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SYLLABUS

History of India from 1857 to 2000 A.D.

MH-438

Chapter-1

Unit-1: Sources:

Biographies, Memories, Creative Literature, Archival Materials, Paintings and Newspapers.

Unit-2: The First Major Challenge: The Revolt of 1857 A.D. and Other Uprisings:

- The Revolt of 1857: Origin, Character, Causes of Failure, The Consequences.
- Indigo Rebellion (1859–60).
- Deccan Uprising (1857).

Unit-3: Factors Leading to the Birth of the Indian National Congress (1885)

- The Safety Valve Thesis Relating to the Birth of Congress.
- Programmes and Objectives of Early Congress.
- The Social Composition of Early Congress Leadership.

Unit-4: Rise of Nationalism in India:

- Theory and Concept of 'National' and 'Nationalism'.
- Its origin and Development.
- Different Trends in Indian Nationalism.

Chapter-2

Unit-5: Background of Indian Nationalism:

(a) Traditional Indian Society (b) Impact of British imperialism and policies-Economics, Administrative and Social (c) Introduction of Western Education and Modern Trends and Ideas (d) Christian Missionaries (e) Rise of Middle Class, Socio-Religious Reform Movements, Press and Literature.

Unit-6: Primitive Nationalism:

(a) Tribal Uprising (b) Peasant Revolt (c) Civil and Military Rebellions.

Unit-7: Economic Nationalism:

(a) Economic Nationalism – Meaning and Nature Contribution of Dadabhai Naroji, M.G. Ranade, R.C. Dutta, Mahatma Phule.

Unit-8: Organized Nationalism:

1. Emergence of Political Associations Upto 1885.
2. Rise of Indian National Congress.
3. Liberal Era (1885 to 1905 A.D.).
4. Moderates and Extremists – Role and Ideology of G.K. Gokhale and B.G. Tilak.
5. Ideologies and Programmes of the Indian National Congress (1885 – 1907).

Chapter-3

Unit-9: Lord Curzon; Administration, Foreign Policy and Partition of Bengal, Swadeshi movement, The Indian Council's Act of 1861 and 1892, The Reforms of Morley-Minto, 1909, Government of India Act of 1919, Indian National Movement from 1909-1909 A.D.

Unit-10: Muslim League, Social and Religious Reform Movements – Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramkrishna Mission, Theosophical Society, Growth of Press in 19th Century.

Unit-11: (a) National Movement as a Mass Movement – Role of Mahatma Gandhi and his Ideology, (b) Quit India Movement (1920) – Aims, Objectives, Causes of Failure (c) Swaraj Party (1923) – Circumstances Leading to the Establishment – Cause of Failure (d) Simon Commission – Works and effects (e) Nehru Report 1928, Round Table Conferences (1930–32) (f) Poona Pact, National Movement During Second World War – Quit India Movement, 1942 (g) Peasant Movements (1919 to 1940).

Unit-12: (1) Armed struggle and Revolutionary Nationalism:

(a) **Maharashtra** – V.B. Phadke, Chafekar, Saverkar and his Associates.

(b) **Bengal** – Anushilan Samiti, Yugantar Samiti, Yogi Aurobindo.

(c) **England** – India House and shyamji Krishna Verma.

(2) **Ghadar movement.**

(3) **Hindustan socialist and Republican Army:-** Shahid Bhagat Singh and his Associates, Their Ideology and Revolution.

(4) **Communist Movement:** Kanpur and Meerut conspiracy, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose – His Azad Hind Fauj.

Unit-13: Anti-Caste Nationalism:

a) Mahatma Phule – His Ideology and Satyashodhak Movement.

b) Shahuji Maharaj and non Brahmin Movement.

c) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar – His Philosophy and Dalit Movement.

d) South India – Role of Periar Ramaswami and Narayan Guru.

Unit-14: Communal Politics and Communal Organizations:

Communalism – Its Meaning and Origin, Revivalist Nationalism and Two- National Theory.

Communal Organization:- Muslim league, Hindu Maha Sabha, R.S.S., Communal Politics and Partition of India, Govt. of India Act, 1935, Indian Independence Act, 1947.

Unit-15: Legacy of Nationalism in India:

Rise of Independent and democratic India, J.L. Nehru and His Idea of India, Role of Indian Constitution in the National Building, Constitution of India, 1950, Socialist Society. Planning and state Controlled Industrialization. Agrarian Reforms, Foreign Policy of Non-alignment. Order Conflict With China and Chinese Aggression.

Unit-16: Reorganization of states and Civil Services and Indian Prime ministers and Their Internal administration and Achievements; Procedure for Amendment of Indian Constitution of Various Amendments (made upto now).

Nehru, Sashtri, Indira Gandhi, Morarji Desai, Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh, Narsima Rao, Deve Gowda, I.K. Gujaral, A.B. Vajpayee.

CHAPTER – 1

*The First War of
Independence and Rise of
Nationalism*

THE FIRST WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND RISE OF NATIONALISM

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STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Learning Objectives
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 Sources of Modern Indian History
- 1.4 Circumstances Leading to Popular Revolt
- 1.5 Nature and Significance of the Early Resistance
- 1.6 Revolt of 1857 — Causes and Courses
 - Reasons for the Revolt
 - Courses of the Revolt
- 1.7 Nature and Consequences of the Revolt, 1857
 - Causes of the Failure of the Revolt
 - Significance of the Revolt
 - Impact of the Mutiny
- 1.8 Awadh in Revolt
- 1.9 Indigo Revolt
 - Causes of the Revolt
- 1.10 Indian National Congress, 1885
 - The Methods of Work
- 1.11 The Composition of Indian National Congress
- 1.12 Nationalism — Concept and Stages
- 1.13 Origin and Development of Nationalism
- 1.14 Summary
- 1.15 Review Questions
- 1.16 Further Readings

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying the chapter, students will be able to :

- state the important sources of Modern Indian History;
- understand the causes and consequences of Revolt of 1857;
- explain the history of formation of Indian National Congress;
- discuss the theories and concepts of Nationalism as well as the rise of Nationalism in India.

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1.2 INTRODUCTION

The early years of the English East India company's rule in India witnessed a large number of uprisings and rebellions. As we have learnt, over a period of 100 years, starting from 1750s to 1850s, the English East India company adopted various measures to transform India into a colony different policies followed by the British in India during this period were primarily in the interest of the British. A number of land revenue experiments were made which caused hardship to cultivators.

Local administration failed to provide relief and natural justice to the rural poor. In this lesson we will learn how the peasantry and tribal people suffered under the colonial administration and why they resorted to revolts. With a brief narrative of important popular uprisings, we will analyze the nature and significance of these uprisings. The Revolt of 1857 has a major significance because, for the first time, it brought together people having different ethnic, religious and class background in a unified movement against the British rule.

1.3 SOURCES FOR MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

There is no shortage of source-material for constructing the history of modern India. There is plenty of information available on the political, socio-economic and cultural developments in the country.

Top priority among literary sources should be given to official records, i.e., the papers of government agencies at different levels. The records put down by the East India Company give a detailed account of trading conditions during this period. The official records cover all levels of administration, from the district to the supreme government, apart from those relating to the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The British Crown, when it took over the reins of administration, also kept a large variety and volume of official records. By reading this material, one can trace every important development stage-by-stage and follow the processes of decision-making.

RECORDS OF EUROPEAN COMPANIES

The records of the Portuguese, Dutch and French companies are useful for constructing the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are important primarily from the point of view of economic history, but much can also be gathered about the political set-up.

INDIGENOUS LITERARY SOURCES

Persian chronicles continue to prove useful for this period. Special mention may be made of *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* by Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai. Marathi newsletters are also important in this regard. The most important source-book

written in the Tamil language is the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, who records the vicissitudes of south Indian politics during a crucial period relating to Duplex.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

There are many contemporary or semi-contemporary works such as memoirs, biographies, travel accounts which give us interesting and useful glimpses into the history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, newspapers had made their appearance and these provide valuable information.

1.4 CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO POPULAR REVOLT

We have read in earlier lessons that the British rule in India had a number of changes in socio-economic life of the Indian people. The industrial Revolution (we will learn more about it in subsequent Lessons) made it necessary for England to look for raw materials and markets in other countries. This necessity guided the policy of the colonial ruler in India. Indian economy was geared to serve the interests of the British masters. Let us recall some of the important changes in Indian economy during this period.

- A new set of property relations was introduced and land was made saleable commodity.
- Private ownership of land was recognized and a number of intermediaries came into existence in between the owner and cultivator of the land.
- Commercial crops were encouraged in place of food crops to serve the British capitalists.
- Speculation and investment in land by merchants, bureaucrats and landlords led to the growth of absentee landlordism.
- Growing burden of taxation made the cultivators an easy prey to the revenue collections, merchants and money lenders.
- Transfer of wealth from India to England became a common feature.
- Local industries were suppressed in order to make way for the British manufactured goods.
- Tribals lost their traditional rights in land due to the land revenue policy of the British government.

All these changes dealt a serious blow to the rural society, particularly the cultivators and tribals. For the peasant, the new changes in agrarian economy and social structure meant more intensive and systematic exploitation.

To recall it again, the colonial rulers were concerned only with the collection of revenues in time which were fixed at high rates. Zamindars and others who were engaged in collecting the revenue were least concerned about the paying

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capacity of the cultivators and forcefully collected the taxes. In meeting the increasing demand of taxes, the peasants were compelled to sell their lands or they were caught in the trap of money lenders. Justice could not be expected from the local administration because it was under the influence of the rich. Thus, under the colonial rule, the nexus of the official, the landlord and the money lender combined together to exploit the peasantry. Bengal famine of 1770, bear testimony to the devastating effect of the British policy over the rural society. Alongwith the colonization of the economy, changes introduced by the British in local administration and society created discontent and resentment among local population. This discontent at various junctures took the form of rebellion.

1.5 NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EARLY RESISTANCE

The above narrative of the popular revolts makes certain points clear about the nature of these revolts.

- *Actions of the rebels prove that they were clear about their interest and about their enemies. Some features of the peasant and tribal protest movements demonstrate a certain level of political and social consciousness among them.*
- *In many instances local issues might have triggered off the rebellion. But in the course of the development of the movement, its objective was broadened. Immediate context of a movement may be the oppression of local landlords, once the movement started, it ended up as protest against the British Raj.*
- *Religious belief, Ethnic ties and traditions played a positive role in mobilizing the peasants and strengthening their solidarity. Very often their notions of their own good old past inspired rebels to recover their lost past. Past basically meant to the rebels to get relief from exploitation and oppression.*
- *Attempt was made by the ruling class to define the rebellions as a problem of law and order and act of crime. This is complete denial of the peasants understanding of their grievances and their right to protest. It is necessary to understand the domain of peasant and tribal action in its own terms.*
- *However, the rebels did not have a future plan beyond the restoration of the old order. In spite of their limited objective and narrow world view the rebels definitely exposed the unpopular character of the colonial rule.*

1.6 REVOLT OF 1857 – CAUSES AND COURSES

In 1857, for the first time, peasant discontent along with protest of some other sections of society against the British conquest, brought together various

sections of the society in a unified movement. The events of 1857 are regarded by many historians as early manifestation of nationalism.

REASONS FOR THE REVOLT

There were specific grievances which actually precipitated the people's discontent against the British Raj and led to the Revolt of 1857. The Revolt broke out on 10th May in Meerut, when Sepoys revolted and started marching towards Delhi to restore the last Mughal ruler, Bahadur Shah II, on the throne. The Revolt started by the Sepoys very soon spread to other sections of the society. Why did this happen? The British government by introducing changes in the land revenue system and in the administrative structure made its rule unacceptable to the majority of the local population. Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation and the doctrine of lapse, particularly the annexation of Awadh and other parts of north and central India, created widespread discontentment among the local people in this region. Land being the major economic resource the various land revenue settlements like the permanent settlement, Ryotwari settlement, Mahalwari settlement, etc. introduced by the British in India had significant repercussions on land distribution and distribution of power in local society. The new land settlements were basically aimed at increasing the government's revenue earnings and creating a class of local agents who will stand in support of the British Raj. All these had disastrous consequences on the cultivators and growing revenue demands even compelled Taluqdars and other chiefs to sell their land. Money lending and auction of property further added to the hardship of the peasantry. Artisans and handicrafts men were affected by the promotion of British manufactured goods and neglect of indigenous industry.

