mentioned in the act. There were three kinds of jurisdictions which are as follows:

- (a) **Original:** Here the court had exclusive original jurisdiction in any dispute arising between the Federation and its units or in the units inter se.
- (b) **Appellate:** This was extended to appeals from the judgment of any high court in India to the Federal Court, in cases where the high court concluded that the case involved substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Government of India Act 1935 or in any order in council made, there under.
- (c) **Advisory:** An appeal could go to the Privy Council from decisions of the Federal Court. The Federal Court had also advisory jurisdiction. The Governor could refer any question of law to the Court to obtain its opinion whenever he liked to seek its advice.

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5.8 SUMMING UP

- Towards the end of World War I Indians had become increasingly conscious of their rights and became vocal in their demand for self-rule.
- With the Indian leadership split between the moderate and extremist factions, another leader emerged who came to dominate the freedom struggle with his principle of non-violent opposition to British rule. This was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, a person with mass appeal who enjoyed the support of both the moderates and the extremists.
- Gradually, he led several local struggles such as the one at Champaran in Bihar and the dispute at Ahmedabad textile mills. These local struggles were also a landmark in the history of Indian freedom struggle as they were the first Satyagraha protests initiated by Gandhi based on the principle of ahimsa or non-violence against the British.
- When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-Cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922.
- At this point, a large number of educated Muslim leaders emerged, who had their own issues with the British government.
- On the initiatives taken by the Ali brothers Mohammad and Shaukat, the first call for non-cooperation came from the All India Khilafat Conference in Delhi on 22-23 November 1919. At a Khilafat Conference held in Allahabad, a four stage non-cooperation programme was announced.
- The Muslim support to the nationalist cause was also one of the main features of the Nationalist Movement.
- The Khilafat Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1924 was an Islamic movement that derived its inspiration from Indian nationalists.
- The basis of the Khilafat movement is in a pan-Islamic movement launched by Abdul Hamid II, the Ottoman emperor, to utilize his role as the Sultan-Khalifa of

Check Your Progress

24. There were _____ sections and 10 schedules in the Government of India Act 1935.
25. After the Government of India Act 1935, the system of _____ was introduced at the Centre.
26. The Government of India Act 1935 divided the Federal Legislature into two houses: the Council of States and the Legislative Assembly. (True/False)
27. After the provincial elections held in 1936-37, the Congress was in power for 2 years and 3 months. (True/False)

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- the global Muslim community to protect his empire from foreign attacks and destroy the nationalistic democratic movement brewing within the country.
- When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-Cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922.
 - The Non-Cooperation Movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism. Under his guidance and leadership, the Indian National Congress adapted the policy of passive resistance against British rule.
 - The Non-Cooperation Movement enjoyed massive popular appeal, and scores of students left government schools and colleges and joined national institutions that had started all over the country. This boycott was particularly successful in Bengal under the leadership of Chitta Ranjan Das and Subhas Chandra Bose.
 - The Chauri Chaura incident, in which a mob burned alive twenty-five policemen and one inspector, made Gandhi suspend the Non-Cooperation Movement. But the movement still managed to achieve several positives.
 - Mahatma Gandhi hoped that by integrating non-cooperation with Khilafat, Hindus and Muslims, India's two major religious communities, could collectively bring an end to colonial rule. These movements certainly unleashed a surge of popular action that was altogether unprecedented in colonial India.
 - The Khilafat movement received a severe blow from the Turks when Mustafa Kemal, the charismatic nationalist Turkish leader, led a secular renaissance, prevailed over invading Greek forces leading to the abolition of the Sultanate in 1922, and transformed Turkey into a republic.
 - The spontaneous upsurge of the Non-Cooperation Movement released the great force of India's youth that were determined to wrest freedom. The sudden withdrawal of the movement was a blow to their aspirations.
 - The Government of India Act, 1919, had been passed to introduce diarchy for the governance of the provinces of British India. This was protested against by the Indian masses. However, the Indian public demanded for revision of this form of government.
 - Some of the salient features of the Government of India Act 1935 were All India Federation, system of diarchy at the Centre, provincial autonomy, the Federal Legislatures and Provincial Legislatures.
 - The Government of India Act 1935 also affected the nationalist politics between the Congress and the Muslim League from 1935 to 1939.
 - Leaders like C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru thought that, as there was no immediate chance of resuming the struggle, an alternative strategy was called for.
 - This group called themselves the Swarajists.
 - When the Swarajists fought elections, those Liberals were defeated all over the country.
 - Although the term 'constructive programme' is associated with end of the Civil Disobedience Movement of Gandhi in 1934, it was not new.
 - In 1933, the Civil Disobedience Movement was withdrawn. A major section of the Congress party obtained Gandhi's support to participation in legislative politics again.

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- Communalism is basically an ideology. It is the belief that in India Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are from different and distinct communities.
- To look upon the communal problem in India merely as the Hindu-Muslim question or of religious antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims is misleading.
- Though the British East India Company was able to suppress the 1857 Revolt, they could not curb the political awareness and nationalist feeling.
- Retired British civil servant Allan Octavian Hume was the brain behind the formation of INC.
- The strongest arm of the communal triangle was the British rulers. They were neither the true friends of the Muslims, nor the foes of the Hindus; they were the true friends of British Imperialism and acted on the tested and tried maxim Divide and Rule.
- The liberal social reforms and cultural movement founded by Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan are collectively known as the Aligarh Movement, because it began in Aligarh.
- Communalism also became, after 1937, the only political recourse of colonial authorities and their policy of 'divide and rule'.
- At the Ramgarh session of the Congress, held in March 1940, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President, emphasised the heritage of a common nationality between the Hindus and the Muslims in India and significantly remarked, 'Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible'.
- Simultaneously, Hindu communalism was also being born and Hindu communal ideas were arising.
- This communal approach to history also imitated by Indian scholars and fostered the communal way of thinking. For example, the ancient period of a history was described as Hindu period and the medieval period labelled as Muslim period of Indian history, implying thereby that religion was the guiding force behind politics during whole of the medieval period.
- Unfortunately, while militant nationalism was a great step forward in every other respect, it was to some extent responsible for the growth of communalism.
- The speeches and writings of some of the militant nationalists had a strong religious and Hindu tinge.
- The Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) introduced the system of separate electorate in the Council election under which all Muslims were grouped in separate constituencies from which Muslims alone could be elected.
- After authorization from the Indian National Congress, Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- on 30 March 1930, Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement with a march to Dandi. The issue was tax on salt, which affected the poorest of poor.
- The Civil Disobedience Movement spread throughout the country from one part to another. There was also a massive demonstration at Peshawar where Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his followers who were known as Khudai Khidmatgars or Red Shirts had been actively doing constructive work for the past few years.
- During the same time, the Simon Commission report was published and it had no mention of India being given dominion status.

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- The government finally agreed to release Gandhi and other members of the Congress Working Committee unconditionally.
- The British Parliament passed the Government of India Act in August 1935.
- The British Government was very wary of mass movements in India, especially after the post World War events in India. Though the British government was successful in suppressing the nationalist movement, they now wanted to weaken the nationalist movement through the policy of divide and rule.
- Dyarchy was abolished at the provincial level and introduced at the centre through the Act of 1935.
- The key feature of the Act of 1935 was that it heralded the beginning of provincial autonomy. The Act divided legislative powers between the provinces and central legislatures.
- After the Act of 1935 was passed, the Legislatures of Bombay, Bengal, Madras, Bihar, Assam and the United Provinces were made bicameral, i.e., two houses, while the other five provinces the legislatures were unicameral or one house.
- Though the British Government granted maximum autonomy to the provinces, it was the governor, the centre's nominee that had special powers.
- The federal legislature had exclusive powers of legislation over the subjects mentioned in the Federal List, which consisted of 59 subjects.

5.9 KEY TERMS

- **Hartal:** Term used for strikes; often implemented during the freedom movement in India and involving complete shutdown of offices, shops, courts
- **Khilafat Movement:** Pan-Islamic political campaign launched by Muslims in British India
- **Non-Cooperation Movement:** Movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and supported by the Congress to resist British occupation of India using nonviolent measures
- **Picketing:** Type of protest in which people (picketers) get together outside the location where an event is taking place
- **Khudai Khidmatgars:** Literally means 'servants of God'; represents a non-violent freedom struggle against the British Empire by the Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province
- **Diarchy:** Government by two independent authorities
- **Bicameral:** Composed of or based on two legislative chambers or branches
- **Unicameral:** Having or consisting of a single legislative chamber

5.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Rabindranath Tagore gave the Gandhi the title of mahatma.
2. 1919-1922
3. Khilafat movement

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4. Foreign cloth
5. Treaty of Sevres
6. False
7. True
8. False
9. True
10. True
11. C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru were two distinguished Swarajist leaders.
12. The Swarajists defeated the Liberal in the election.
13. The hardcore Gandhians who remained outside the legislative politics and devoted themselves to grassroots constructive work around the promotion of khadi and spinning, boycott of foreign cloths, national education, Hindu-Muslim unity, tribal uplift and the struggle against untouchability were called the no-changers.
14. The second phase of the constructive programme focused on Khadi and basic education and also special movement for abolition of untouchability was launched.
15. The Indian National Congress was founded in December 1885.
16. Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan, an Indian educator, politician, reformer and modernist, pioneered modern education for Muslims in India by establishing the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College.
17. The All India Muslim League was founded under the leadership of Aga Khan on 30 December 1906.
18. The aims of the League were as follows:
 - (i) To promote among Indian Muslims feelings of loyalty towards the British Government and to remove any misconception, that may arise, as to the intentions of the Government with regard to any of its measures.
 - (ii) To protect the political and other rights of the Indian Muslims and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government in temperate language, and
 - (iii) So far as possible without prejudice to the objects mentioned under (i) and (ii) to promote friendly relations between Muslim and other communities of India.
19. The Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) introduced the system of separate electorate in the Council election under which all Muslims were grouped in separate constituencies from which Muslims alone could be elected.
20. Gandhi formally launched the Civil Disobedience movement on 30 March 1930 with the historic Dandi march.
21. Civil Disobedience was carried out through different methods, such as:
 - Picketing of liquor shops
 - Large-scale resignations by rural officials
 - Distribution of illegal pamphlets
 - Singing of national songs
 - Satyagraha

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22. The followers of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan were known as Khudai Khidmatgars or the Red Shirts.
23. The Civil Disobedience Movement came to an end with signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5 March 1931, the Congress agreed to withdraw and participate in the Second Round Table Conference.
24. 321
25. Diarchy
26. True
27. True

5.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. State the principles that Mahatma Gandhi relied on in the fight against the British rule. What, according to you, makes Gandhi stand out as a political leader?
2. Write short notes on (a) the Champaran Satyagraha (b) Ahmedabad Mill Strike.
3. Write a note on the ideology and structure of the Khilafat Movement.
4. State the achievements of the Non-Cooperation Movement.
5. Explain the salient features of the Government of India Act, 1935.
6. Briefly discuss the role of Saiyed Ahmed Khan.
7. Write a note on the Swarajists.
8. Briefly discuss the steps taken to establish provincial autonomy.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the nationalist movement.
2. Summarize the popularity and mass appeal enjoyed by the Non-Cooperation Movement.
3. Discuss the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements.
4. Critically examine the role of Muslim League in the struggle for independence.
5. Why did Gandhi focus on constrictive programme? Discuss.
6. Explain why Gandhi was forced to withdraw the civil disobedience movement. Also discuss its impact.