Besides the economic grievances, at the social level there was a strong reaction in the local society against the British intervention in their age-old customs and traditions. Being guided by the philosophy of racial superiority a section of the British officials was engaged in modernizing and civilizing India. People were apprehensive of the social legislation introduced by the British. Particularly the abolition of Sati and the widow remarriage act had a negative effect on the common people. These changes were viewed as intervention in the local tradition and culture. Added to this was the fear of conversion to Christianity. All these alienated the people from the British Raj.

The sepoy had their own reasons for resentment. The sepoy was unhappy for low pay and racial discrimination in matters of promotion, pension and terms of service. Soldiers who were basically hailing from the peasant families were also unhappy with the new land settlements introduced by the British. It is true that the sepoy was agitated for various reasons but an immediate provocation was their suspicion that they would be forced to renounce their cultural ethos of

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centuries old society. Just before the Revolt of 1857, there was a rumor of bone dust in the Atta (flour) ration. The cartridges of the Enfield rifles, which had to be bitten off before loading, were reportedly greased with pork and beef fat. This was perceived as an attack on the religious belief of the soldiers-both the Hindus and the Muslims. Sentiment of the sepoys was well reflected in a proclamation issued at Delhi,- 'It is well known that in these days all the English have entertained these evil designs-first, to destroy the religion of the whole Hindustani Army and then to make the people by compulsion Christians. Therefore, we, solely on account of our religion, have combined with the people, and have not spared alive one infidel, and have re-established the Delhi dynasty on these terms."

COURSES OF THE REVOLT

Initial disturbances started in March, 1857 when at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, Mangal Pandey, a sepoy, asked other sepoys to rise against the British military officers and he killed the British Adjutant, Mangal Pandey was later arrested and hanged to death.

After that in May, 1857 at Meerut the regiments of Indian sepoys shot down the British officers, broke open the prisons, released their comrades and crossed over to Delhi to appeal Bahadur Shah II, the pensioner Mughal emperor, to become their leader. Rumour spread about the fall of the British rule and soon the rebellion spread to other parts of north and central India. In Awadh, the sepoys proclaimed that sepoy Raj had arrived. Dissatisfaction and disillusion against the British Raj brought many local chiefs, peasants, artisans, civil servants, and religious medicants together in this revolt. In Awadh, the revolt spread to Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad, Benaras, Rohilkhand, Bundelkhand, Gwalior, Jhansi and Bihar. The revolt in these areas had massive response among the civil population. Some important leaders of the rebellion were Rani Laxmi Bai, Tantia Tope, Begum Hazrat Mahal, Nana Saheb, Kunwar Singh of Arrah.

1.7 NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT, 1857

Historians are of different opinions regarding the nature of the Revolt of 1857. British historians interpreted the revolt as a mutiny of the sepoys. Ignoring the grievances of the local people and their participation in the movement, the British historians felt that the rebellion was engineered by the sepoys, and some landholders and princes having vested interest. Recent researches on 1857 however argue that self-interested motives did not have much significance before the combined opposition to the unpopular British regime.

Some historians view the Revolt of 1857 as the first war of Indian independence those who don't agree with this interpretation argue that the rebel

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leaders did not make an attempt to establish a new social order. They tried to restore the old Mughal rule by inviting Bahadur Shah II. It is said that "Although Indian initiatives and priorities were so central in the experience of change there was no national revolt in 1857. The discontented were fractured in loyalty and intention, often looking back to a society and a policy which were no longer viable". Thus, it was not revolution but just a restoration.

Recent studies on the Revolt of 1857, however, focus on the popular participation in the revolt. Besides the sepoys and Taluqdars, rural peasantry participated in large numbers in the revolt. In the case of Awadh, it has been shown that taluqdars and peasants jointly launched the attack. Even in many places when taluqdars made peace with the British, peasants continued their movement. The sepoys had linkage with their kinsmen in the villages and the revolt of the sepoys influenced the civilian population to ventilate their grievances against the British rule. Thus the Revolt of 1857 took the character of a popular uprising.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE REVOLT

In spite of popular participation in the Revolt of 1857, the rebels were ultimately forced to surrender before the British. Reasons for the failure of the rebels were :

- the rebels had limited supply of arms and ammunitions,
- there was a lack of communication and centralized leadership among the rebels,
- the British had sufficient resources and also better arms and equipments,
- the rebels did not have clear political agenda for future except their distrust on the foreign rule.
- the rebels, in spite of the popular character of the movement had failed to enlist the support of merchants, intelligentsia and many local princes that rather supported the British,
- revolt lacked a forward-looking programme, coherent ideology, apolitical perspective or a vision of the future society and economy,
- rebel leaders lacked resources and experience as compared to British,
- revolt lacked the support of martial races of the north,
- British power had remained intact in the Eastern. Western it Southern pans of India from where the forces were sent to suppress the revolt,
- tacit support of certain sections of Indian public (modern educated Indians) to British authorities,
- lack of coherent ideology and political perspective,
- limited territorial and social base.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REVOLT

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The British though managed to suppress the revolt but realized the extent of people's resentment. The events of 1857 compelled the British to re-examine their policy towards India, after the revolt; therefore, they adopted a strategy to check the future incidents of such a revolt. In order to win back the confidence of local princes, the British made a declaration that they would no longer expand their existing territorial possessions. Special awards were given to the loyal princes. In the recruitment of army, community, caste, tribal and regional loyalties were encouraged in order to check the solidarity among soldiers. The British took recourse to the policy of 'divide and rule' by tactfully utilizing caste, religious and regional identities of Indian people.

Another important consequence of the Revolt of 1857 was the declaration of Royal Proclamation in 1858. By this proclamation India's administration was taken over directly by the British Crown abolishing East India Company's rule.

Finally, though the rebels failed, their heroic struggle against the British Raj left a deep impression in people's mind. The spirit of Indian nationalism which was at a formative stage in the second half of the 19th century was greatly influenced by this Revolt.

IMPACT OF THE MUTINY

- In August 1858 the British Parliament passed act which put an end to the rule of the Company. The control of the British government in India was transferred to the British Crown.
- A minister of the British government, called the Secretary of State, was made responsible for the government of India.
- The British Governor-General of India was now also given the title of Viceroy, who was also the representative of the monarch.
- Marked the end of British Imperialism & Princely states were assured against annexation. Doctrine of lapse was withdrawn.
- After the revolt, the British pursued the policy of divide and rule.
- far-reaching changes were made in the administration and increase of white soldiers in the army.
- Total expense of the suppression was borne by Indians.

1.8 AWADH IN REVOLT

In 1851 Governor General Lord Dalhousie described the kingdom of Awadh as "a cherry that will drop into our mouth one day". Five years later, in 1856, the kingdom was formally annexed to the British Empire. The conquest happened in stages. The Subsidiary Alliance had been imposed on Awadh in 1801. By the

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terms of this alliance the Nawab had to disband his military force, allow the British to position their troops within the kingdom, and act in accordance with the advice of the British Resident who was now to be attached to the court. Deprived of his armed forces, the Nawab became increasingly dependent on the British to maintain law and order within the kingdom. He could no longer assert control over the rebellious chiefs and *taluqdars*.

In the meantime the British became increasingly interested in acquiring the territory of Awadh. They felt that the soil there was good for producing indigo and cotton, and the region was ideally located to be developed into the principal market of Upper India. By the early 1850s, moreover, all the major areas of India had been conquered: the Maratha lands, the Doab, the Carnatic, the Punjab and Bengal. The takeover of Awadh in 1856 was expected to complete a process of territorial annexation that had begun with the conquest of Bengal almost a century earlier.

"THE LIFE WAS GONE OUT OF THE BODY"

Lord Dalhousie's annexations created disaffection in all the areas and principalities that were annexed but nowhere more so than in the kingdom of Awadh in the heart of North India. Here, Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was dethroned and exiled to Calcutta on the plea that the region was being misgoverned. The British government also wrongly assumed that Wajid Ali Shah was an unpopular ruler. On the contrary, he was widely loved, and when he left his beloved Lucknow, there were many who followed him all the way to Kanpur singing songs of lament.

The widespread sense of grief and loss at the Nawab's exile was recorded by many contemporary observers. One of them wrote: "The life was gone out of the body, and the body of this town had been left lifeless ... there was no street or market and house which did not wail out the cry of agony in separation of Jan-i-Alam." One folk song bemoaned that "the honourable English came and took the country" (*Angrez Bahadur ain, mulk lai linho*).

This emotional upheaval was aggravated by immediate material losses. The removal of the Nawab led to the dissolution of the court and its culture. Thus a whole range of people – musicians, dancers, poets, artisans, cooks, retainers, administrative officials and so on – lost their livelihood.

FIRANGI RAJ AND THE END OF A WORLD

A chain of grievances in Awadh linked prince, *taluqdar*, peasant and sepoy. In different ways they came to identify *firangi raj* with the end of their world the breakdown of things they valued, respected and held dear. A whole complex of emotions and issues, traditions and loyalties worked themselves out in the revolt

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of 1857. In Awadh, more than anywhere else, the revolt became an expression of popular resistance to an alien order.

The annexation displaced not just the Nawab. It also dispossessed the *talugdars* of the region. The countryside of Awadh was dotted with the estates and forts of *talugdars* who for many generations had controlled land and power in the countryside. Before the coming of the British, *talugdars* maintained armed retainers, built forts, and enjoyed a degree of autonomy, as long as they accepted the suzerainty of the Nawab and paid the revenue of their *talugs*. Some of the bigger *talugdars* had as many as 12,000 footsoldiers and even the smaller ones had about 200.

The British were unwilling to tolerate the power of the *talugdars*. Immediately after the annexation, the *talugdars* were disarmed and their forts destroyed. The British land revenue policy further undermined the position and authority of the *talugdars*. After annexation, the first British revenue settlement, known as the Summary Settlement of 1856, was based on the assumption that the *talugdars* were interlopers with no permanent stakes in land: they had established their hold over land through force and fraud. The Summary Settlement proceeded to remove the *talugdars* wherever possible. Figures show that in pre-British times, *talugdars* had held 67 per cent of the total number of villages in Awadh; by the Summary Settlement this number had come down to 38 per cent. The *talugdars* of southern Awadh were the hardest hit and some lost more than half of the total number of villages they had previously held.

British land revenue officers believed that by removing *talugdars* they would be able to settle the land with the actual owners of the soil and thus reduce the level of exploitation of peasants while increasing revenue returns for the state. But this did not happen in practice: revenue flows for the state increased but the burden of demand on the peasants did not decline. Officials soon found that large areas of Awadh were actually heavily overassessed: the increase of revenue demand in some places was from 30 to 70 per cent. Thus neither *talugdars* nor peasants had any reasons to be happy with the annexation.

The dispossession of *talugdars* meant the breakdown of an entire social order. The ties of loyalty and patronage that had bound the peasant to the *talugdar* were disrupted. In pre-British times, the *talugdars* were oppressors but many of them also appeared to be generous father figures: they exacted a variety of dues from the peasant but were often considerate in times of need. Now, under the British, the peasant was directly exposed to overassessment of revenue and inflexible methods of collection. There was no longer any guarantee that in times of hardship or crop failure the revenue demand of the state would be reduced or collection postponed; or that in times of festivities the peasant would get the loan and support that the *talugdar* had earlier provided.

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In areas like Awadh where resistance during 1857 was intense and long lasting, the fighting was carried out by *taluqdars* and their peasants. Many of these *taluqdars* were loyal to the Nawab of Awadh, and they joined Begum Hazrat Mahal (the wife of the Nawab) in Lucknow to fight the British; some even remained with her in defeat.

The grievances of the peasants were carried over into the sepoy lines since a vast majority of the sepoys were recruited from the villages of Awadh. For decades the sepoys had complained of low levels of pay and the difficulty of getting leave. By the 1850s there were other reasons for their discontent. The relationship of the sepoys with their superior white officers underwent a significant change in the years preceding the uprising of 1857. In the 1820s, white officers made it a point to maintain friendly relations with the sepoys. They would take part in their leisure activities – they wrestled with them, fenced with them and went out hawking with them. Many of them were fluent in Hindustani and were familiar with the customs and culture of the country. These officers were disciplinarian and father figure rolled into one.

In the 1840s, this began to change. The officers developed a sense of superiority and started treating the sepoys as their racial inferiors, riding roughshod over their sensibilities. Abuse and physical violence became common and thus the distance between sepoys and officers grew. Trust was replaced by suspicion. The episode of the greased cartridges was a classic example of this. It is also important to remember that close links existed between the sepoys and the rural world of North India. The large majority of the sepoys of the Bengal Army were recruited from the villages of Awadh and eastern Uttar Pradesh. Many of them were Brahmins or from the “upper” castes. Awadh was, in fact, called the “nursery of the Bengal Army”.

The changes that the families of the sepoys saw around them and the threats they perceived were quickly transmitted to the sepoy lines. In turn, the fears of the sepoys about the new cartridge, their grievances about leave, their grouse about the increasing misbehaviour and racial abuse on the part of their white officers were communicated back to the villages. This link between the sepoys and the rural world had important implications in the course of the uprising. When the sepoys defied their superior officers and took up arms they were joined very swiftly by their brethren in the villages. Everywhere, peasants poured into towns and joined the soldiers and the ordinary people of the towns in collective acts of rebellion.

1.9 INDIGO REVOLT

The **Indigo revolt** was a peasant movement and subsequent uprising of indigo farmers against the indigo planters that arose in Bengal in 1859. The back

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stage of the revolt goes back half a century when the indigo plantation act was established. After the courageous fight by the Sepoy for independence in 1857 it was in February–March 1859 when the farmers refused to sow a single seedling of indigo plant. The strength of the farmers' resolutions were dramatically stronger than anticipated from a community victimized by brutal treatment for about half a century. Most importantly it was a revolt of both the major religious groups of farmers in Bengal, notably a farmer Haji Molla of Nischindipur said that he would "rather beg than sow indigo". The farmers were in no possession of any types of arms, it was totally a nonviolent resistance.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLT

Indigo planting in Bengal dated back to 1777. Louis Bonard was probably the first indigo planter. With expansion of British power in the Nawabate of Bengal, indigo planting became more and more commercially profitable due to the demand for Blue Dye in Europe. It was introduced in large parts of Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Murshidabad, etc. The indigo planters left no stones unturned to make money. They mercilessly pursued the peasants to plant indigo instead of food crops. They provided loans, called dadon at a very high interest. Once a farmer took such loans he remained in debt for whole of his life before passing it to his successors. The price paid by the planters was meagre, only 2.5% of the market price. So the farmers could make no profit by growing indigo. The farmers were totally unprotected from the brutal indigo planters, who resorted to mortgage or destruction of their property if they were unwilling to obey them. Government rules favoured the planters. By an act in 1833, the planters were granted a free hand in oppression. Even the zamindars, money lenders and other influential persons sided with the planters. Out of the severe oppression unleashed on them the farmers resorted to revolt.

The Bengali middle class supported the peasants whole-heartedly. Harish Chandra Mukhopadhyay thoroughly described the plight of the poor peasants in his newspaper *The Hindu Patriot*. However every such contribution was overshadowed by Dinabandhu Mitra, who gave a perfect account of the situation in his play *Nildarpan*.

THE REVOLT

The revolt started from Nadia where Bishnucharan Biswas and Digambar Biswas first took up arms against the planters. It spread like wildfire in Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan, Pabna, Khulna, Narail, etc. Indigo planters were put into public trial and executed. The indigo depots were burned down. Many planters fled to avoid being caught. The zamindars were also targets of the revolting peasants.

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The revolt was ruthlessly suppressed. Large forces of police and military backed by the British Government and the zamindars mercilessly slaughtered a number of peasants. In spite of this the revolt was fairly popular, involving almost the whole of Bengal. The Biswas brothers of Nadia, Kader Molla of Pabna, Rafique Mondal of Malda were popular leaders. Even some of the zamindars supported the revolt, the most important of whom was Ramratan Mullick of Narail.

THE EFFECT ON THE BRITISH RULERS IN INDIA

The historian Jogesh Chandra Bagal describes the revolt as a non-violent revolution and gives this as a reason why the indigo revolt was a success compared to the Sepoy Revolt. R.C. Majumdar in "History of Bengal" goes so far as to call it a forerunner of the non-violent passive resistance later successfully adopted by Gandhi. The revolt had a strong effect on the government, which immediately appointed the "Indigo Commission" in 1860. In the commission report, E. W. L. Tower noted that "not a chest of Indigo reached England without being stained with human blood". Evidently it was a major triumph of the peasants to incite such emotion in the Europeans' minds even though the statement might have been an overstatement.

Cultural Effects

Dinabandhu Mitra's 1859 play Nil Darpan is based on the revolution. It was translated into English by Michael Madhusudan Dutta and published by Rev. James Long. It attracted much attention in England, where the people were stunned at the savagery of their countrymen. The British Government sent Rev. Long to a mock trial and punished him with imprisonment and fine. Kaliprasanna Sinha paid the fine for him.

The play is the first play to be staged commercially in the National Theatre in Kolkata.

1.10 INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1885

Events like the passage of the Vernacular Press Act in 1878 and the Ilbert Bill of 1882, as well as the reduction of the age limit for the Civil Services Exams in 1876 resulted in a wave of opposition from the middle class Indians. Consequently some of them came together and formed a number of small political parties that came out in the streets for protests and rallies. The British foresaw the situation resulting in another rebellion on the pattern of the War of Independence of 1857. To avoid such a situation, the British decided to provide an outlet to the local people where they could discuss their political problems. In order to achieve this goal, Allan Octavian Hume, a retired British civil servant, had a series of meetings with Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy. He also visited England and met people like John Bright, Sir James Caird, Lord Ripon and some members

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of the British Parliament. Hume also had the support of a large number of Englishmen in India, including Sir William Wedderburn, George Yule and Charles Bradlaugh.

On his return from Britain, Hume consulted the local Indian leaders and started working towards the establishment of an Indian political organization. He invited the convention of the Indian National Union, an organization he had already formed in 1884, to Bombay in December 1885. Seventy delegates, most of whom were lawyers, educationalists and journalists, attended the convention in which the Indian National Congress was established. This first session of Congress was presided over by Womesh Chandra Banerjee and he was also elected as the first president of the organization.

To begin with, Congress acted as a 'Kings Party'. Its early aims and objectives were :

1. To seek the cooperation of all the Indians in its efforts.
2. Eradicate the concepts of race, creed and provincial prejudices and try to form national unity.
3. Discuss and solve the social problems of the country.
4. To request the government, give more share to the locals in administrative affairs.

As time went by, the Congress changed its stance and apparently became the biggest opposition to the British government.

Muslims primarily opposed the creation of Congress and refused to participate in its activities. Out of the 70 delegates who attended the opening session of the Congress, only two were Muslims. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who was invited to attend the Bombay session, refused the offer. He also urged the Muslims to abstain from the Congress activities and predicted that the party would eventually become a Hindu party and would only look after the interests of the Hindus. Syed Ameer Ali, another important Muslim figure of the era, also refused to join Indian National Congress.

The time was now ripe for the formation of an all-India political organization of the nationalists who felt the need to unite politically against the common enemy-foreign rule and exploitation. Many Indians had been planning to form an all-India organization of nationalist political workers. But the credit for giving the idea concrete and final shape goes to A.O. Hume, a retired English civil servant. He got in touch with prominent Indian leaders and organized with their cooperation the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in December 1885. It was presided over by W.C. Bonnerjee and attended by 72 delegates. The aims of the National Congress were declared to be the promotion of friendly relations between nationalist political workers from different parts of

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the country, development and consolidation of the feeling of national unity irrespective of caste, religion or province, formulation of popular demands and their presentation before the government, and most important of all, the training and organization of public opinion in the country.

It has been said that Hume's main purpose in encouraging the foundation of the Congress was to provide a 'safety valve' or a safe outlet to the growing discontent among the educated Indians. He wanted to prevent the union of a discontented nationalist intelligentsia with a discontented peasantry. The 'safety valve' theory is, however a small part of the truth and is totally inadequate and misleading. More than anything else, the National Congress represented the urge of the politically conscious Indians to set up a national organization to work for their political and economic advancement. Thus with the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the struggle for India's freedom was launched in a small but organized manner. The history of the Indian national movement can be divided into three phases. The first phase from the period 1885 to 1905 can be called the moderate phase, the second from the period 1905 to 1919, the period of extremism and finally the third period 1919 to 1947 as the Gandhian phase.

THE METHODS OF WORK

- Early Congressmen had faith in peaceful and constitutional agitation.
- Prayers & petitions were the instruments.
- Congress sessions lasted only for three days a year had no machinery to carry on the work in the interval.
- They believed in the goodness of the British nation and believed that all would be well if the British could be acquainted with the true state of affairs in India. Deputations of Indians were sent to inform the British public.
- In 1889, a British Committee of INC was founded.

1.11 THE COMPOSITION OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress was formed in December 1885 by a group of 72 politically conscious educated Indians. Mr. A.O. Hume a retired English Indian Civil Service officer played a significant role in its formation. Among its members were Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, WC Bonnerji, Surendranath Banerji, Anandamohan Bose and Romesh Chandra Dutt. This organisation was by no means the first such association of the Indian people. The English educated class in India was slowly becoming politically conscious and several political associations were being formed between 1875 and 1885.

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Dwarkanath Ganguly of Calcutta, Ranade and GV Joshi of Poona. KT Telang of Bombay and G Subramaniya Iyer, Viraraghavachari of Madras were already associated with regional political associations. The names of their organizations were Indian Association, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Bombay Presidency Association, and Madras Mahajan Sabha, respectively.

The agenda of these associations was limited and far from the ideal of complete independence. These associations were raising their voice against policies of the colonial regime that might be inimical to the interests of Indians. The primary issues of concern taken up by the early nationalists belonging to these associations were as follows :

- (a) Cotton import duties to be made favourable for Indians,
- (b) Indianization of government services,
- (c) Opposition to Afghan policy of the British Government,
- (d) Opposition to Vernacular Press Act and control over the press.

What made the Indian National Congress (INC) different from the other associations was its attempt to provide a common political platform for the people of India which enabled it to claim that it represented the country. Although the British administrators attempted to play down the significance of the INC, it did manage to reflect the aspirations of the people. Thus the most important and the foremost objective of this organization was to create the consciousness among the people of belonging to a single nation. The task was daunting because of the existence of diverse cultural, linguistic and religious traditions of the land. All the different forces had to be brought together against the common adversary, the British imperialism.

At first the founders of the INC had hoped to influence the colonial government in matters that affected the well-being of the country and specially its economic upliftment. They expected that if the problems of the nation were brought to light through proper propaganda, the colonial government would take steps to improve matters. Thus in the initial years through lectures, writings in newspapers the nationalists put forward the main problems of the nation and ways in which they could be remedied. The most valuable contribution of the so called 'moderates' or the initial members of the Congress was to formulate an economic critique. Firstly Dadabhai Naoroji and thereafter other nationalists found that instead of bringing about an industrial revolution, which the Indian intelligentsia were expecting, the British rule was making the nation poorer and was, destroying its indigenous handicraft production.