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UNIT 6 TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 Indian Nationalism during world War II
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6.0 INTRODUCTION

British India sent over two million volunteer soldiers during World War II (1939-1945), since Great Britain was part of the Allied Nations. Additionally, several princely states provided large donations to support the Allied campaign against the Axis power. Indians fought in all corners of the globe; in Germany and Italy, in the deserts against Rommel and in the Asian region defending India against the Japanese, and liberating British colonies such as Singapore and Hong Kong when the Japanese surrendered in August 1945. While the Muslim League supported the British war efforts, there was a growing demand from the Congress seeking independence that too before it agreed to help Britain. The Crown refused, and when the Congress announced the Quit India Movement in August 1942, the party leaders were imprisoned. Japan set up an army of Indian POWs known as the Indian National Army with help of Indian revolutionaries.

Though India got Independence on 15 August 1947, the country was partitioned and a new country came into existence, Pakistan. The basic reason for the Partition was entirely political. We have studied the reasons of rise of communalism in the previous unit, but it is generally considered that the Revolt of 1857 marked a Hindu-Muslim divide. Gradually, both the communities became acutely aware of their distinct religious identities, and its end result was the Partition.

In this unit, you will learn how the nationalist fervour was taking a distinct turn and the common people along with the Congress Party wanted the British to quit India. And finally after achieving Independence, India was divided and Pakistan was formed. You will also learn about Subhash Chandra Bose and the role of the Indian National Army.

6.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Analyse India's involvement in the War and the shaping of the national movement during the period
- Interpret Cripps' Mission and the Quit India Movement
- Assess the contribution of Subhash Chandra Bose and the role of the Indian National Army
- Explain the causes of Partition and its impact

6.2 INDIAN NATIONALISM DURING WORLD WAR II

In 1939, Lord Linlithgow, the governor-general of India, brought India into the War without any consultation, which made Indian nationalists very angry. The move, however, was supported by the Muslim League but the Congress found itself divided.

When World War II broke out in September 1939, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution in the same month at a meeting in Wardha (Maharashtra) to support the fight against fascism on the condition of complete freedom in return. This was, however, refused. Mahatma Gandhi, who was the arch supporter of non-violence, did not support this initiative of the Congress. However, at the height of the Battle of Britain, Gandhi supported the fight against racism saying a free India cannot rise from the ashes of Britain. Despite such opinions, the Congress remained divided. It was only Subhas Chandra Bose, who took this opportunity to create the Indian National Army with the help of the Axis Powers.

Cripps' Mission

Faced with deteriorating war situation in Europe and South East Asia, and reluctance among Indian troops to participate in the war, the British government, in March 1942, sent a delegation to India under Stafford Cripps', which came to be known as Cripps' Mission. The purpose of the mission was to persuade the Indian Army to participate in the war in support of Britain, in return of progressive shift of power from British rule to an elected Indian Legislature. The discussion, however, collapsed as the key demand of complete independence by Indians was not granted British. They were still in favour of a limited dominion status unacceptable to the Indian leaders.

6.3 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

After the fall of Cripps' Mission, the Indian National Congress became stringent in its condition and passed a resolution in July 1942 demanding complete independence from British government; failing which the resolution proposed a massive civil disobedience against the government.

However, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, a prominent Congress leader, along with several local and regional level leaders, organized the Quit India Movement. Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad reluctantly joined Gandhi's decision to back the proposal. On the other hand several outstanding leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr Anugrah Narayan Sinha along with socialists like Asoka Mehta and Jayaprakash Narayan openly supported the civil disobedience movement.

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Check Your Progress

1. Lord Linlithgow brought India into the war without any consultation. (True/False)
2. Cripps' Mission was sent to withdraw Indians from participating in World War II. (True/False)
3. Subhash Chandra Bose created the Indian National Army with the help of the _____.
4. When did Cripps Mission arrive in India?

Allama Mashriqi (head of Khaksar Tehrik) was also invited to join the Quit India Movement, but he was critical about the outcome of the movement and creation of Pakistan; and therefore did not agree with the resolution. On 28 July, 1942 Mashriqi wrote to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mahatma Gandhi, Rajagopalachari, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya and Sambamurty (former Speaker of the Madras Assembly) stating his reasons to not join the Quit India Movement.

In a telegram, which was later published in press, Mashriqi said, "My honest opinion is that Civil Disobedience Movement is a little pre-mature. The Congress should first concede open-heartedly and with handshake to Muslim League the theoretical Pakistan, and thereafter all parties unitedly make demand of Quit India. If the British refuse, start total disobedience..."

Despite several leaders opposing the resolution, on 8 August 1942, Quit India resolution was passed at the Bombay session of All India Congress Committee (AICC). At the session held at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, Gandhi urged the Indians to participate in the Quit India Movement through non-violent civil disobedience and act as Independent nation. His call found massive support amongst Indians.

Opposition to Quit India

Where the Quit India Movement had the support of the masses, the movement was opposed by several political parties. Parties like Hindu Mahasabha and Communist Party of India opposed the movement and did not rally with the Congress. The Communist Party of India though against the movement, was in alliance with the Soviet Union and in support of the war, despite industrial workers and unions supporting the movement. This led to a ban on the party by the British government.

The movement also found opposition from various princely states who feared the loss of their estates in an independent India; and therefore they funded the opposition.

Several Muslim leaders were also opposed to Quit India Movement and Muhammad Ali Jinnah's plea found an audience among large number of Muslims who responded by supporting by enlisting in British army. The league gained support in provincial legislatures and as the Congress resigned, it took control of Sindh, Bengal and Northwest Frontier.

The nationalists however had little international support. Though United States was supporting the Indian freedom movement theoretically, it was also an ally of Britain. When Churchill threatened to resign if forced to, U.S. slyly supported him but continued its pretense to strengthen public support for war. This move annoyed both Indians and British.

Local activism

Where on one hand the Quit India Movement was facing opposition at the national level, at the same time the movement was successful at the regional level where at several places local had already starting rebelling against the British.

In Satara, Talcher, Tamruk and Contai subdivisions of Midnapore local people were establishing their own parallel governments which, however, were discontinued on the personal request of Gandhi in 1944.

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In Ballia, the easternmost district of Uttar Pradesh, local populace broke a jail and released the arrested Congress leaders and established their independent rule. It was weeks before Britishers could reestablish themselves in the district.

In western Gujarat, Saurashtra the tradition of 'baharvatiya' (i.e., going outside the law), supported the activities of the Quit India Movement in the region. In Bengal, same was fueled by the resentment of peasants against the new war taxes and the forced rice exports. The resistance, which, was at its height in 1942, was stifled by the great famine of 1943 and led to the suspension of the movement.

Suppression of the movement

The movement was primarily designed to keep the Congress party united. This further alarmed the British, who were already wary of Japanese army advancing on India-Burma border. In order to control the agitations, the British imprisoned Gandhi along with prominent members of Party's Working Committee (national leadership). Due to the arrest of major leaders of Congress, Aruna Asaf Ali, young and relatively unknown till then, presided at the AICC session on August 9 and hoisted the flag. Later the Congress party was banned, which only strengthened mass sympathy for the cause and despite the lack of leadership, demonstrations and protests of large scale were carried out all over the country. However, not all of these demonstrations were peaceful, at various places bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity and communication lines were severed.

To these demonstrations, Britishers responded by making mass arrests. Over 100,000 people were arrested and were fined. Soldiers were also ordered to flog the demonstrators and shoot if required. Several hundred people were killed in the shootings. This forced many leaders to go underground but they continued their struggle by broadcasting over radio and distributing pamphlets. Looking at the situation, British even set-aside a ship to take Gandhi and other eminent leaders of South Africa or Yemen, but decided against it as they were wary about revolt getting further intensified.

The Congress was cut-off from the rest of the world for over three years. Gandhi lost his wife Kasturba Gandhi and his personal secretary Mahadev Desai within a very short span. Despite such personal losses and an indisposed health, Gandhi went on a 21-day fast and maintained his resolve to continuous resistance. Although the British released Gandhi on account of his health in 1944, Gandhi kept up the resistance, demanding the release of the Congress leadership.

By early 1944, India was mostly peaceful again, while the Congress leadership was still incarcerated. A sense that the movement had failed depressed many nationalists, while Jinnah and the Muslim League, as well as Congress opponents like the Communists sought to gain political mileage, criticizing Gandhi and the Congress Party.

6.4 SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE AND INA

Subhash Chandra Bose, also known as Netaji, played an important role in Indian freedom struggle. He was the founder of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army). The aim of this army was to end the British rule in India.