This discovery led to some disillusionment among the early nationalists who had hoped that India would be modernized as a result of British rule. The other concerns of the early Congress were as follows :

- (i) The reform of Supreme and Local Legislative Councils with greater powers for Indian representatives,
- (ii) Indianization of the Civil Services with simultaneous examinations to be held in England and India,
- (iii) Changes in the forest laws that affected the Indian people,
- (iv) Organization of campaigns against indentured labour in Assam tea plantations. Slowly, there came to the fore other younger leaders who realised that colonial rule would bring no positive gains for India and her people and the end of colonial rule was the only way in which India can progress.

Thus was born a new group of leaders who condemned the 'moderates' for their methods of appeal and petition. Aurobindo Ghosh, Aswinikumar Dutt, Lajpat Rai, BG Tilak, were the new breed of leaders who sought to generate mass support for their goal of Swaraj and Swadeshi.

1.12 NATIONALISM – CONCEPT AND STAGES

The terms 'nation', 'nationality' and 'nationalism' are used most commonly but not always with a clear understanding of their meanings. As Carlton J.H. Hayes said: "So much is nationalism a common place in the modes of thought and action of the civilised populations of the contemporary world that most men take nationalism for granted." People imagine that it is the "most natural thing in the universe." But, the concept of nationalism is far from being clear to most of us who use this term. Every state considers its national interest as paramount; and all the struggle for power is for protection and promotion of national interest. Nationalism usually promotes patriotism. For dependent peoples, as we were before 1947, nationalism is the spirit which enables struggle for freedom against foreign rulers. But, sometimes nationalism takes precedence even over moral beliefs as was the case in Hitler's Nazi Germany. Nationalism in Germany was interpreted to mean expansion of the Third Reich and expulsion of Jews; in Israel it meant struggle for survival in the face of Arab opposition; and Pakistani nationalism is essentially confined to anti-India tirades particularly on Kashmir.

THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM

"For students of international politics", wrote Sharp and Kurk, "an understanding of nationalism is as indispensable as the possession of a master key to a person seeking to enter all the various doors in a building." Thus, for Sharp and Kurk, nationalism is the master key for understanding of international politics. The total behaviour of state system today is largely explained "in terms of national hopes, national fears, national ambitions, and national conflicts." Since modern state is a 'nation-state', it seeks to promote nationalism as its leaders

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might interpret. As Palmer and Perkins point out. "In its most virulent form it has commanded virtually the total allegiance of men and some of the most inhuman acts of this age have been wrapped in the mystical and religious trappings of nationalism". Thus, nationalism may be used as a tool for noble cause to unite a people for common good or it may be misused, as by some of the dictators to commit even the most inhuman acts like genocide. Namibian nationalism against South Africa's imperialism prior to 1990 falls in the first category; whereas Hitler's policy towards Jews can be safely put in the second category.

In the limited space available in this section, the concept of nationalism can be explained very briefly. The term **nation** may be understood before **nationalism** can be fully comprehended. One of the most satisfactory definitions of **nation** was given by Ernest Barker. He wrote: "A nation is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory, who normally are drawn from different races, but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history" Barker mentioned common religious belief and common language as generally binding forces, but what is more important is that they "cherish a common will, and accordingly form, or tend to form, a separate State for the expression and realization of that will." Such a State, if formed, is known as a 'nation-state'.

In common usage the terms state and nation are often used interchangeably. That is how we use the term **international**, rather than **inter-state**. But, as most of the political units that now exist have become **nation-states**, the distinction between state and nation has narrowed down. Hans Morgenthau suggests, "the nation needs a state. 'One nation - one state' is thus the political postulate of nationalism, the nation state is its idea." Nationality is one of the main courses of nationalism. It implies either national character and the spirit of belonging to a nation or a group of people possessed of such a spirit. So, then, how can we explain the concept of nationalism?

Among the most prominent students of nationalism are J.H. Hayes and Hans Kohn. Nationalism, according to Hayes consists of "a modern emotional fusion and exaggeration of two very old phenomena - nationality and patriotism." Thus, nationality which is a feeling of being bound together and patriotism constitute nationalism. Kohn says that "nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness." Today, this state of mind, a common bond coupled with patriotism, an act of consciousness is the core of the concept of nationalism.

Nationalism has become common form of political life all over the world, and relations among nations is the content of international relations. But, as Kohn wrote "everywhere nationalism differs in character according to the specific

historic conditions and the peculiar social structure of each country. As the concept of nationalism has spread, the individual has begun to be counted less and nation-state has become all powerful."

The concept of nationalism implies a feeling of oneness among a large group of section of people. Professor Snyder wrote that it was not easy to define nationalism in simple language, yet he describes the following explanation of nationalism as the least objectionable. He wrote: ". nationalism, a product of political, economic, social and intellectual factors at a certain stage in history, is a condition of mind, feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area" Commenting adversely on the concept Snyder wrote that nationalism "is neither wholly logical nor rational. Its roots lie in the illogical, irrational and fantastic world of the unconscious." In simpler language, nationalism is a conditioned sentiment uniting people in a common bond.

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STAGES OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism has been variously classified by different western Scholars. It has been described as "good" and "bad"; "constructive" and "destructive"; and "material" and "spiritual". These descriptions are based on quality of nationalism which is very difficult to justifiably explain. However, different stages of nationalism were suggested by many, including Quincy Wright. He discussed successively medieval, monarchical, revolutionary, liberal and totalitarian nationalisms. He did not give much attention to cultural or humanitarian nationalism. But, Hayes has dealt with "economic factors in nationalism" in detail. Four stages of nationalism were described by Professor Snyder. He called them **integrative nationalism** (1815-1871); **disruptive nationalism** (1871 - 1890), **aggressive nationalism** (1900- 1945). and **contemporary nationalism** (since 1945). During the first stage, nationalism resulted in integration or reunification of Germany and of Italy. During the second stage, subject nationalities as within Austria - Hungary sought their nation-states. Snyder says that the two world wars were the result of aggressive nationalism of the third phase. During the early period of fourth stage Asian and African colonies of European Powers secured their independent nationhood.

Modern nationalism is said to have originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe, and America. It became a general European movement in the nineteenth century particularly after the Napoleonic era. The early nationalism has been described as monarchical. It was the French revolution which introduced the concept of popular democracy resting on the will of the people and of the "rights of man and of the citizen." The nationalism which Napoleon generated among his enemies has been described by Hayes as "traditional nationalism". Similarly, Czar Alexander of Russia who emerged in

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1815 as "the great hope of traditional nationalism" championed a Holy Alliance for a better world for peoples and nations.

The liberal nationalism of nineteenth century achieved the unification of Germany and of Italy. Other European countries such as Belgium and Greece won nationhood after national uprisings. Nationalism was till then regarded as an European phenomenon. It soon spread to Asia and Africa. Palmer and Perkins wrote nationalism during "greater part of nineteenth century" was linked with other movements such as democracy, romanticism, industrialism, imperialism and liberalism. Liberal nationalism declined by the beginning of the twentieth century as great power rivalry became common and eventually resulted in the First World War.

It was argued that nationalism was both cause and product of the First World War. As Sydney B. Fay wrote : "nationalism paved the way of statesmen and prepared the minds of peoples for the World war Its immediate cause was the murderous activity of a secret nationalistic society of Jugoslavs Its most obvious immediate result was the triumph of the principles of national self-determination in central and eastern Europe . . ." After the First World War, "the facade of internationalism" proved ineffective and **totalitarian nationalism** took over in several countries. It was led by men like Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. In the post-second World War period, **national liberation movements**, a new form of nationalism shook the foundations of imperialism and resulted in acceleration of the process of decolonization. Most of the Asian, African and Latin American countries threw away imperialism, and nationalism based on democracy, popular will, liberty and justice resulted as over 100 new nation-states came into existence.

1.13 ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM

It may surprise you to learn that the history of this idea is not more than 200 years old. Nationalism, in the sense in which we use it today, did not exist in India before the 19th century. It may also surprise you to learn that the roots (origins) of this idea do not lie in the Indian history but in the history of Modern Europe. In fact it is possible to talk of Indian nationalism as distinctly different from its European counterpart. In order to know this difference it is important to have an idea of the circumstances under which nationalism took roots in Europe which we have already discussed in the previous section.

In Europe the development of nationalism was the result of the fundamental changes that were taking place in society and economy around the 18th century. The beginning of the industrial revolution produced goods and materials and created wealth at an unprecedented (unprecedented means like never before) level. This led to the need for the creation of a unified and large market where these goods could be sold.

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The creation of a large market led to a political integration of villages, districts and provinces into a larger state. In this large and complex market different people were required to perform different roles for which they needed to be trained in different skills. But above all they needed to communicate with each other. This created the need for uniform educational centres with focus on one language. In the pre-modern times majority of the people learnt language and other skills in their local environments which differed from each other. But now, because of the new changes brought about by modern economy, a uniform system of training and schooling came into being. Thus modern English language in England, French in France and German in Germany became the dominant language in those countries.

Uniformity in communication systems resulted in the creation of a 'national culture' and reinforced national boundaries. People living within those boundaries began to associate themselves with it. Culturally they also began to perceive themselves as one people and as members of one large community, *i.e.*, Englishmen began to identify with each other and with the geographical boundaries of England. Similarly it happened to German and French people. This was the beginning of the idea of nationalism.

Let us understand this differently. Nationalism was the result of the emergence of nations and nation states (large culturally homogenous territories with a uniform political system within) in Europe. These nation states did not always exist. The early societies, with simpler forms of human organizations and without an elaborate division of labour, could easily manage their affairs without a state or a central authority to enforce law and order. State, as a central authority, came into being after the beginning of organized agriculture. People generally found it difficult to manage their lives without a central authority to regulate their lives. This need for a state became even greater with the onset of industrialization and a modern world economy. An elaborate system of communication and a uniform system of education with focus on one standardized language created conditions for cultural and political uniformity.

Thus came into being modern nation states. These nation states, in order to sustain and perpetuate themselves, needed the allegiance and loyalty of the people residing in their territories. This was the beginning of nationalism. In other words, an identification by a people or community with the boundary of the Nation, state and its high culture gave rise to what we know as nationalism.

But this was not how the idea of nationalism developed in India. The conditions in India were very different at a time when the idea of nationalism was taking roots in Europe. Industrialization occurred here at a very limited scale. When Europe was getting rapidly industrialized, India was still largely an agrarian economy. Different people spoke different languages. Though the feeling of

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patriotism, (patriotism: love and a feeling of loyalty for one's territory and culture like the one that existed among the Marathas for Marathwara or among the Rajputs for Rajputana) certainly existed in India in pre-modern times. But nationalism as we understand it (unified system of administration, common language, a shared high culture and political integration) did not exist in India until about the middle of the 19th century.

Nationalism in India developed primarily as a response to the British rule. British rule, as you know, came to the Indian soil in 1757 with battle of Plassey and gradually established here by defeating the native rulers. As you are aware, the arrival of the British as rulers was resented by many of the native rulers and people also. It was clear that they all wanted to oppose and fight against the British presence in India.

But initially they did not do it together or as one people. Different groups had their specific grievances against the British and therefore they fought for the redressal of their specific grievances. For instance the native rulers did not want the British to take over their territories (as it happened to the rulers of Awadh and Jhansi in present day U.P.). Similarly peasants, artisans and tribals suffered at the hands of the British rulers and often stood up in revolt against them.

But merely the opposition to the British rule or a fight against them did not bring about a feeling of nationalism in India. Although different sections of the population got united because of common exploitation at the hands of the British, a feeling of identification with the entire country and its people did not come about. Even the great revolt of 1857, in which many sections of the population fought together (like native rulers, soldiers, zamindars and peasants) did not produce a feeling of nationalism or an all-India unity. The idea that the people of India, in spite of many differences among themselves, had many things in common amongst them had not, as yet, taken roots.

Similarly the realization that the British rule was foreign and an alien rule which wanted to subjugate the entire people and bring them under its control, had also not occurred. The essence of nationalism in India, or Indian nationalism, was the realization that all the Indian people had a common nationality and that it was in their collective interests to resist the British rule. To put it simply, a combined opposition to British rule and a desire to achieve national unity lay at the heart of Indian nationalism.

The objective conditions for the development of nationalism were indeed fulfilled by the arrival of the colonial rulers and their penetration into Indian society and economy. However, these conditions in themselves, did not create an awareness of nationalism among the people. The consciousness of the idea of nationalism took a long time to mature and made its presence gradually in the fields of culture, economy and politics.

1.14 SUMMARY

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- The records of the Portuguese, Dutch and French companies are useful for constructing the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are important primarily from the point of view of economic history, but much can also be gathered about the political set-up.
- In 1857, for the first time, peasant discontent along with protest of some other sections of society against the British conquest, brought together various sections of the society in a unified movement. The events of 1857 are regarded by many historians as early manifestation of nationalism. The Revolt broke out on 10th May in Meerut, when Sepoys revolted and started marching towards Delhi to restore the last Mughal ruler, Bahadur Shah II, on the throne. The Revolt started by the Sepoys very soon spread to other sections of the society.
- Some historians view the Revolt of 1857 as the first war of Indian independence. Those who don't agree with this interpretation argue that the rebel leaders did not make an attempt to establish a new social order. They tried to restore the old Mughal rule by inviting Bahadur Shah II. It is said that "Although Indian initiatives and priorities were so central in the experience of change there was no national revolt in 1857. The discontented were fractured in loyalty and intention, often looking back to a society and a policy which were no longer viable". Thus, it was not revolution but just a restoration.
- The **Indigo revolt** was a peasant movement and subsequent uprising of indigo farmers against the indigo planters that arose in Bengal in 1859. The back stage of the revolt goes back half a century when the indigo plantation act was established. After the courageous fight by the Sepoy for independence in 1857 it was in February–March 1859 when the farmers refused to sow a single seedling of indigo plant. The strength of the farmers' resolutions were dramatically stronger than anticipated from a community victimized by brutal treatment for about half a century. Most importantly it was a revolt of both the major religious groups of farmers in Bengal, notably a farmer Haji Molla of Nischindipur said that he would "rather beg than sow indigo".
- The Indian National Congress was formed in December 1885 by a group of 72 politically conscious educated Indians. Mr. A.O. Hume a retired English Indian Civil Service officer played a significant role in its formation. Among its members were Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, WC Bonnerji, Surendranath Banerji, Anandamohan Bose and Romesh Chandra Dutt.

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1.15 REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the reasons of the revolt of 1857.
2. What was the impact of the revolt of 1857?
3. What were the causes of indigo revolt?
4. Describe the circumstances leading to the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885.
5. What were the objectives and method of working of Indian National Congress?
6. Discuss the origin and development of Nationalism.

1.16 FURTHER READINGS

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CHAPTER— 2

INDIAN NATIONALISM

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STRUCTURE

- 2.1 Learning Objectives
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 British Imperialism — Impact on Economy and Society
 - Establishment of New Westernized Elite
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- 2.12 Growth of Extremism
 - Movement under Extremists (1905-08)
- 2.13 Political Leaders of the Early Nationalism Phase
- 2.14 Summary
- 2.15 Review Questions
- 2.16 Further Readings

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying the chapter, students will be able to :

- describe the background of Indian Nationalism such as impact of British imperialism, emergence of new class etc.;
- understand the causes and consequences of primitive nationalism such as tribal uprising, peasant revolt;
- explain the emergence of Economic, Cultural and Religious Nationalism;
- discuss the important aspects of early Indian Nationalism such as role of Indian National Congress, Moderates and Extremists etc.

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2.2 INTRODUCTION

The dominant feature of socio-political thought in Colonial India were liberalism and nationalism. The liberal phase was characterized by attempts to rationalize and democratize the social and religious institutions. If it focused primarily on religious reform, it was only because of the belief that unless religion was first freed from dogma and superstition, unless the people discarded their age-old practices like sati, untouchability, and other caste discriminations sanctified by religion, there was no hope for social progress.

The liberals of the 19th century were convinced that if religious and social reforms were first achieved, they would in due course lead to political and economic freedom. This belief informed the thinking of not only the three most renowned reformers of this period, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

2.3 BRITISH IMPERIALISM – IMPACT ON ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

British imperialism was more pragmatic than that of other colonial powers. Its motivation was economic, not evangelical. There was none of the dedicated Christian fanaticism which the Portuguese and Spanish demonstrated in Latin America and less enthusiasm for cultural diffusion than the French (or the Americans) showed in their colonies. For this reason they westernized India only to a limited degree.

British interests were of several kinds. At first the main purpose was to achieve a monopolistic trading position. Later it was felt that a regime of free trade would make India a major market for British goods and a source of raw materials, but British capitalists who invested in India, or who sold banking or shipping service there, continued effectively to enjoy monopolistic privileges. India also provided interesting and lucrative employment for a sizeable portion of the British upper middle class, and the remittances they sent home made an appreciable contribution to Britain's balance of payments and capacity to save. Finally, control of India was a key element in the world power structure, in terms of geography, logistics and military manpower. The British were not averse to Indian economic development if it increased their markets but refused to help in areas where they felt there was conflict with their own economic interests or political security. Hence, they refused to give protection to the Indian textile industry until its main competitor became Japan rather than Manchester, and they did almost nothing to further technical education. They introduced some British concepts of property, but did not push them too far when they met vested interests.

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The main changes which the British made in Indian society were at the top. They replaced the wasteful warlord aristocracy by a bureaucratic-military establishment, carefully designed by utilitarian technocrats, which was very efficient in maintaining law and order. The greater efficiency of government permitted a substantial reduction in the fiscal burden, and a bigger share of the national product was available for landlords, capitalists and the new professional classes. Some of this upper class income was siphoned off to the UK, but the bulk was spent in India. However, the pattern of consumption changed as the new upper class no longer kept harems and palaces, nor did they wear fine muslins and damascened swords. This caused some painful readjustments in the traditional handicraft sector. It seems likely that there was some increase in productive investment which must have been near zero in Moghul India: government itself carried out productive investment in railways and irrigation and as a result there was a growth in both agricultural and industrial output. The new elite established a Western life-style using the English language and English schools. New towns and urban amenities were created with segregated suburbs and housing for them. Their habits were copied by the new professional elite of lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists and businessmen. Within this group, old caste barriers were eased and social mobility increased.

As far as the mass of the population were concerned, colonial rule brought few significant changes. The British educational effort was very limited. There were no major changes in village society, in the caste system, the position of untouchables, the joint family system, or in production techniques in agriculture.

British impact on economic and social development was, therefore, limited. Total output and population increased substantially but the gain in per capita output was small or negligible.

It is interesting to speculate about India's potential economic fate if it had not had two centuries of British rule. There are three major alternatives which can be seriously considered. One would have been the maintenance of indigenous rule with a few foreign enclaves, as in China. Given the fissiparous forces in Indian society, it is likely that there would have been major civil wars in China in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century and the country would probably have split up. Without direct foreign interference with its educational system, it is less likely that India would have developed a modernizing intelligentsia than China because Indian society was less rational and more conservative, and the Chinese had a much more homogeneous civilization around which to build their reactive nationalism. If this situation had prevailed, population would certainly have grown less but the average standard of living might possibly have been a little higher because of the bigger upper class, and the smaller drain of resources abroad. Another alternative to British

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rule would have been conquest and maintenance of power by some other West European country such as France or Holland. This probably would not have produced results very different in economic terms from British rule. The third hypothesis is perhaps the most intriguing, *i.e.*, conquest by a European power, with earlier accession to independence. If India had had self-government from the 1880s, after a century and a quarter of British rule, it is likely that both income and population growth would have been accelerated. There would have been a smaller drain of investible funds abroad, greater tariff protection, more state enterprise and favours to local industry, more technical training - the sort of things which happened after 1947. However, India would probably not have fared as well as Meiji Japan, because the fiscal leverage of government would have been smaller, zeal for mass education less, and religious and caste barriers would have remained as important constraints on productivity.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW WESTERNIZED ELITE

The biggest change the British made in the social structure was to replace the warlord aristocracy by an efficient bureaucracy and army. The traditional system of the East India Company had been to pay its servants fairly modest salaries, and to let them augment their income from private transactions. This arrangement worked reasonably well before the conquest of Bengal, but was inefficient as a way of remunerating the officials of a substantial territorial Empire because (a) too much of the profit went into private hands rather than the Company's coffers, and (b) an overrapacious short-term policy was damaging to the productive capacity of the economy and likely to drive the local population to revolt, both of which were against the Company's longer-term interests.

Clive had operated a 'dual' system, *i.e.* Company power and a puppet Nawab. Warren Hastings displaced the Nawab and took over direct administration, but retained Indian officials. Finally, in 1785, Cornwallis created a professional cadre of Company servants who had generous salaries, had no private trading or production interests in India, enjoyed the prospect of regular promotion and were entitled to pensions. All high-level posts were reserved for the British, and Indians were excluded. Cornwallis appointed British judges, and established British officials as revenue collectors and magistrates in each district of Bengal.

From 1806 the Company trained its young recruits in Haileybury College near London. Appointments were still organized on a system of patronage, but after 1833 the Company selected amongst its nominated candidates by competitive examination. After 1853, selection was entirely on merit and the examination was thrown open to any British candidate. The examination system was influenced by the Chinese model, which had worked well for 2,000 years and had a similar emphasis on classical learning and literary competence. The

Indian civil service was therefore able to secure high quality people because (a) it was very highly paid; (b) it enjoyed political power which no bureaucrat could have had in England.

In 1829 the system was strengthened by establishing districts throughout British India small enough to be effectively controlled by an individual British official who henceforth exercised a completely autocratic power, acting as revenue collector, judge and chief of police (functions which had been separate under the Moghul administration). This arrangement later became the cornerstone of Imperial administration throughout the British Empire. As the civil service was ultimately subject to the control of the British parliament, and the British community in India was subject to close mutual surveillance, the administration was virtually incorruptible.

The army of the Company was a local mercenary force with 20,000–30,000 British officers and troops. It was by far the most modern and efficient army in Asia. After the Mutiny in 1857, the size of the British contingent was raised to a third of the total strength and all officers were British until the 1920s when a very small number of Indians was recruited. Normally, the total strength of the army was about 200,000. This army was very much smaller than those of Moghul India, but had better training and equipment, and the railway network (which was constructed partly for military reasons) gave it greater mobility, better logistics and intelligence.

The higher ranks of the administration remained almost entirely British until the 1920s when the Indian civil service examinations began to be held in India as well as the UK. In addition, there was a whole hierarchy of separate bureaucracies in which the higher ranks were British, i.e. the revenue, justice, police, education, medical, public works, engineering, postal and railway services as well as the provincial civil services. India thus offered highly-paid careers to an appreciable portion of the British middle and upper classes (particularly for its peripheral members from Scotland and Ireland).

From the 1820s to the 1850s the British demonstrated a strong urge to change Indian social institutions, and to Westernize India. They stamped out infanticide and ritual burning of widows (*sati*). They abolished slavery and eliminated *dacoits* (religious thugs) from the highways. They legalized the remarriage of widows and allowed Hindu converts to Christianity to lay claim to their share of joint family property. They took steps to introduce a penal code (the code was actually introduced in 1861) based on British law, which helped inculcate some ideas of equality. 'Under his old Hindu law, a Brahmin murderer might not be put to death, while a Sudra who cohabited with a high-caste woman would automatically suffer execution. Under the new law, Brahmin and Sudra were liable to the same punishment for the same offence.