He was born on 23 January 1897 in Cuttack, Orissa. His father was a lawyer and his mother was a religious woman. He was patriotic right from his childhood. When he was in the Presidency College, Professor Oaten made some anti-India comments. This angered Bose and he assaulted his Professor. He was expelled from the College for this act.

Check Your Progress

- The resolution of the Quit India Movement was passed in 1945. (True/False)
- Parallel governments were established across the country. (True/False)
- The great famine ravaged India in the year _____.

He was a brilliant student in school as well as college. In 1911, he topped matriculation examination of Calcutta province. He completed his graduation in Philosophy with first class. In 1919, he was sent to England by his father to appear in the Indian Civil Services Examination. He got fourth rank in this Examination. After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, he left his Civil Services apprenticeship and came back to India in 1921.

After coming back, he became a member of the Indian National Congress. Mahatma Gandhi instructed him to work under Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. Later, Das became his 'political guru'. In 1928, Mahatma Gandhi proposed a resolution in which he demanded the British to grant dominion status to India within two years. He also mentioned in the resolution that if the British fail to fulfill this demand within two years, the Congress would call upon all Indians to fight for Poorna Swaraj. The time period given by Gandhiji to the British was opposed by Bose and Nehru. Later, he reduced the time period to one year. Nehru voted for the new resolution but Bose refused to vote for this resolution.

- In 1930, Bose was arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement. After the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, he was released from jail. He opposed the Pact and withdrawal of the Movement. He was again arrested for the infamous Bengal Regulation. Due to an illness, he was released from jail after a year. He was expelled from India and was sent to Europe. He made efforts to open some centres in Europe to promote politico-cultural contacts between the two countries. After some time, he entered India and was again arrested for a year to defy the ban. In 1937, when the Congress came to power in seven states, he was released from jail.

In 1938, he became President of the Haripura Congress Session. In the same year, he established a planning committee. After the end of his term, he became President of the Tripuri Congress session. During the Second World War, he proposed a resolution in which he demanded the British to end their rule in India within six months. He also mentioned in the resolution that if the British fail to do so, there would be a revolt in the country. This resolution was opposed by a number of members of the Congress. After this, he resigned from the post of President and formed the Forward Bloc.

After this, he started a mass movement in India which was supported by a number of people. He was put under House arrest in Calcutta for the same. In 1941, he reached Germany via Afghanistan. He took help from Germany and Japan to fight against the British. Soon, he used the medium of Radio Berlin and his broadcasts aroused enthusiasm among Indians.

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

According to some sources, Bose died during an air crash over Taipei, Taiwan (Formosa) on August 18, 1945. However, there was no evidence to prove this claim. Thus, his death still remains a mystery.

Indian National Army

The Indian National Army (INA) was founded by Subhas Chandra Bose in 1942. They sided with the Axis Powers during the Second World War (1939–1945) with a motive to

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overthrow the colonial powers from the Indian soil. The INA was also termed as the 'Azad Hind Fauz'.

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Japanese forces defeated the British in 1941 at Malaya. This incident inspired the Indian populace residing in Southeast Asia. The Indians came together and organised a number of associations based out of South East Asia. Pritam Singh was a leader of such an organisation. He, along with Japanese officer, Major Fujihara, requested Mohan Singh to constitute an Indian Army comprising the captured Indian soldiers. Though initially reluctant, Mohan Singh yielded and Fujihara handed over around 40,000 Indian soldiers who had surrendered to him. This paved the way towards the formation of the INA. Singapore, surrendered to the Japanese in February 1942. Revolutionary activist Rash Behari Bose, then residing in Japan arranged an association named Free Indians living in Japan. A conference was held in Bangkok on 15 June 1942, where it was decided upon that a National Indian Army would be constituted. A five member working committee was formed and Rash Behari Bose was made its president. The formation of the INA was formally declared.

In the meantime, Subhas Bose left Calcutta on 17 January 1941 and arrived in Germany after traveling through Afghanistan. In Berlin, he organized an India government in exile and extended support to Germany. He began to broadcast his aims and objectives over Radio Berlin and made contact with Japan. Bose, also came in touch with Adolf Hitler, who extended his help to the former. This aroused tremendous enthusiasm in India. Indians in Germany gave him the title of 'Netaji' and the slogan of 'Jai-Hind' was initiated here during this time.

Bose arrived in Tokyo in June 1943, and was cordially received by the Hideki Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister (1941–44). Japan extended their help to India. A huge crowd gathered at Singapore to receive Bose when he arrived there on 2 July 1943. On 4 July Rash Behari Bose resigned and Bose was appointed the president of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia. On August 25, Bose took the leadership of the INA. On 21 October 1943, declared the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and on the 23rd declared war on Britain and America.

With the INA headquarters now shifted to Rangoon, Bose and his brigade arrived in Rangoon in 1944. In the meantime, it was decided that the Indian detachment would not be smaller than a battalion, its commander would be an Indian, the war would continue under Joint plan of Action and Indians would fight as a separate unit on selected spots. It was also decided that battles would occur at the Kaladan valley of Arakan and Kalam and Haka centre of China hills to the east of Lusai hills.

The Subhas Brigade was divided into three battalions. The first contingent advanced across both the banks of Kaladan and captured Paletoa and Doletmai. The battalion captured Maudak, a British border out-post at a distance of 64 kilometres from Doletmai a few days after. Supply of arms and ammunition fell short. Many soldiers left and only a few were left under the command of Surajmal.

In the meantime the other two battalions took the responsibility of Haka-Kalan borderline. At the fall of Imphal at Manipur, it was decided that INA would take position at Kohima, Nagaland so that it could enter Bengal after crossing Brahmaputra. Gandhi and Azad Brigades also advanced towards Imphal. On the 21 March, the Japanese Prime Minister (PM) announced that the Indian territories freed from the British would be brought under the administration of a provisional independent government formed under Netaji. In spite of various hazards and shortage of food and ammunitions, the INA advanced up to 241 kilometres inside India.

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A few days after the declaration of the Japanese PM, the Americans and the British joined and took steps to invade Japan. So, Japan had to withdraw its support from India. Consequently, the INA also had to retreat and was forced to surrender when the allied powers recaptured Burma.

A number of INA officers were captured and severely punished by the British officials, including Capt. Shah Nawaz, Capt. Rashid and others. However, the British were forced to set them free when the general Indian public caused widespread furor. The cause of India's independence was much advanced by the INA.

Role of Indian National Army (INA)

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

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

The INA and its impact on India's freedom struggle has been a subject of great discussion and analysis for historians. Though in terms of military, the INA has been considered insignificant. This may be due to the following reasons:

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- (i) Small numerical strength
- (ii) Lack of heavy weapons
- (iii) Dependence on Japanese logistics and planning
- (iv) Lack of Independent planning

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

In 1944, at the time of the Japanese U-GO offensive on Manipur, INA played not only a crucial but successful role in diversifying their attacks in Arakan as well as the in the Manipur basin during their conflict with Mutaguchi's 15th Army. The INA had enough caliber which was evident in the battles of Arakan, Manipur, Imphal, and also during the withdrawal through Manipur and Burma. Their efforts during the Burma Campaign are notable especially during the Battle of Irrawaddy and Meiktilla. In Meiktilla, they wholeheartedly supported the Japanese by tying down the British troops.

On the other hand, Fay also refers to several published accounts of war veterans which mention the INA and its role. One such published account is that of William Slim who deems the INA troops to be incapable and untrustworthy. Fay further goes on to describe the inconsistencies and conflicts amongst the different accounts which show that intelligence propaganda and institutional bias may have played a significant role in the opinions of war veterans. It is also imperative to point out at this time that the INA suffered desertion on numerous occasions. Though there were many incidents of desertion during substantial battles such as Manipur or the subsequent retreat through Burma, however these incidents of desertion were minimal and quite small in number. According to Fay, significant desertions occurred during the Battle at Irrawaddy and later on at Popa. It was noticed that during the fall of Rangoon, approximately six thousand troops manned the city to maintain order until the allied troops entered the city. Nevertheless, the INA was not considered strong enough to beat the British Indian Army militarily. Moreover, the INA was aware of this weakness and formulated a new strategy in order to avoid set-piece battles, garnering local and popular support with the Indians in the British Indian Army. There are also some references that the INA tried to instigate a revolt within the British Indian Army to overthrow the British Raj. The Forward Bloc during this time went underground in India and is said to have been crushed even before the offensives opened in the Burma-Manipur region, as a result depriving the army of any organized internal support.

The role of INA is more evident during the times of the INA trials as it attracted more attention than instead of their role as an army. The decision to hold public trials alone became a rallying point for the Independence Movement in 1945. The fervour attached to the INA trials was so immense that the efforts to release INA prisoners and suspend the trials become more important than India's freedom struggle. Reports in newspapers which spoke of executions of INA troops added fuel to the already volatile situation. During this time the opposition to the trials of INA troops for treason became a major public and political campaign and the first trial itself witnessed violence and riots on such a large scale that some historians describe it to be sensational. This period also saw a campaign that defied communal barriers. This period is marked by violent confrontations which broke out between the masses and police. Many rallies took place all over India in support of the INA. Not only did the public support the INA, the soldiers of the British Indian Army also supported the INA. The spread of pro-INA emotions made the British Government very uneasy who observed with increasing disquiet the spread of pro-INA sympathies in India. Simultaneously, the general strike ratings of the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) deteriorated into a mutiny, incorporating ships and shore establishments of RIN throughout India. In February 1946, it was noticed that this phenomena of the RIN spread from Karachi to Bombay and from Vizag to Calcutta. To show their support many soldiers began to ignore orders from British superiors. Massive support was also seen at Madras and Pune, where the British garrisons faced revolts among the ranks of the British Indian Army. This was followed by similar revolts at Jabalpur and Bombay. The British made numerous efforts to suppress these revolts, even making use of bayonets. This went on for two weeks after which a large number of people were arrested and tried in courts. Many soldiers were dismissed and some were even subjected to court martial. Fay also refers to Auchinleck's letter to senior British officers in which he explained the repercussions of the INA trials. He went on to say that '...practically all are sure that any attempt to enforce the sentence would have led to chaos in the country at large, and probably to mutiny and dissension in the Army, culminating in its dissolution.'