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There was a strong streak of Benthamite radicalism in the East India Company administration. James Mill became a senior company official in 1819 after writing a monumental history of India which showed a strong contempt for Indian institutions. From 1831 to 1836 he was the chief executive officer of the E.I.C. and his son John Stuart Mill worked for the Company from 1823 to 1858. Malthus was professor of economics at Haileybury, and the teaching there for future company officials was strongly influenced by Utilitarianism. Bentham himself was also consulted on the reform of Indian institutions. The Utilitarians deliberately used India to try out experiments and ideas (e.g., competitive entry for the civil service) which they would have liked to apply in England. The Utilitarians were strong supporters of *laissez-faire* and abhorred any kind of state interference to promote economic development. Thus they tended to rely on market forces to deal with famine problems, they did nothing to stimulate agriculture or protect industry. This *laissez-faire* tradition was more deeply embedded in the Indian civil service than in the UK itself, and persisted very strongly until the late 1920s. The administration was efficient and incorruptible, but the state apparatus was of a watchdog character with few development ambitions. Even in 1936, more than half of government spending was for the military, justice, police and jails, and less than 3 percent for agriculture.

One of the most significant things the British did to Westernize India was to introduce a modified version of English education. Macaulay's 1835 Minute on Education had a decisive impact on British educational policy and is a classic example of a Western rationalist approach to Indian civilization. Before the British took over, the Court language of the Moghuls was Persian and the Muslim population used Urdu, a mixture of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. Higher education was largely religious and stressed knowledge of Arabic and Sanskrit. The Company had given some financial support to a Calcutta Madrassa (1781), and a Sanskrit college at Benares (1792), Warren Hastings, as governor general from 1782 to 1795 had himself learned Sanskrit and Persian, and several other Company officials were oriental scholars. One of them, Sir William Jones, had translated a great mass of Sanskrit literature and had founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1785.

But Macaulay was strongly opposed to this orientalism: "I believe that the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. We are a Board for wasting public money, for printing books which are less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology ... I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic ... But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value ... Who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia ... all the historical

information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England."

For these reasons Macaulay had no hesitation in deciding in favour of English education, but it was not to be for the masses: "It is impossible for us, with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population".

Until 1857 it was possible to entertain the view (as Marx did) that the British may eventually destroy traditional Indian society and Westernize the country. But activist Westernizing policies and the attempt to extend British rule by taking over native states whose rulers had left no heirs provoked sections of both the Hindu and Muslim communities into rebellion in the Mutiny of 1857. Although the Mutiny was successfully put down with substantial help from loyal Indian troops including the recently conquered Sikhs, British policy towards Indian institutions and society became much more conservative. The Crown took over direct responsibility and the East India Company was disbanded. The Indian civil service attracted fewer people with innovating ideas than had the East India Company and was more closely controlled from London.

The British forged an alliance with the remaining native princes and stopped taking over new territory. Until the end of their rule about a quarter of the Indian population remained in quasiautonomous native states. These had official British residents but were fairly free in internal policy, and the effort of Westernization came to a standstill.

The education system which developed was a very pale reflection of that in the UK. Three universities were set up in 1857 in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, but they were merely examining bodies and did no teaching. Higher education was carried out in affiliated colleges which gave a two-year B.A. course with heavy emphasis on rote learning and examinations. Drop-out ratios were always very high. They did little to promote analytic capacity or independent thinking and produced a group of graduates with a half-baked knowledge of English, but sufficiently Westernized to be alienated from their own culture. It was not until the 1920s that Indian universities provided teaching facilities and then only for M.A. students. Furthermore, Indian education was of a predominantly literacy character and the provision for technical training was much less than in any

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European country. Education for girls was almost totally ignored throughout the nineteenth century.

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Because higher education was in English, there was no official effort to translate Western literature into the vernacular, nor was there any standardization of Indian scripts whose variety is a major barrier to multi-lingualism amongst educated Indians. Primary education was not taken very seriously as a government obligation and was financed largely by the weak local authorities. As a result, the great mass of the population had no access to education and, at independence in 1947, 88 per cent were illiterate. Progress was accelerated from the 1930s onwards, but at independence only a fifth of children were receiving any primary schooling.

Education could have played a major role in encouraging social mobility, eliminating religious superstition, increasing productivity, and uplifting the status of women. Instead it was used to turn a tiny elite into imitation Englishmen and a somewhat bigger group into government clerks.

Having failed to Westernize India, the British established themselves as a separate ruling caste. Like other Indian castes, they did not intermarry or eat with the lower (native) castes. Thanks to the British public-school system, their children were shipped off and did not mingle with the natives. At the end of their professional careers they returned home. The small creole class of Anglo-Indians were outcastes unable to integrate into Indian or local British society. The British kept to their clubs and bungalows in special suburbs known as cantonments and civil lines.

They maintained the Moghul tradition of official pomp, sumptuary residences, and retinues of servants. They did not adopt the Moghul custom of polygamy, but remained monogamous and brought in their own women. Society became prim and priggish. The British ruled India in much the same way as the Roman consuls had ruled in Africa 2,000 years earlier, and were very conscious of the Roman paradigm. The elite with its classical education and contempt for business were quite happy establishing law and order, and keeping 'barbarians' at bay on the frontier of the raj. They developed their own brand of self-righteous arrogance, considering themselves purveyors not of popular but of good government. For them the word 'British' lost its geographic connotation and became an epithet signifying moral rectitude.

The striking thing about the British raj is that it was operated by so few people. There were only 31,000 British in India in 1805 (of which 22,000 were in the army and 2,000 in civil government). The number increased substantially after the Mutiny, but thereafter remained steady. In 1911, there were 164,000 British (106,000 employed, of which 66,000 were in the army and police and 4,000 in civil government). In 1931, there were 168,000 (90,000 employed, 60,000

in the army and police and 4,000 in civil government). They were a thinner layer than the Muslim rulers had been (never more than 0.05 per cent of the population).

Because of the small size of the administration and its philosophy of minimal government responsibility outside the field of law and order, India ended the colonial period with a very low level of taxation. The British had inherited the Moghul tax system which provided a land revenue equal to 15 percent of national income, but by the end of the colonial period land tax was only 1 percent of national income and the total tax burden was only 6 per cent. It is curious that this large reduction in the fiscal burden has passed almost without comment in the literature on Indian economic history. On the contrary, emphasis is usually placed on the heaviness of the tax burden, e.g., by D. Naoroji and R.C. Dutt.

Most of the benefits of the lower fiscal burden were felt by landlords, and were not passed on to the mass of the population. In urban areas new classes emerged under British rule, i.e., industrial capitalists and a new bourgeoisie of bureaucrats, lawyers, doctors, teachers and journalists whose social position was due to education and training rather than heredity. In the princely states, the remnants of the Moghul aristocracy continued their extravagances - large palaces, harems, hordes of retainers, miniature armies, ceremonial elephants, tiger hunts, and stables full of Rolls Royces.

AGRICULTURE

The colonial government made institutional changes in agriculture by transforming traditionally circumscribed property rights into something more closely resembling the unencumbered private property characteristic of Western capitalism. The beneficiaries of these new rights varied in different parts of India. The top layer of Moghul property, the jagir, was abolished (except in the autonomous princely states), and the bulk of the old warlord aristocracy was dispossessed. Their previous income from land revenue, and that of the Moghul state, was now appropriated by the British as land tax. However, in the Bengal presidency (i.e. modern Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and part of Madras) the second layer of Moghul property rights belonging to Moghul tax collectors (zamindars) was reinforced. All zamindars in these areas now had hereditary status, so long as they paid their land taxes, and their judicial and administrative functions disappeared. In the Moghul period the zamindars had usually kept a tenth of the land revenue to themselves, but by the end of British rule their income from rents was a multiple of the tax they paid to the state. In Bihar, for instance, five-sixths of the total sum levied by 1950 was rent and only one-sixth revenue.

However, zamindars were not really the equivalent of Western landowners. Dominant families in each village remained as their 'tenants-in-chief' and continued to enjoy many of the old customary rights, i.e., they could not be

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evicted, their rights were heritable and their rental payments could not be raised easily. Lower-caste families were usually sub-tenants of the tenants-in-chief, rather than direct tenants of the zamindars. Often there were several layers of tenancy between the actual cultivator and the zamindar. Sub-tenants had less security and less defence against rack-renting than tenants-in-chief. It is worth noting that when zamindari rights were abolished around 1952 and the old zamindar rental income was converted into state revenue, the amount involved was only about 2 percent of farm income in the relevant areas of India. This suggests that by the end of the colonial period, the zamindars were not able to squeeze as much surplus out of their chief tenants as is sometimes suggested.

The typical zamindari estate at the end of British rule seems to have been very different from that at the end of the eighteenth century. In Bengal the total "number of landowners which did not exceed 100 in the beginning of Hasting's administration in 1772, rose in the course of a century to 154,200". In 1872 there were 154,200 estates of which "533, or 0.34 percent, only are great properties with an area of 20,000 acres and upwards; 15,747, or 10.21 percent, range from 500 to 20,000 acres in area; while the number of estates which fell short of 500 acres is no less than 137,920, or 89.44 per cent, of the whole".

Misra attributes this fall in the average size of zamindari properties to the fact that they could be inherited or sold freely, whereas the Moghul state wanted to keep the number small because zamindars had administrative functions under the Moghul Empire. Under the British, transfers became much more frequent, particularly into the hands of moneylenders. The moneylenders are frequently presented as squeezing out poor peasants and tenantry and thus promoting the concentration of wealth, but the evidence of what happened to zamindar estates suggests that village moneylenders may also have helped to break up concentrations of wealth.

In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, which covered most of Southern India, the British dispossessed many of the old Moghul and Mahratta nobility and big zamindars, and vested property rights and tax obligations in individual 'peasants'. This settlement was known as the *ryotwari* (peasant tenure) system. However, the term peasant is misleading, because most of those who acquired land titles belonged to the traditionally dominant castes in villages. Lower-caste cultivators became their tenants. Thus there was no change in social structure at the village level, except that the new ownership rights gave greater opportunities for sale and mortgage, and the security of the tenant was less than it had been under the previous system. The change in legal status was limited by several factors. First of all, illiterate peasant did not always understand the new situation, and there were strong social ties in the joint family and the caste *panchayats* to prevent major deviations from old habits. Secondly, the new administration was

rather remote from individual villages (with a district officer responsible for over a thousand villages), and many British administrators had a personal bias in favour of customary tenant rights because by maintaining them they could avoid political trouble. At a later stage, the government itself introduced a good deal of legislation to protect customary rights in response to peasant disturbances. Land policy was, therefore, another instance of British policy of half-Westernization. The change from custom to contract was not nearly as sharp as that brought about in Japan by the Meiji land reforms. The British were more concerned with arrangements which would guarantee their revenue and not provoke too much political disturbance rather than in increasing productivity or introducing capitalist institutions. The Utilitarians who dominated the Company from 1820 to 1850 would have liked to push in this direction, but they were displaced at mid-century by the paternalist conservatives of the Imperial raj.

Nevertheless, there were some economic consequences of the new legal situation. Because of the emergence of clear titles, it was now possible to mortgage land. The status of moneylenders was also improved by the change from Muslim to British law. There had been moneylenders in the Moghul period, but their importance grew substantially under British rule, and over time a considerable amount of land changed hands through foreclosures.

Over time, two forces raised the income of landowners. One of these was the increasing scarcity of land as population expanded. This raised land values and rents. The second was the decline in the incidence of land tax. Indian literature usually stresses the heavy burden of land tax in the early days of British rule, but the fact that it fell substantially over time is seldom noted.

The Moghul land tax was about 30 per cent of the crop, but by 1947 land tax was only 2 percent of agricultural income. The fall was most marked in Bengal where the tax was fixed in perpetuity in 1793, but it was also true in other areas.

As a result of these changes, there was not only an increase in village income but a widening of income inequality within villages. The village squirearchy received relatively higher incomes because of the reduced burden of land tax and the increase in rents; tenants and agricultural labourers may well have experienced a decline in income because their traditional rights were curtailed and their bargaining power was reduced by land scarcity. The class of landless agricultural labourers grew in size under British rule, but modern scholarship has shown that they were not a "creation" of the British. They were about 15 percent of the rural population at the end of the eighteenth century, and about a quarter of the labour force now.

Although these were important modifications in the village structure, the traditional hierarchy of caste was not destroyed. Income differentials widened, but the social and ritual hierarchy in villages did not change its character. Village

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society was not egalitarian in Moghul times, and in most cases those whose income rose in the British period were already socially dominant, although there were exceptions. Recent sociological studies, although they indicate changes in the British period, also portray a village hierarchy in the 1940s and 1950s which cannot be very different from that in the Moghul period. We still find a dominant caste of petty landlords, an intermediate group of tenants, village artisans tied by jajmani relationships, a group of low-status labourers, untouchable menials with the whole held together by the same elaborate system of caste.

One might have expected the legal changes introduced by the British to have had a positive effect on efficiency. They removed the class of jagirdars who had no incentive to invest in agriculture, and gave land rights to rural capitalists who could buy and sell land fairly freely and enjoy an increasing portion of the product. Moneylenders helped to root out improvident or inefficient landowners. However, most farmers were illiterate and the government did not provide research or extension services, or encourage the use of fertilizers. Until recently, with the arrival of the tubewell, there were technical limits to the possibility of small-scale irrigation. There were also organizational difficulties in changing technique to improve productivity. The division of labour in the village and hereditary attitudes to work as a semi-religious ritual rather than a means to improve income were obstacles to change. Furthermore, a good many of the cultivating landowners whose income was increased were relatively poor and used their increased income for consumption rather than investment. Some of those who were better off probably improved their land or took over waste land, but as religion inculcated the idea that manual labour was polluting, some of them probably worked less. The big zamindars used some of their extra income to develop waste land, but many cultivated a life style rather like the old Moghul aristocracy and had a high propensity to consume. According to Raychaudhuri, "a zamindar's house with a hundred rooms was not exceptional". Some of the enterprising ones probably transferred their savings out of agriculture into trade and industry or bought their children a Western-type education. Thus the effect of the change was to increase productivity and savings, but not much.

During the period of British rule, agricultural production grew substantially in order to feed a population which grew from 165 million in 1757 to 420 million in 1947. The new system of land ownership offered some stimulus to increase output, and there was substantial waste land available for development.

The colonial government made some contribution towards increased output through irrigation. The irrigated area was increased about eightfold, and eventually more than a quarter of the land of British India was irrigated. Irrigation was extended both as a source of revenue and as a measure against famine. A good deal of the irrigation work was in the Punjab and Sind. The motive here was to

provide land for retired Indian army personnel, many of whom came from the Punjab, and to build up population in an area which bordered on the disputed frontier with Afghanistan. These areas, which had formerly been desert, became the biggest irrigated area in the world and a major producer of wheat and cotton, both for export and for sale in other parts of India. Apart from government investment in irrigation, there was a substantial private investment, and by the end of British rule private irrigation investment covered nearly 25 million acres of British India.

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Improvements in transport facilities (particularly railways, but also steamships and the Suez canal) helped agriculture by permitting some degree of specialization on cash crops. This increased yields somewhat, but the bulk of the country stuck to subsistence farming. Plantations were developed for indigo, sugar, jute and tea. These items made a significant contribution to exports, but in the context of Indian agriculture as a whole, they were not very important. In 1946, the two primary staples, tea and jute, were less than 3.5 percent of the gross value of crop output. Thus the enlargement of markets through international trade was less of a stimulus in India than in other Asian countries such as Ceylon, Burma or Thailand.

Little was done to promote agricultural technology. There was some improvement in seeds, but no extension service, no improvement in livestock and no official encouragement to use fertilizer. Lord Mayo, the Governor General, said in 1870, "I do not know what is precisely meant by ammoniac manure. If it means guano, superphosphate or any other artificial product of that kind, we might as well ask the people of India to manure their ground with champagne".

Statistics are not available on agricultural output for the first century and a half of British rule, but all the indications suggest that there was substantial growth. We do not know whether output rose faster or more slowly than population, but it seems likely that the movements were roughly parallel.

For the last half century of British rule, the main calculations of output are those by George Blyn. His first study, which has been widely quoted, was published in 1954 by the National Income Unit of the Indian government and showed only a 3 percent increase in crop output in British India from 1893 to 1946, *i.e.*, a period in which population increased 46 percent! His second study, published in 1966 showed a 16.6 percent increase, and this, too, has been widely quoted, but he also gives a 'modified' series which shows a 28.9 percent increase. This seems preferable, as the official figures on rice yields in Orissa, which are corrected in his "modified" estimate, seem obviously in error. However, even Blyn's upper estimate is probably an understatement because he shows a very small increase in acreage. It is difficult to believe that per capita food output could have gone down as much as he suggests, whilst waste land remained unused. There has

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been a very big increase in the cultivated area since independence and it seems likely that the increase in the preceding half century was bigger than Blyn suggests. Therefore, my own estimate of crop output for 1900-46, uses Blyn's figures on yields but assumes that the cultivated area rose by 23 percent (Sivasubramonian's figure) rather than by 12.2 percent (Blyn's figure). My estimate shows agricultural output rising about the same amount as population from 1900 to 1946. However, even this may be too low.

The basic reports on areas under cultivation are those provided by village accountants (*patwaris*) in areas where land revenue was periodically changed, and by village watchmen (*chowkidars*) in areas where the land revenue was permanently settled. There was some incentive for farmers to bribe *patwaris* to under-report land for tax purposes, and *chowkidars* are all too often illiterate and drowsy people, who would usually report that things were normal, *i.e.*, the same as the year before. There is, therefore, a tendency for under-reporting of both levels and rates of growth in areas covered by statistics, and the areas not covered by statistics were generally on the margin of cultivation and may have had a more steeply rising trend than the average area covered. Thus Blyn shows no growth in output in Bengal where the *chowkidars* did the basic reporting. He did not cover the Sind desert area in which the British built the huge Sukkur barrage in 1932. Blyn was, of course, aware of these difficulties and tried to correct for them as far as possible, but the fundamental problems are not amenable to 'statistical' manipulation but require 'hunch' adjustment.

My own conclusion from the evidence available is that agricultural output per head was at least as high at the end of British rule as it was in the Moghul period, and that rural consumption levels were somewhat higher because of the lower tax burden on agriculture, and the smaller degree of wastage which allowed surplus areas to sell their grains. This slight improvement in standards may have contributed to the expansion in population. However, agricultural yields and nutritional levels at independence were amongst the lowest in the world.

Under British rule, the Indian population remained subject to recurrent famines and epidemic diseases. In 1876-8 and 1899-1900 famine killed millions of people. In the 1890s there was a widespread outbreak of bubonic plague and in 1919 a great influenza epidemic. It is sometimes asserted by Indian nationalist historians that British policy increased the incidence of famine in India, particularly in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately we do not have any figures on agricultural production for this period, and it is difficult to base a judgement merely on catalogues of famine years whose intensity we cannot measure. As agriculture was extended to more marginal land one would have expected output to become more volatile. But this was offset to a considerable extent by the major improvement in transport brought by railways, and the greater security of water

supply brought by irrigation. It is noteworthy that the decades in which famines occurred were ones in which population was static rather than falling. In the 1920s and 1930s there were no famines, and the 1944 famine in Bengal was due to war conditions and transport difficulties rather than crop failure. However, the greater stability after 1920 may have been partly due to a lucky break in the weather cycle rather than to a new stability of agriculture.

British rule reduced some of the old checks on Indian population growth. The main contribution was the ending of internal warfare and local banditry. There was some reduction in the incidence of famine. The death rate was also reduced to some degree by making ritual suicide and infanticide illegal. The British contributed to public health by introducing smallpox vaccination, establishing Western medicine and training modern doctors, by killing rats, and establishing quarantine procedures. As a result, the death rate fell and the population of India grew by 1947 to more than two-and-a-half times its size in 1757.

INDUSTRY

Several Indian authors have argued that British rule led to a de-industrialization of India. R.C. Dutt argued, "India in the eighteenth century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country, and the products of the Indian loom supplied the markets of Asia and Europe. It is, unfortunately, true that the East India Company and the British Parliament, following the selfish commercial policy of a hundred years ago, discouraged Indian manufacturers in the early years of British rule in order to encourage the rising manufactures of England. Their fixed policy, pursued during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth, was to make India subservient to the industries of Great Britain, and to make the Indian people grow raw produce only, in order to supply material for the looms and manufactories of Great Britain".

R. Palme Dutt, writing forty years later, argued that the process had been continuous: "the real picture of modern India is a picture of what has been aptly called "de-industrialization"-that is, the decline of the old handicraft industry without the compensating advance of modern industry. The advance of factory industry has not overtaken the decay of handicraft. The process of decay characteristic of the nineteenth century has been carried forward in the twentieth century and in the post-war period".

Nehru, in his popular history is a conflation of the two Dutt's, argued that the British deindustrialized India, and that this "is the real the fundamental cause of the appalling poverty of the Indian people, and it is of comparatively recent origin".

There is a good deal of truth in the deindustrialization argument. Moghul India did have a bigger industry than any other country which became a European

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colony, and was unique in being an industrial exporter in pre-colonial times. A large part of the Moghul industry was destroyed in the course of British rule. However, it is important to understand precisely how this deindustrialization came about and to try to get some idea of its quantitative significance in different periods. Oversimplified explanations, which exaggerate the role of British commercial policy and ignore the role of changes in demand and technology, have been very common and have had some adverse impact on post-independence economic policy.

Between 1757 and 1857 the British wiped out the Moghul court, and eliminated threequarters of the warlord aristocracy (all except those in princely states). They also eliminated more than half of the local chiefs (*zamindars*) and in their place established a bureaucracy with European tastes. The new rulers wore European clothes and shoes, drank imported beer, wines and spirits, and used European weapons. Their tastes were copied by the male members of the new Indian 'middle class' which arose to act as their clerks and intermediaries. As a result of these political and social changes, about three-quarters of the domestic demand for luxury handicrafts was destroyed. This was a shattering blow to manufacturers of fine muslins, jewellery, luxury clothing and footwear, decorative swords and weapons. It is not known how important these items were in national income, but my own guess would be that the home market for these goods was about 5 percent of Moghul national income. The export market was probably another 1.5 per cent of national income, and most of this market was also lost. There was a reduction of European demand because of the change in sartorial tastes after the French revolution, and the greatly reduced price of more ordinary materials because of the revolution of textile technology in England.

The second blow to Indian industry came from massive imports of cheap textiles from England after the Napoleonic wars. In the period 1896-1913, imported piece goods supplied about 60 percent of Indian cloth consumption, and the proportion was probably higher for most of the nineteenth century. Home spinning, which was a spare-time activity of village women, was greatly reduced. A large proportion of village hand-loom weavers must have been displaced, though many switched to using factory instead of home-spun yarn. Even as late as 1940 a third of Indian piece goods were produced on hand looms.

The new manufactured textile goods were considerably cheaper and of better quality than hand-loom products, so their advent increased textile consumption. At the end of British rule, there can be no doubt that cloth consumption per head was substantially larger than in the Moghul period. We do not know how big an increase in textile consumption occurred, but if per capita consumption of cotton cloth doubled (which seems quite plausible), then the displacement effect on hand-loom weavers would have been smaller than at

first appears. The hand-loom weavers who produced a third of output in 1940 would have been producing two-thirds if there had been no increase in per capita consumption.

In time, India built up her own textile manufacturing industry which displaced British imports. But there was a gap of several decades before manufacturing started and a period of 130 years before British textile imports were eliminated. India could probably have copied Lancashire's technology more quickly if she had been allowed to impose a protective tariff in the way that was done in the USA and France in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, but the British imposed a policy of free trade. British imports entered India duty free, and when a small tariff was required for revenue purposes Lancashire pressure led to the imposition of a corresponding excise duty on Indian products to prevent them gaining a competitive advantage. This undoubtedly handicapped industrial development. If India had been politically independent, her tax structure would probably have been different. In the 1880s, Indian customs revenues were only 2.2 percent of the trade turnover, *i.e.*, the lowest ratio in any country. In Brazil, by contrast, import duties at that period were 21 percent of trade turnover. If India had enjoyed protection there is no doubt that its textile industry would have started earlier and grown faster.