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Exhibit 13.1

Subhas Chandra Bose inspired movements in Singapore, Malaysia

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

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

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

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

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

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

Check Your Progress

8. _____
was appointed as
the president of the
Indian National
Army
9. The INA was
initially formed by

10. The INA trials are
often referred to as
the

11. INA's women's
regiment was
known as

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

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

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

Accessed on 2 March 2012

Many historians have observed that the consequences of the INA trials brought a decisive shift in the British policy towards India. Many describe the INA trials as 'the edge of a volcano' and the period being marked with 'patriotic fury,' which was beyond any communal barriers. The major concern for the British was the immense public support for the INA by the soldiers of the British Indian Army. Not only the support of Indian soldiers but the restoration of Dutch and French rule in Vietnam and Indonesia also added fuel to the growing resentment amongst the forces. The situation had become so volatile that the British feared another Quit India movement, especially given the Congress rhetoric preceding the elections. The British also realized that the soldiers of the British Indian Army could not be used to suppress the revolt as it had during 1942. The British saw the growth of political and nationalistic consciousness among Indians which resulted from the INA. Many historians refer to Auchinleck's assessment of the situation to suggest that all this shortened the British tenure by a good 15-20 years. The political influence and effect of the INA trials was huge and spread all over India during 1948, much to the chagrin of the British government. The then prime minister of Britain, Clement Attlee reflecting on the factors that guided the British decision to relinquish the British Raj in India and is said to have mentioned the INA and its effects on the British Indian Army. He also mentioned Subash Chandra Bose and his activities to be a major cause in the growing nationalistic attitude amongst Indians. The INA had a far-reaching effect on the Indians who came under a fresh wave of revolutionary upsurge on hearing stories of their remarkable courage and sacrifices. The INA episode was a lesson to the British Government who finally realized that they no longer enjoyed the loyalty of the Indian army as patriotism towards their country was far greater than service a foreign power.

6.5 PARTITION AND TRANSFER OF POWER

The partition of India is regarded as a significant chapter in both, the Indian history as well as the Pakistan history. A large number of events triggered the partition of India. A few of these events are as follows:

CR Formula (1944)

After he understood the significance of the negotiations between the Congress and the League that were directed at achieving India's independence, C. Rajagopalachari developed a formula known as the C.R. Formula, in 1944. The prominent highlights of C.R. Formula can be described as follows:

- Post World War II, the appointment of a commission would take place.
- This commission would be given the task of demarcation of borders of the districts in the east and north-west of India, where the majority of the population comprised Muslims.

- Through the process of voting, the people of these districts shall be able to decide on the issue of division of India.
- The Muslim League should extend its complete cooperation with the Indian National Congress for forming a provisional interim government.
- This government would have a period of transition.
- When separation would take place, both the governments shall enter a mutual agreement.
- This shall be a joint agreement involving both the governments for sharing responsibilities related to safeguarding defence, communications, commerce and other important sectors, etc.

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Gandhi-Jinnah Talks (1944)

The talks between M. K. Gandhi and Mohammad Ali Jinnah started on 9 September 1944, in Bombay. The talks came to an abrupt halt on 27 September, when it was made public by Jinnah that the talks had terminated and they failed to come to a conclusion. The reason given by Gandhi was that since the 'C.R. Formula' did not approve of the demands of the League, the talks failed. Gandhi wanted the League to surrender its Lahore Resolution because according to him, the basis of the resolution was the two-nation theory. However, Jinnah emphasized that Gandhi should have acknowledged this aspect of the situation and considered Hindus and Muslims as two independent entities.

Desai-Liaquat Pact (1945)

Liaquat Ali Khan and Bhulabhai Desai were corresponding leaders of the League and the Congress. Talks began between them in order to find a solution to the political deadlock of 1942-45. After Desai's declaration at Peshawar on 22 April, 1945, Liaquat Ali circulated an overview of the agreement. On the basis of the Desai-Liaquat Pact, an interim government would be formed by the Congress and the League at the centre. The salient features of this government would be as follows: (i) Equal number of people would be nominated by both in the central executive; and (ii) Minorities, specifically scheduled castes and Sikhs would be represented. This pact, known as the Desai-Liaquat pact, got no formal acknowledgement from either the Congress or the League.

Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)

After failure of the talks between Gandhi and Jinnah, Wavell decided that the government should take the initiative. On 14 June 1945, the government introduced new proposals to bring about additional modifications to the Constitution of India. These changes adhered to the jurisdiction of the Government of India Act of 1935. Every member of the Congress Working Committee was released and a meeting of the representatives of all political parties was convened. This meeting was scheduled to take place at Simla, beginning on 25 June 1945.

To a certain degree, the propositions put across by Lord Wavell offered some reconciliation. However, one proposition was regarded as unacceptable and provocative. It was planned for the Viceroy's Executive Council to comprise only Indians, with the exception of the Viceroy and the British Commander-in-Chief. There was no clause for formally ending the special powers of the Viceroy. However, there was an assurance which pointed out that these powers may not be misused. Thus, this indicated a bit of constructive development. The dividing factor then stepped in. This council was to have equal number of Hindus and Muslims in it. This was an indication that the Muslim

League's demand for equal standing on the base of communities gained support and acknowledgement. This was the first incident of its type, which was officially declared by British policy. A tangible result of the Wavell's Plan was the convening of the Simla Conference.

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The beginning of the Simla Conference (1945) was very optimistic. Gandhi had a feeling that Wavell's plan was favourable and would pave the way to independence. According to the Wavell's report, Jinnah was not sufficiently cooperative. The League leader was determined not to give in to the conference unless his terms were also accepted. One of his demand said that Muslims who were not part of the League could not be appointed to the Executive Council. This demand faced firm opposition from the then Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Had this condition been accepted, Muslim members of the Congress would have felt betrayed. Wavell had decided not to go ahead until Jinnah agreed with the Congress. When there was no solution to this deadlock, the Viceroy announced that Conference had failed. Jinnah had with him the authority to veto whatever he did not agree to and it was considered a threat that he would make frequent use of this power in the months to come. Since this incident, the communal factor ruled the struggle for freedom. Although, it was definite that freedom would be achieved, a new dispute arose between two groups: one who demanded a united and secular Indian state and the other who held a differently nonconforming approach.

6.5.1 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

In the general polls that were held in England in the year 1945, C.R. Attlee of Labour Party was appointed the new prime minister. This was followed by Lord Wavell being summoned to London. There, he was informed about the British decision to quit India. During the same time period (1945-46) India also went to the polls. In these elections, the Congress was victorious on 57 seats of the Central Legislative Assembly. The Muslim League won its entire quote of 30 seats that were reserved for Muslims in the provinces. In 1937, the Congress won 714 seats and in 1946 it had secured 923 seats. The League exhibited a better performance: in 1937, its candidates won a minimum of 109 seats out of the Muslim quota of 492; in 1946, it secured 425 seats. Its percentage shot up to 86.

On 24th March 1946, a mission of cabinet ministers comprising Lord Pethick Lawrences (president), Sir Stafford Cripps and A V Alexander arrived in India for helping it achieve freedom as soon as possible. This mission took almost five weeks discussing and negotiating with those who represented the Indian states as well as those who represented British India. Finally, a conference of leaders of the Congress and League took place in Simla on 5 May. This conference focused on the grouping of provinces; character of the federal union and the setting up of a system that could make the Constitution.

When there was no solution to the disagreements between the Indian National Congress and Muslim League, the conference came to a standstill. On 16 May, the mission circulated a state-ment that listed their recommendations. This was referred to as the Cabinet Mission Plan.

Its fundamental features of this plan were as follows:

- Formation of the Union of India, which included both, British India and the princely states. This should tackle the following three issues, i.e., defence, foreign-affairs and communications.

- The Union of India must comprise an executive and a legislature.
- Every subject besides the Union subjects and every residuary authority should be vested in the provinces of British India.
- The princely states would retain all subjects, except for those which yield to the Union.
- Provinces should have the freedom to get organized into groups (sub federal).
- The Constitution of the Union and the groups should have a provision by which every province could, by a majority vote of its legislative assembly, ask for the terms of the Constitution to be reconsidered after of the first ten years.
- For forming a constituent assembly, based on the latest elected provincial legislatures, each province should be allotted a total number of seats corresponding to its population. Elections were to be based on proportional representation with single transferable vote.
- For conducting administrative functions of the country, while progressing with the activity of making the Constitution, an interim government supported by all major political parties should be set up.

It was proposed that the Constituent Assembly should consist of 93 Indian states and 292 members of British India. The British India members were to be further segregated into 210 general (i.e., no Muslim or Sikh to be allowed), 78 Muslim and 4 Sikh seats. In the initial meeting, not only a chairman and other office bearers, but also an advisory committee was to be elected by the Assembly. Following this, it was divided into three sections. These sections comprised groups of Provinces A, B and C. Provinces belonging to group 'A' were Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa. Provinces of Group 'B' comprised Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sindh. Finally, Group 'C' had Bengal and Assam. There was a provision for any decision about the secession of any province from a group to be taken by the legislature of that province. This could be done after holding the first general election, under the new Constitution.

The Indian National Congress as well as the League did not know how to react to the Cabinet Mission's proposals. However, there was an overall discontent towards the issue of filling posts in the proposed interim government. Due to these factors, the Cabinet Mission became frustrated in its efforts to explore a conciliatory platform for the two major political parties. The members of the Mission found no success in satisfying either the Congress or the League. As a result, they left India and went back to England on 29 June.

The Indian National Congress was ready to contest elections and participate in the constituent assembly, but it was not prepared to be part of the interim government. The Muslim League gave its approval to the plan and believed that the viceroy will invite it to form the interim government. However, the viceroy did not agree to do so. Consequently, the Muslim League refused to accept the Cabinet Mission plan. On 12 August 1946, Lord Wavell invited the Congress to form the interim government. The Congress changed its original decision and decided to form the interim government. Initially, the League did not participate in the interim government. However, later it joined the government. The League did not agree to play a role in the constituent assembly that convened a meeting to draft the Constitution. It persisted on its decision for Pakistan and summoned the British government to dissolve the constituent assembly.

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Direct Action Day

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It was the decision of the Muslim League to observe 6 August as 'Direct Action day', all over the country. This was aggravated by the viceroy's decision to invite the Congress to form an interim government at the centre. In Calcutta, on 16 August, the League protested in the form of public demonstrations and *hartals*. This took a turn for the worse and resulted in clashes and riots in the entire city. Mob's vent their annoyance till four consecutive days, following which life limped back to normal. This day was declared a public holiday by the then government of Bengal, which was led by the League leader, H S Suhrawardy. The situation deteriorated and the army had to be called when conditions went completely out of control.

Attlee's Announcement

The British Prime Minister Attlee initiated a move to break the deadlock between the Congress and the Muslim League. He made an announcement in Parliament on 20 February 1947. In this announcement, he expressed the government's 'clear objective to transfer all power and responsibility to India, latest by June 1948. All were astounded by this declaration that was a landmark in history. Irrespective of how they felt, the British would be leaving the country after one year. The Indians had this much time to reach an agreement. A declaration by the British Prime Minister Attlee on 20 February 1947, stated that the British would leave India around 30 June 1948. It also indicated the replacement of Wavell by Lord Mountbatten. The authority and commitments of the British, with reference to all the princely states, would come to an end as soon as power is transferred. However, these powers would not go to any succeeding government of British India. The declaration also clearly stated that India would be partitioned in case of the absence of complete representation by the Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances, power would go to more than one central government. Everyone believed that with a deadline in place, both the parties would be forced to settle their differences. The League announced a civil disobedience in Punjab. The consequence of this civil disobedience was the fall of Khizr Hayat Khan's ministry.

Jinnah felt that victory was within reach and boldly tried to take control of those provinces which had a larger Muslim population. The states of Punjab, Calcutta, Assam and North-West Frontier Province were severely hit by riots. The new Viceroy came to India on 22 March 1947. He had been instructed to work for a united India; but as he met with leaders of the various parties and communities, he was sure that it was not possible to avoid partition. Not many people were in favour of the partition. Mahatma Gandhi proclaimed that his body would have to be cut to pieces before India would be divided. Abul Kalam Azad tried every way to fervently oppose the making of Pakistan. But Jinnah did not yield: He wanted Muslims to have their own state.

6.5.2 Mountbatten Plan

The British government appointed Lord Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India to arrange for the transfer of power from the British to the Indian people. The main obstacle in the freedom of India was the narrow Muslim majority in Bengal and Punjab. With respect to this issue, Lord Mountbatten set out to convince the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League to partition India. He emphasized on the necessity of partition due to the following reasons:

- If Pakistan was granted separated dominion status it would eventually come back to join the Indian dominion.
- Contradicting his first reasoning for Pakistan, he also stressed that if the INC and Muslim League were lopped off, a strong and united centre would be the result

The second reasoning of a strong centre was more appealing to the then Home Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who mainly focused on the country's internal security. Lord Mountbatten was able to get rid of Pandit Nehru's objection by appealing to his democratic instinct. The viceroy also emphasized that 'no community should be forced to join a nation against its will.' In a final attempt to avert partition, Mahatma Gandhi suggested making Muhammad Ali Jinnah the head of undivided India. He also gave Jinnah the right to choose his entire ministry. However, Pandit Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel were wary of Jinnah's impulsive behaviour and refused to support Mahatma Gandhi's decision of nominating Jinnah. Therefore, in this situation of a stalemate, Gandhi finally relented to Lord Mountbatten's solution of partition.

Since all efforts taken to keep India united failed miserably, Lord Mountbatten requested General Hastings Ismay to sketch out a plan for partition and division of power. It was decided that the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League would not view the agreement until the plan was finalized. Once it was finalized, it was sent to the Britain where on 3 June 1947 Prime Minister Clement Attlee announced the partition of India in the House of Commons. It later came to be known as the June 3rd Plan or the Mountbatten Plan. The Mountbatten Plan dealt with the transfer of power from Britain to India, keeping in mind the procedures through which Muslim-majority provinces would decide their fate, i.e., their decision to remain in India or to be a part of a new entity which came to be known as Pakistan. Most of the provinces made their own decisions. In Sindh and Baluchistan, the responsibility lay with the provincial legislature, whereas in the provinces of Bengal and Punjab had to make two decisions. First of all, the legislatures of Bengal and Punjab had to decide whether they would be part of the new dominion of Pakistan and if they decided so, should the provinces be split into Muslim and non-Muslim areas. In the North-West Frontier provinces and in the Muslim-dominated areas of Sylhet in Assam, people were allowed to decide their destiny in terms of being a part of a new nation. In case partition was the choice of majority of people, then Boundary Commissions would be set up. The Indian Constituent Assembly would continue to function, **however** a separate assembly would be created for the provinces that settled on becoming a part of the new dominion that eventually came to be known as Pakistan.

Meanwhile, the provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier opted to be a part of Pakistan, whereas Bengal and Punjab opted for a double partition. According to their evaluation, Bengal and Punjab decided to be part of Pakistan but the Muslim-minority areas would still remain as a part of India. A Boundary Commission was also set up for the smooth transition of Muslim and non-Muslim areas in Punjab and Bengal. Sylhet in Assam joined the eastern wing of Pakistan. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who was the chairman of the Border Commission, was given the responsibility of demarcating a boundary line between India and Pakistan which came to be known as the Radcliffe Line after its architect. The Radcliffe Line was announced on 17 August 1947, dividing 175,000 square miles of land between 88 million people. Both nations were to have their own civil services and armed forces. The financial assets and materials also had to be divided accordingly between India and Pakistan and Lord Mountbatten was prompt to solve these issues along with other problems before the expiry of deadline.

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The June 3rd Plan was legalized and put into effect by the Indian Independence Act. The bill was introduced in the British Parliament on 4 July 1947 and was passed without any amendments and on 18 July 1947, received a royal assent. India was now an independent nation, although this independence came with the price of partition. The newly-created nation of Pakistan was inaugurated at Karachi on 14 August 1947. On 15 August 1947, India was declared a free nation by Nehru. Lord Mounbatten was sworn in as the first Governor-General of independent India and Pandit Nehru went on to become the first prime minister of independent India.

Though freedom from the British rule made the struggle worthwhile, the partition resulted in catastrophe. Many people who were not in favour of the partition were reduced to the status of refugees and were forced to leave the land of their forefathers and restart their lives. This transition was not peaceful and many people lost their lives. The brutal nature of partition created an atmosphere of mutual hostility and suspicion between India and Pakistan which blights their relation till date. Mahatma Gandhi who was considered a symbol of truth and non-violence visited Bengal to comfort people who were adversely affected by the partition. Though the country was celebrating its newfound independence, the celebrations were dampened by the miserable condition of some people who had been negatively affected by this partition.

6.5.3 Indian Independence Act 1947

India achieved independence on 15 August 1947. Due to some disagreements British India was divided into India and Pakistan. The main principles of the Indian Independence Act declared:

- Partition of India into Indian and Pakistan
- Both nations to be free from British dominance
- People could join any of the two nations as per their discretion. Most of the states signed an Instrument of Accession according to which they agreed to be a part of India. However there were some states which thought that they were entitled to declare their own independence.
- The constituent assemblies of both dominions were given autonomous powers to frame and adopt their own Constitutions.
- The position of Secretary of State of India was abolished and his office was to be taken over by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs.

6.5.4 Independence and Partition

The last few years of British rule in India were evident of complex negotiations between the British Government, Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. This phase was marked by communal violence which ultimately ended in independence from British rule and partition of India. This period also witnessed militant and united mass action through the INA release movement and the RIN mutiny of 1945-46, Tebhaga upsurge in Bengal, Punnapra Vayalar in Travancore and the Telengana peasant revolt in Hyderabad. Apart from these events, there were various agitations, strikes and demonstrations all over the country. This mass pressure proved helpful in shifting the British policy. Major developments through the world also influenced the British policy in India. Germany was destroyed and Japan was forced to surrender after the bombing of Hiroshima in August 1945. Socially radical regimes having communist leaderships were emerging throughout Eastern Europe. These kinds of regimes were even evident in France and

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Italy. The Chinese Revolution was also progressing with speed. During the same time, Vietnam and Indonesia were resisting French and Dutch colonial rule. This anti-imperialist wave worldwide and the war-weary people of a ravaged economy pushed Britain to retreat. The labour victory during this time was also key in speeding the process of independence resulting in partition.

The partition was to be put in effect in the following manner-

The provinces were given a right to choose the dominion they wanted to be a part of. However the decision process was different in all the provinces. The point of difference between the provinces is as follows:

- **Punjab and Bengal:** Since Punjab and Bengal had to decide the areas which were to be a part of the new dominion, a Boundary Commission was appointed to demarcate the appropriate boundary.
- **Sindh and Baluchistan:** They opted to join the new dominion of Pakistan.
- **North-West Frontier Province:** They joined Pakistan after a referendum.
- **Sylhet in Assam:** The Muslim majority in Sylhet decided through referendum to join Pakistan after the partition.

The British Parliament made numerous legislations to transfer power before the end of 1947 to the independent dominion power. However, the final decision rest with the constituent assembly on whether to remain in the commonwealth or not. The Muslim League accepted the British proposal of partition within a week. The Congress, according to Maulana Azad, had no choice but to accept the plan as well. They considered it important to close all doors leading to a situation of anarchy and chaos. The partition of India was seen by many as choosing the lesser evil and partition was any day a better option than the violence which would have erupted if no decision was taken soon. Mahatma Gandhi who was previously against partition, agreed for the division of India and supported the resolution which was passed by 157 to 29. It was also seen that 32 members remained neutral in the decision of partition.

Exhibit

Quick guide: Partition

BBC News, 8 August 2007

Events after the end of British rule in India in August 1947 were momentous: two new countries were created to form predominantly Muslim West and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) with Hindu-majority India wedged in between.

The break-up along religious lines resulted in the movement of about 14.5 million people - Muslims going to Pakistan from India and Hindus and Sikhs going in the opposite direction.

The new governments were ill-equipped to deal with such a massive migration - one of the largest of its kind in the world - and there was huge violence on both sides of the border.

The upheaval resulted in a breakdown of law and order: estimates of casualties vary, from between 200,000 up to a million people. Around 12 million people were left homeless and thousands were raped.

Who was to blame?

The British were accused of pulling out of India too quickly. Critics say that they

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failed to come up with a definitive map of the border, and failed to plan for the huge migration.

Britain argued it was forced to act speedily because of the breakdown of law and order, and that matters would have got worse the longer they remained.

Britain also argued that it had limited resources after World War II.

After partition

The two countries - already bitterly divided by the Kashmir question (see below) pursued differing alliances around the world.

India looked to Soviet Russia as its strategic ally, and did not liberalize its economy until the early 1990s.

Pakistan chose China and the US as its key foreign policy partners. But unlike India - which has had political stability apart from the state of emergency declared by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975 - Pakistan for most of its existence has been governed by the military.

The Kashmir question

The dispute over the Himalayan territory of Kashmir has been the spark for two of India and Pakistan's three wars.

Kashmir had a Muslim majority but a Hindu princely ruler who eventually acceded to India in return for military aid.

Within months of independence, India and Pakistan were at war in Kashmir and the sense of conflict has lingered ever since.

The nuclear issue

Nuclear tests by India in May 1998 and by Pakistan just weeks later provoked international concern.

India and Pakistan have had a rocky relationship over the years

In May 1999, there were fears of nuclear war between the two countries after Pakistani-backed forces entered a mountainous area of Indian-administered Kashmir.

In 2004, the leading Pakistani nuclear scientist, AQ Khan, confessed to selling nuclear weapons technology to Libya, Iran and North Korea.

The future

India is tipped to be a 21st Century superpower with a population that will overtake China's by 2050.

India's economy has seen dramatic growth and much foreign investment.

Pakistan too has had recent economic growth, but many see its long-term stability threatened by Islamic militancy and political uncertainty.

Source: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6924732.stm

(Accessed on 23 January 2012)

6.5.5 Establishment of the Indian Republic

Indian National Congress demanded a Constituent Assembly in India. World War II in Europe ended on 9 May 1945. A new government came to power in the United Kingdom in July. Indian leaders and members of the 1946 Cabinet Mission to India from the United Kingdom held some discussion. As a result, the Constituent Assembly was set up. The elections to Constituent Assembly were held in July 1946. The members of the individual provincial legislative assemblies indirectly elected the Assembly members. Initially, these members also included the representatives for the provinces which came

to form part of Pakistan, some these provinces are now in Bangladesh. The Interim Government of India was formed from the newly-elected Constituent Assembly on 2 September 1946.

6.5.6 The Constituent Assembly

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The Constituent Assembly met for the first time in New Delhi on 9 December 1946 in the Constitution Hall which is now known as the Central Hall of Parliament House.

Some of the prominent people who were present in the assembly were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Acharya J.B. Kripalani, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Smt. Sarojini Naidu, Shri Hare-Krushna Mahatab, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Shri M. Asaf Ali. Two hundred and seven representatives, including nine women were present.

The Constituent Assembly took two years, eleven months and seventeen days, to complete the task of drafting the Constitution for Independent India. During this period, it held eleven sessions covering a total of 165 days. Of these, 114 days were spent on the consideration of the Draft Constitution.

The members were chosen by indirect election by the members of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies, according to the scheme recommended by the Cabinet Mission. The arrangement was:

- (i) 292 members were elected through the Provincial Legislative Assemblies;
- (ii) 93 members represented the Indian Princely States; and
- (iii) 4 members represented the Chief Commissioners' Provinces.

The total membership of the Assembly was to be 389. However, as a result of the partition under the Mountbatten Plan of 3 June 1947, a separate Constituent Assembly was set up for Pakistan and representatives of some Provinces ceased to be members of the Assembly. As a result, the membership of the Assembly was reduced to 299.

Objectives of the resolution

On 13 December 1946, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru laid down the Objectives Resolution which are as follows:

1. This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution;
2. Wherein the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India, shall be a Union of them all; and
3. Wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous Units, together with residuary powers and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

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4. Wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people; and
5. Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social economic and political : equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and
6. Wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and
7. Whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea, and air according to justice and the law of civilized nations; and
8. This ancient land attains its rightful and honoured placed in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

This Resolution was unanimously adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 22 January 1947. On 29 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly set up a Drafting Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to prepare a Draft Constitution for India. While deliberating upon the draft Constitution, the Assembly moved, discussed and disposed of as many as 2,473 amendments out of a total of 7,635 tabled.

The Constitution of India was adopted on 26 November 1949 and the members appended their signatures to it on 24 January 1950. In all, 284 members actually signed the Constitution. The Constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950. On that day, the Assembly ceased to exist, transforming itself into the Provisional Parliament of India until a new Parliament was constituted in 1952.

6.5.7 Main Features of the Indian Constitution of 1950

1. **Written Constitution:** A constitution can be written or unwritten. The constitution of the India is written which was enacted on 26 January 1950.
2. **Bulkiest constitution in the world:** The Constitution of India is known as the bulkiest constitution in the world. It is lengthy as well as detailed. Originally, the Constitution had 395 Articles and 8 schedules. At present (March 2011), it has 444 articles and 12 schedules.

Although the last article of the Constitution is Article 395, the total number is 448. New articles added through amendments have been inserted in the relevant location in the original constitution. In order not to disturb the original numbering, the new articles are inserted with alphanumeric enumerations such as 31A and 31B.

There are a number of reasons behind the bulkiness of the Constitution of India. It explains the structure of the government at the Centre, at the State level as well as at the level of the Union Territory. It encompasses the powers of the government at the centre as well as state. It also explains Centre-State relationship and inter-state coordination.

Another reason behind the bulkiness of the Constitution is that there is extreme diversity in the country in terms of caste, class and religious. The drafting committee had to protect and safeguard the interests of all Indians. The Constitution contains the fundamental rights of all Indians and explains the limitations on each right.

The issues related to regional language and official language of the country have been dealt in the Constitution. These features also make the Constitution bulky.

- 3. Use of different sources:** A number of people have criticized the Constitution saying that it is a 'bag of borrowings', 'hotchpotch of elements drawn from various sources' and 'glorified edition of the Act of 1935'. However, the drafting committee tried to take the best from other constitutions of the country and moulded those features keeping the Indian conditions in mind. According to Prof. Srinivasan, 'it is a close copy of the Act of 1935 ...almost two-thirds of the Constitution owes its origin to this Act with modifications in the context of the new conditions obtainable in the country.'

The drafting read the constitutions of many countries before they drafted their own. The Parliamentary system of democracy came from England, the idea of the Directive Principles from Ireland, provisions relating to Emergencies from the German Reich, and the concept of federalism, the Bill of Rights and Judicial Review from the USA.

Some ideas have also been taken from the Constitution of Canada and Australia. It would not be correct to say that the Constitution has been copied from various resources and many parts of the Constitution show the originality of ideas and good understanding of the Indian conditions.

- 4. Unique federal system:** The Government of India is the governing authority of a federal union of 28 states and 7 union territories. A tiered system is used for the governance of India. The Constitution explains the executive powers of each tier of government. The Constitution in its Seventh Schedule clearly states the subjects under three categories namely the Union list, the State list and the Concurrent list.

A unique aspect of Indian federalism is that it is asymmetric unlike other forms of federalism. For instance, Article 370 mentions special provisions which are set for the state of Jammu and Kashmir as per its Instrument of Accession. Article 371 provides special provisions for the states of Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Sikkim Nagaland and Manipur as per their accession or statehood deals.

President's Rule is also an important aspect of Indian federalism. According to this system, the central government takes control of state's administration for some time in case no party is able to form a government in the state or there is violent disturbance in the state. The Supreme Court settles disputes that arise between the Centre and the States. India can make changes in the boundaries of the States which is not allowed in other federations. Thus, we can say that India is not completely federal in its approach.

- 5. Single citizenship:** In most of the federations, people have dual citizenship. The citizens of the federal country enjoy the rights of the state as well as the rights of the federation. However, Indians have single citizenship, they are called the citizens of the country and not of states.

This feature was introduced in the Constitution by the drafting committee of the Constitution because they did not want India to face the problems of regionalism on the account that there is extreme diversity in the country in terms of caste, class, language and religion. Also, the dual citizenship in the country might have hindered the spirit of national integration.

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- 6. Combination of rigidity and flexibility:** The Constitution of India used the right blend of rigidity and flexibility in the amendment procedure. In some countries, the procedure of amendment is extremely difficult and in others, it is extremely easy. In India, the amendments have been divided into three parts and each part has a different procedure. This feature was added in the Constitution in order to ensure that the procedure of amendment can be made easy or difficult depending on the nature of amendment.
- 7. Democratic republic:** According to the Preamble of the Constitution, India is called 'Sovereign Democratic Republic'. Many critics feel that the word 'Republic' after 'Democracy' is redundant. However, there is a vast difference between the two. A democratic country may not necessarily have a republican form of government, for instance, Britain follows democracy under hereditary monarchy. India is a democratic republic. The people of India elect their members governments at all levels namely Union, State and local. The system that is used for elections is called universal adult franchise. It means anybody above 18 years of age, who is not debarred by law, has one vote which he casts during voting. All citizens have the right to vote irrespective of their caste, sex, education, religion, creed and colour. Equality, liberty, fraternity and justice are the pillars of democracy in India. The representatives of the people elect the President of India and the President acts on the advice of his ministers.
- 8. Balance between judicial supremacy and parliamentary sovereignty:** There is a clear separation of powers in the democratic system in India. The Judiciary branch is independent of the Parliament of India. The judiciary is vested with the powers of judicial review. The judiciary has the authority to declare a law as unconstitutional if he breaches the fundamental rights of people given in the Constitution. However, if the judiciary proves obstructive, the Union parliament has the authority to make amendments in the Constitution by a 'special majority'.
- 9. Universal adult franchise:** It is one of the most prominent features of the Constitution. No eligible has been laid on the adult voters as anybody above 18 years of age can vote irrespective of his caste, education, religion, creed and colour. This shows that the drafting committee of the Constitution had a lot of faith in the people of the country. According to Article 326 of the Constitution of India, 'The elections to the House of the People and to the Legislative Assembly of every State shall be on the basis of adult suffrage...'
- 10. Secular state:** The word 'secular' was added in the Constitution as per the 42nd Amendment of the Constitution. The word secular does not mean that it is irreligious or anti-religious state. It means that:
- (i) The Parliament does not have the right to declare a particular religion as the official religion of the country.
 - (ii) All people are to be treated equally in the country irrespective of their religion.
 - (iii) No one can be debarred from participating in political affairs, entering government service, securing admission in any educational institution on the basis of religion.
- 11. Fundamental Rights:** The rights guaranteed to all Indians have been listed under 'Fundamental Rights' in the Constitution of India. These rights are:

- (i) Right to equality
- (ii) Right to freedom of speech and expression
- (iii) Right against exploitation
- (iv) Right to freedom of religion
- (v) Cultural and Educational rights
- (vi) Right to constitutional remedies for enforcement of Fundamental Rights

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These are known as 'definite rights'. The Right to constitutional remedies for enforcement of Fundamental Rights is important as the State cannot make any law that breaches these rights. However, these laws are not applicable when emergency is announced in the state. Though, these are called definite rights but they are not absolute. It means that there are restrictions and limitations in each of these rights and all citizens have to abide by these limitations in order to enjoy fundamental rights.

12. Incorporation of fundamental duties: Forty-Second Constitutional Amendment Act was passed for the incorporation of fundamental duties. All the citizens of the country have certain fundamental duties which they are supposed to execute.

13. Directive principles for a welfare state: The Directive Principles of State Policy are some guidelines for the central and state governments of India. These are not laws, thus, these cannot be enforced by any court. However, it includes some fundamental duties of the State which were considered important by the Drafting committee for governance. These Principles are classified under the categories namely Gandhian, economic and socialistic, political and administrative, justice and legal, environmental, protection of monuments and peace and security. These principles ensure that the State shall work towards promoting the welfare of the people. It ensures that people get social, economic and political justice in all walks of life. The State is also directed to work towards reducing economic inequality as well as inequalities in status and opportunities, not only among individuals, but also among various groups of people. Similarly, many directives are given in the Constitution of India.

14. Emergency provisions: The Constitution also mentions how emergency situations need to be dealt with. According to the Constitution, the Head of the State can declare emergency if he/she feels that it is impossible to administer the country in the same way as is administered during normal conditions.

During emergencies, the fundamental rights of the citizens are not applicable and no citizen can file a petition for the breach of these rights. The legislature assembly can not introduce any Bill without the permission of the Head of the State during emergencies.

15. Special provisions for minorities: There are provisions in the Constitution of reservation of seats for cultural minorities, from every sphere of life. However, this provision is not a permanent one and as soon as it is evident that these minorities are no longer less privileged than other sections of society, this reservation will lapse. In ancient India, there was a system in which seats were reserved minorities on the basis of religion. The system turned out to be very dangerous and finally the partition of the country was one of its consequences. Now, this system is no longer in practice and religious minorities have no privilege of reservation.

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- 16. Provision for autonomous organization:** The Constitution has also provided for specific autonomous bodies that have been created with the objective of keeping a check on the crucial organs of the government. An Election Commission has been appointed with a view to conduct free and fair elections in India. An autonomous Supreme Court is also a creation of the Constitution. The chief reason for the independence and autonomy of the Supreme Court is that this court is the guardian of our fundamental rights and the Constitution of India. Another body created by the Constitution, which also flaunts its autonomy is the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. In addition to these, Commissions like UPSC and Finance Commission also have been created.
- 17. Rule of law:** The pattern of the concept of 'rule of law' was based on the similar system in Britain. It places every man is below the law and all individual is subjected to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. It has three fundamental postulates (i) No person can be punished except for the breach of an existing law. (ii) All citizens are equal before law and no one is above the law. (iii) The Constitution is the Supreme law of the land and all laws passed by the Parliament must be in keeping with the provisions of the Constitution.
- 18. Panchayati Raj:** A base has been provided in the Constitution for Panchayati Raj institutions as well as urban local bodies. This clause is mentioned in the seventy-third and seventy-fourth amendments to the Constitution that were introduced in December 1992.
- 19. Bicameral legislature:** A bicameral legislature has also been provided at the centre, which comprises the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. The Lok Sabha comprises representatives of the people, while the Rajya Sabha comprises representatives of the states.
- 20. People as source of authority:** The people are the ones who give the Constitution its authority and it has been promulgated in their name. The biggest evidence of this is the preamble, which affirms, 'We, the people of India ... do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.'

6.5.8 Integration of Princely States

During the period of independence, India had two categories of political units, these were the British provinces and the princely states. The Indian Independence Act, 1947, affirmed that British dominance over the Indian states would end on 15 August 1947. These states were given the option to either be part of India or part of Pakistan. The leaders of India and Pakistan eagerly competed to secure the entry of the princely states into their respective territories.

In July 1947, the States Department was taken over by Sardar Patel, who exhibited skill in managing the state affairs, corresponding to this situation. He was provided able assistance by V P Menon. Stimulating the feelings of patriotism and nationalism within the rulers of the princely states, Patel persuaded them to go in with the Indian Constituent Assembly. He told them that they would only be required to submit the authority of the following three prime offices: (i) external affairs, (ii) defence and (iii) communications to the Indian dominion. He brought to their attention that during the British rule, they were not given much authority in these three areas. There were no plans to modify the internal political structures in any way. Mountbatten also advised the princes to agree to the offer made by the Congress' and consider it as a move of generosity. He pointed out

towards the possibility of rebellion after 15 August 15. By 15 August, official acceptance of accession came from the rulers of all 562 states, except the states of Junagarh, Kashmir and Hyderabad.

The Nawab of Junagarh, a small state on the coast of Kathiawar, declared that his state would join Pakistan. However, the people of his state expressed the desire to join India. Finally, Indian troops took over the state and organized a referendum, which indicated the people's desire to join India. The Nizam of Hyderabad tried to gain an independent status but was forced to give in to India. This was a result of an internal revolt that erupted in its Telangana territory, following which the Indian troops marched into Hyderabad, in 1948. The Maharaja of Kashmir was also in a state of confusion about accession to India or Pakistan. However, he joined India in October 1947 after invaders from Pakistan raided the state.

However, there were more difficult tasks to be achieved. One of these was integration of the states with neighbouring units, or combining them into new units like Kathiawar Union, Vindhya and Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan or Himachal Pradesh. In addition to this was the task of bringing about internal changes, within the Constitution, related to the states (Hyderabad and Mysore, Travancore —Cochin), which for some years had kept their old boundaries intact. This task too was completed within a short period, which exceeded a bit more than a year. This was a remarkable achievement. In this case, the chief factors of motivation were promises of generous confidential bounties and acts of conferring the titles of governors or *Rajpramukhs* on many princes. Sardar Patel's major accomplishment was the unity of India.

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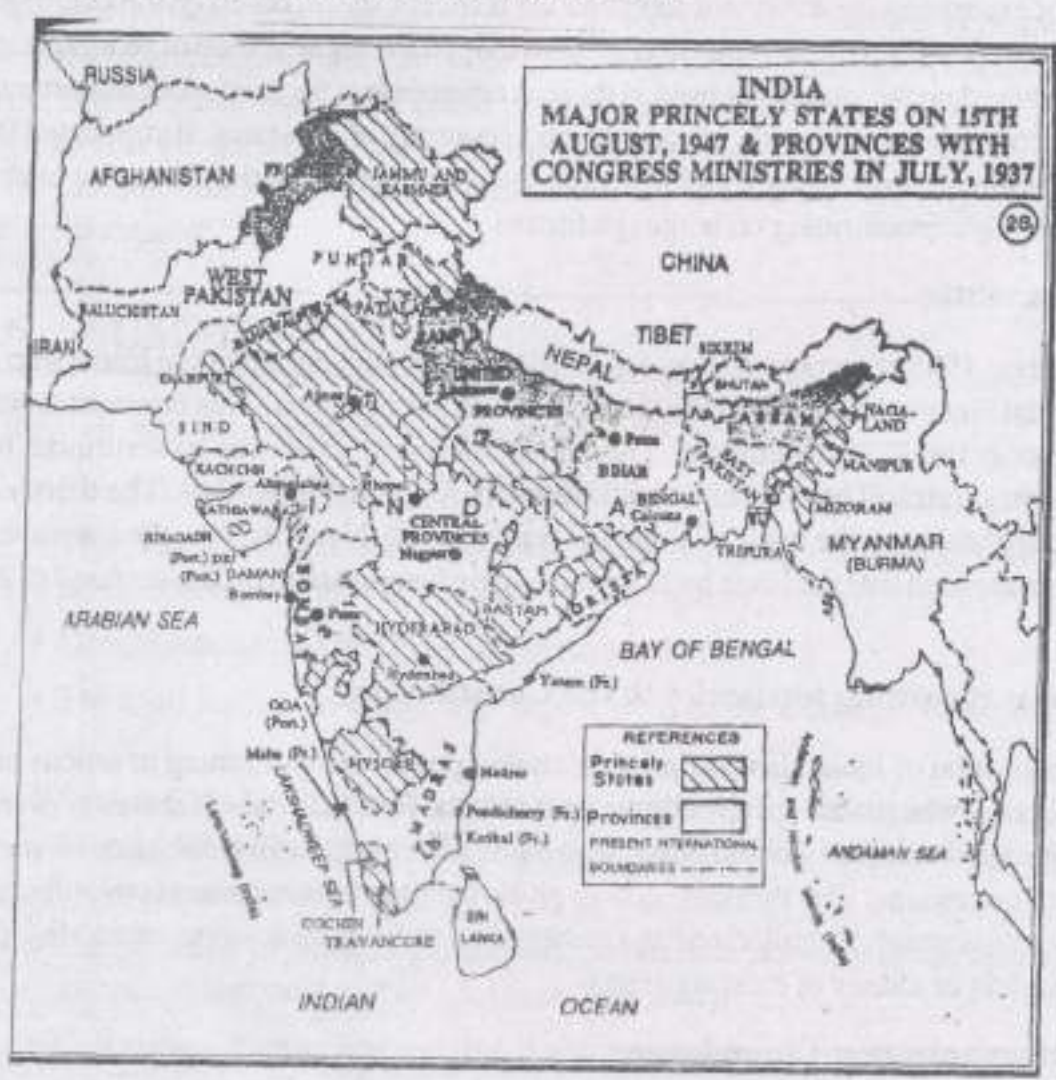


Fig. 6.1 Major Princely States as on 15 August 1947

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He proved his ability in tackling the problem of integrating princely states with every support from VP Menon (Secretary, States Ministry). They devised detailed plans for removing every hindrance and obstacle in the integration or merger of princely states. A few of the small princely states, which were not able to perform as independent units of administration, were merged with the adjoining princely states or former British provinces. Consequently, all the 216 states were merged with former Indian provinces; 275 larger states or unions of smaller princely states that were formed lately were categorized as separate states. 61 small states that were very backward got transformed into chief commissioner's provinces. The islands of Andaman and Nicobar were classified into a different category. The Constitution thus made a four-fold distribution of states possible, viz., A, B, C and D. States that belonged to Part A, were formerly 9 in number, under the rule of British India. Part B involved 5 princely states with their own governing bodies. Part C states comprised 5 states that fell under the central administration and the states of Part D were the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Figure 14.1 shows the major princely states as of 15 August 1947.

S.K. Dhar Commission

The princely states were integrated and merged on a purely ad hoc basis and the need to reorganize the states permanently was felt. This need arose since the provinces were growing in a disorganized manner in terms of different states, which used several languages. In 1948, a commission was created by the government, under the leadership of S.K. Dhar, who was a judge of the Allahabad High Court. This commission was given the task of examining the activity of reorganizing different states, based on the languages used in them. Though, the commission acknowledged the significance of reorganizing the states based on the languages used in them, it nevertheless focused more importantly on the factors related to history, geography and economy of the states. It supported the theory that their restructuring should be such that their administration becomes easier, instead of only concentrating on language factors.

JVP Committee

In December, 1948, a committee was appointed by the Congress under the leadership of Jawaharalal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. This committee was referred to as the JVP Committee. The aim of the committee was to scrutinize the matter from scratch. The committee submitted its report in April 1949. The theory of reorganizing states on the basis of language was rejected. Nevertheless, the committee also recommended that the issue be examined again keeping in mind the demand of the public.

Provisions regarding territories in the Constitution

The Constitution of India also comprised detailed provisions pertaining to unions and their territories, which were specifically mentioned in the First Schedule. It also empowered the Parliament such that it could admit into the union or establish new states on these terms and conditions. The Parliament was given the discretion to enact laws, which it considered essential. It authorized the Parliament to form new states or modify the areas, borders or names of existing states.

State Reorganization Commission

In 1953, the government had to create an independent state of Andhra Pradesh for those who spoke Telugu. This was the result of lengthy campaigning and demise of Potti

Sriramulu consequent to his hunger strike that lasted for 56 days. Hence, the state of Andhra Pradesh was the first one to be created under pressure, on the basis of the language spoken.

This gave rise to more demands for creating states based on languages in other parts of India. On 22 December 1953, Jawaharlal Nehru appointed a commission that was led by Fazl Ali, for handling these demands. The commission also comprised K M Panikkar and H N Kunzru.

A report was submitted by the commission after considering and focusing on the wishes and claims of people in various territories. In its report, the recommendation of the commission indicated that the entire country be reorganized into 16 states and 3 territories. The three territories would be administered by the centre. However, these recommendations were not completely accepted by the government. The government accepted the commission's recommendation for dismissal of the four-fold distribution of states, according to provisions in the original Constitution. The government divided the country into 14 states and 6 union territories, under the States Reorganization Act of 1956. These states were Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The 6 union territories were Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, Manipur and Tripura.

The States Reorganization Act came into force in November 1956. The Act called for promoting cooperation between different states. It had provisions for the following five zonal councils: the northern, central, eastern, western and southern zone states, respectively. Each zonal council comprised a union minister who was appointed by the President; the chief ministers of states in the zones, two ministers of each state in the zone, one member from each union territory nominated by the President (if such a territory was included in the zone) and the advisor to the Governor of Assam in the case of the eastern zone. Additionally, a specific number of advisors were to be appointed for the zonal council.

6.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The British forcibly dragged India into the Second World War.
- The Cripps' Mission was sent to India by the British to secure India's participation in the Second World War in support of the British.
- Gandhi started the Quit India Movement in 1942.
- The Quit India Movement was suppressed, as the Congress could not remain united.
- Subhas Chandra Bose, fell out with the Congress and went on to form the Forward Bloc. Later, with the help of the Axis powers and Indians in Exile Bose organized the Indian National Army.
- The partition of India is a landmark occurrence not only in the history of the Indian subcontinent, but also in the world history.
- C. Rajagopalachari realized that it was necessary to have a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League, so he came up with a formula which was known as the C.R. Formula.

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Check Your Progress

12. The talks between M.K. Gandhi and Mohammad Ali Jinnah started on _____ in Bombay.
13. In 1945, Liaquat Ali Khan and Bhulabhai Desai were corresponding leaders of the League and the Congress. (True/ False)
14. The Muslim League decided that August 15 would be observed as 'Direct Action day' throughout the country. (True/ False)
15. The June 3rd Plan was not given legal effect by the Indian Independence Act.
16. The elections for the Constituent Assembly were held in _____.
17. _____ was the chairman of the Drafting Committee which was formed on 29th August 1947.
18. The Indian Constitution seeks to impart flexibility to a written federal Constitution. (True/ False)
19. Many provisions have been incorporated in the Constitution to make India a welfare state.

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- After the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Wavell was convinced that the initiative should come from the government. On 14 June 1945, new proposals were announced to introduce further constitutional changes in India, within the framework of the Government of India Act, 1935.
- The Muslim League decided that 6 August would be observed as 'Direct Action Day' throughout the country.
- On 12 August 1946, Wavell called upon the Congress to form an interim government.
- Elections for the Constituent Assembly were held in July 1946.
- On 29th August 1947 a drafting committee was formed under the chairmanship of B.R. Ambedkar.
- A draft of the Constitution was put before the Constituent Assembly. It was ready on the 26th November 1949 and came into force on 26th January 1950.
- The Constitution of India has the distinction of being the bulkiest, constitutional document, the world ever produced.
- In accordance with the federal set-up, there has been a division of powers between the Centre and the states.
- An independent Judiciary with the power of judicial review is a prominent feature of our Constitution.
- The Constitution-makers incorporated many provisions in the Constitution to make India a Welfare State.
- At the time of independence, two types of political units existed in India. They were the British provinces and princely states. The princely states were allowed to join either India or Pakistan. Later, the states were reorganized on a permanent basis.

6.7 KEY WORDS

- **Resolution:** A formal expression of opinion or intention agreed on by a legislative body, committee, or other formal meeting, typically after taking a vote
- **Fascism:** An authoritarian and nationalistic right-wing system of government and social organization
- **Incarcerate:** Imprison or confine
- **Exclusivism:** The action or policy of excluding a person or group from a place, group, or privilege
- **Aboriginal:** Inhabiting or existing in a land from the earliest times or from before the arrival of colonists
- **Two-nation theory:** The ideology that the primary identity of Muslims on the Indian subcontinent is their religion, rather than their language or ethnicity, and therefore Indian Hindus and Muslims are two distinct nationalities, regardless of ethnic or other commonalities
- **C.R. Formula:** A formula introduced by C. Rajagopalachari for settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League

- **Lapse:** The termination of a right or privilege through disuse or failure to follow appropriate procedures
- **Dominion:** The territory of a sovereign or government
- **Sovereign:** A republic that acts independently and without outside interference
- **Commission:** A group of people officially charged with a particular function
- **Secular:** The characteristic of denoting attitudes, activities, or other things that have no religious basis
- **Republic:** A state in which supreme power is held by the people and their elected representatives
- **Constituent Assembly:** A parliament, congress or convention elected for the purpose of drawing up a constitution
- **Union territory:** Any of several territories of India that are administered by the central government

NOTES

6.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR QUESTIONS'

1. True
2. False
3. Axis Powers
4. Cripps' Mission arrived in India in March 1942 under Stafford Cripps.
5. False
6. True
7. 1943
8. Rash Behari Bose
9. Mohan Singh
10. Edge of a volcano
11. Rani Jhansi Regiment
12. 9 September 1944
13. 1945
14. False
15. False
16. 1946
17. Dr B.R Ambedkar
18. True
19. True

6.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Long-Answer Questions**NOTES**

1. Write a note on India's involvement in the Second World War and the Cripps' Mission.
2. Write a biographical sketch of Subhash Chandra Bose.
3. Write a note on the formation and the role of the Indian National Army.
4. What was the role of Attlee's Announcement and Mountbatten Plan in the Partition of India?
5. Write a note on the integration of princely states.

Short-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the importance of the Quit India Movement. Why was it suppressed?
2. Discuss the events that led to the Partition of India in 1947.
3. Describe the main features of the Indian Independence Act 1947.
4. Examine the composition of Constituent Assembly of India. Evaluate the objectives and perspectives on the Indian Polity.
5. Discuss the salient features of the Indian Constitution.

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