The first textile mills were started in the 1850s by Indian capitalists who had made their money trading with the British and had acquired some education in English. Cotton textiles were launched in Bombay with financial and managerial help from British trading companies.

India was the first country in Asia to have a modern textile industry, preceding Japan by twenty years and China by forty years. Cotton mills were started in Bombay in 1851, and they concentrated on coarse yarns sold domestically and to China and Japan; yarn exports were about half of output.

Modern jute manufacturing started about the same time as cotton textiles. The first jute mill was built in 1854 and the industry expanded rapidly in the vicinity of Calcutta. The industry was largely in the hands of foreigners (mainly Scots). Between 1879 and 1913 the number of jute spindles rose tenfold - much faster than growth in the cotton textile industry. The jute industry was able to expand faster than cotton textiles because its sales did not depend so heavily on the poverty-stricken domestic markets. Most of jute output was for export.

Coal mining, mainly in Bengal, was another industry which achieved significance. Its output, which by 1914 had reached 15.7 million tons, largely met the demands of the Indian railways.

In 1911 the first Indian steel mill was built by the Tata Company at Jamshedpur in Bihar. However, production did not take place on a significant scale before the First World War. The Indian steel industry started fifteen years

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later than in China, where the first steel mill was built at Hangyang in 1896. The first Japanese mill was built in 1898. In both China and Japan the first steel mills (and the first textile mills) were government enterprises.

Indian firms in industry, insurance and banking were given a boost from 1905 onwards by the *swadeshi* movement, which was a nationalist boycott of British goods in favour of Indian enterprise. During the First World War, lack of British imports strengthened the hold of Indian firms on the home market for textiles and steel. After the war, under nationalist pressure, the government started to favour Indian enterprise in its purchase of stores and it agreed to create a tariff commission in 1921 which started raising tariffs for protective reasons. By 1925, the average tariff level was 14 percent compared with 5 percent pre-war. The procedure for fixing tariffs was lengthy and tariff protection was granted more readily to foreign-owned than to Indian firms, but in the 1930s protection was sharply increased. The government was more willing to protect the textile industry when the threat came from Japan and not the UK. Between 1930 and 1934 the tariff on cotton cloth was raised from 11 to 50 percent, although British imports were accorded a margin of preference. As a result of these measures, there was considerable substitution of local textiles for imports. In 1896, Indian mills supplied only 8 percent of total cloth consumption; in 1913, 20 percent; in 1936, 62 percent; and in 1945, 76 percent. By the latter date there were no imports of piece goods.

Until the end of the Napoleonic wars, cotton manufactures had been India's main export. They reached their peak in 1798, and in 1813 they still amounted to £2 million, but thereafter they fell rapidly. Thirty years later, half of Indian imports were cotton textiles from Manchester. This collapse in India's main export caused a problem for the Company, which had to find ways to convert its rupee revenue into resources transferable to the UK. The Company therefore promoted exports of raw materials on a larger scale, including sugar, silk, saltpetre and indigo, and greatly increased exports of opium which were traded against Chinese tea. These dopepeddling efforts provoked the Anglo-Chinese war of 1842, after which access to the Chinese market was greatly widened. By the middle of the nineteenth century opium was by far the biggest export of India, and remained in this position until the 1880s when its relative and absolute importance began to decline. Another new export was raw cotton, which could not compete very well in European markets against higher quality American and Egyptian cottons, (except during the US Civil War), but found a market in Japan and China. Sugar exports were built up after 1833 when the abolition of slavery raised West Indian production costs, but India had no long-run comparative advantage in sugar exports. Indigo (used to dye textiles) was an important export until the 1890s when it was hit by competition from German synthetic dyes. The jute industry boomed from the time of the Crimean War onwards, when the UK stopped importing flax from

Russia. In addition to raw jute (shipped for manufacture in Dundee) India exported jute manufactures. Grain exports were also built up on a sizeable scale, mainly from the newly irrigated area of the Punjab. The tea industry was introduced to India from China and built up on a plantation basis. Tea exports became important from the 1860s onwards. Hides and skins and oil cake (used as animal feed and fertilizer) were also important raw material exports.

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Table 1. Level of Asian Exports f.o.b. 1850-1950

	(million dollars)			
	1850	1913	1937	1950
Ceylon	5	76	124	328
China	24	294	516	700
India	89	786	717	1,178
Indonesia	24	270	550	800
Japan	1	354	1,207	820
Malaya	24	193	522	1,312
Philippines	n.a.	48	153	331
Thailand	3	43	76	304

Figures refer to customs area of the year concerned. In 1850 and 1913 the Indian area included Burma. The comparability of 1937 and 1950 figures is affected by the separation of Pakistan.

Manufactured textile exports from India began to increase in the 1850s when the first modern mills were established. The bulk of exports were yarn and crude piece goods which were sold in China and Japan. As the Chinese and Japanese were prevented by colonial-type treaties from imposing tariffs for manufactured imports they were wide open to Indian goods, and particularly cotton textiles and yarn. Indian jute manufactures were exported mainly to Europe and the USA. However, India began to suffer from Japanese competition in the 1890s. Indian yarn exports to Japan dropped sharply from 8,400 tons in 1890 to practically nothing in 1898, and India also suffered from Japanese competition in China. The Japanese set up factories in China after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5. Before this, India had supplied 96 per cent of Chinese yarn imports, the UK 4 per cent, and Japan none. Within three years the Japanese were supplying a quarter to Chinese imports, and by 1914 India was exporting less yarn to China than was Japan. During the First World War Japan made further progress in the Chinese market and by 1924 supplied threequarters of Chinese imports. By 1928 India was exporting only 3 per cent of her yarn output.

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By the end of the 1930s, Indian exports of yarn to China and Japan had disappeared, piece goods exports had fallen off, and India imported both yarn and piece goods from China and Japan.

Indian exports grew fairly rapidly in the period up to 1913, but their growth was slower than that of most other Asian countries which had a natural resource endowment offering greater opportunities for trade. As a consequence, in 1913, India had a smaller trade per head than most countries except China. Nevertheless, exports were 10.7 percent of national income, probably a higher ratio than has been reached before or since.

Until 1898 India, like most Asian countries, was on the silver standard. In the 1870s the price of silver began to fall and the rupee depreciated against sterling. This led to some rise in the internal price level, but it helped to make Indian exports more competitive with those of the UK, e.g., in the Chinese textile market. In 1898, India adopted a gold exchange standard which tied the rupee to sterling at a fixed value of 15 to 1. This weakened her competitiveness vis-à-vis China which remained on a depreciating silver standard, but its potential adverse effects were mitigated because Japan went on to the gold exchange standard at the same time.

During the First World War, when the sterling exchange rate was allowed to float, the rupee appreciated. Unfortunately, when sterling resumed a fixed (and overvalued) parity in 1925, the rupee exchange rate was fixed above the pre-war level. This overvaluation eased the fiscal problems of government in making transfers to the UK and enabled British residents in India, or those on Indian pensions in the UK, to get more sterling for their rupees, but it made it necessary for domestic economic policy to be deflationary (in cutting wages) and greatly hindered Indian exports, particularly those to or competing with China and Japan.

As a result, Indian exports fell from 1913 to 1937, a poorer performance than that of almost any other country. At independence exports were less than 5 per cent of national income. If we look at Indian export performance from 1850 to 1950 it was worse than that of any other country in Asia (see Table 1).

The Second World War gave a fillip to Indian industrial output, but there was not much increase in capacity because of the difficulty of importing capital goods and the lack of a domestic capital goods industry.

Many of the most lucrative commercial, financial, business and plantation jobs in the modern sector were occupied by foreigners. Although the East India Company's legally enforced monopoly privileges were ended in 1833, the British continued to exercise effective dominance through the system of 'managing agencies'. These agencies, originally set up by former employees of the East India

Company, were used both to manage industrial enterprise and to handle most of India's international trade. They were closely linked with British banks, insurance and shipping companies. Managing agencies had a quasi-monopoly in access to capital, and they had interlocking directorships which gave them control over supplies and markets. They dominated the foreign markets in Asia. They had better access to government officials than did Indians. The agencies were in many ways able to take decisions favourable to their own interests rather than those of shareholders. They were paid commissions based on gross profits or total sales and were often agents for the raw materials used by the companies they managed. Thus the Indian capitalists who did emerge were highly dependent on British commercial capital and many sectors of industry were dominated by British firms, e.g., shipping, banking, insurance, coal, plantation crops and jute.

Indian industrial efficiency was hampered by the British administration's neglect of technical education, and the reluctance of British firms and managing agencies to provide training of managerial experience to Indians. Even in the Bombay textile industry, where most of the capital was Indian, 28 percent of the managerial and supervisory staff were British in 1925 (42 percent in 1895) and the British component was even bigger in more complex industries. This naturally raised Indian production costs. At lower levels there was widespread use of jobbers for hiring workers and maintaining discipline, and workers themselves were a completely unskilled group who had to bribe the jobbers to get and retain their jobs. There were also problems of race, language and caste distinctions between management, supervisors and workers. The small size and very diversified output of the enterprises hindered efficiency. It is partly for these reasons (and the overvaluation of the currency) that Indian exports had difficulty in competing with Japan.

The basic limitations on the growth of industrial output were the extreme poverty of the rural population, and the fact that a large proportion of the elite had a taste for imported goods or exported their purchasing power. The government eventually provided tariff protection but did not itself create industrial plants, sponsor development banks, or give preference to local industry in allotting contracts. The banking system gave little help to industry and technical education was poor. Most of these things changed when India became independent except the first and most important, i.e., the extreme poverty of the rural population which limited the expansion of the market for industrial goods.

By the time of independence, large-scale factory industry in India employed less than 3 million people as compared with 12 1/4 million in small-scale industry and handicrafts, and a labour force of 160 million. This may appear meagre, but India's per capita industrial output at independence was higher than elsewhere in Asia outside Japan, and more than half of India's exports were manufactures.

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British policy was less repressive to local industry than that of other colonial power, and had permitted the emergence of a small but powerful class of Indian entrepreneurs. It should be noted, however, that modern industry was heavily concentrated in Calcutta, Bombay and Ahmedabad. The area which was to become Pakistan had practically no industry at all.

Table 2. Industrial Growth in the Last Half Century of British Rule

	Small-scale enterprise		Factory establishments	
	Employment (thousands)	Value added (million 1938 rupees)	Employment (thousands)	Value added (million 1938 rupees)
1900/1901	13,308	2,296	601	379
1945/1946	12,074	2,083	2,983	2,461

Source : S. Sivasubramonian, op. cit., for employment and value added in factories. For small-scale enterprise, assume value added to move proportionately to employment.

In the last half century of British rule the output of factory industry rose about six-fold (about 4.2 percent a year) whereas the output of small-scale industry declined. Their joint output rose about two-thirds (1.2 percent a year), and per head of population, joint output was rising by 0.4 percent a year. We know that output in the modern factory sector was zero in 1850, and if we assume that small enterprise output grew parallel with population from 1850 to 1900, then total industrial output would have grown by 0.8 percent a year in this period, or about 0.3 percent a year per head of population. Some increase seems plausible in this period of railway development and expanding international trade. It therefore seems possible that in the last century of British rule, per capita output of industrial goods rose by a third. But in the first century of British rule, *i.e.*, 1757-1857, it seems certain that industrial output fell per head of population because (a) the home and domestic market for luxury goods was cut so drastically; (b) the home market for yarn and cheap cloth was invaded by foreign competition. Over the whole period of British rule it therefore seems likely that industrial output per head of the population was not significantly changed.

THE ECONOMIC BURDEN OF FOREIGN RULE

The major burden of foreign rule arose from the fact that the British raj was a regime of expatriates. Under an Indian administration, income from government service would have accrued to the local inhabitants and not to foreigners. The diversion of upper-class income into the hands of foreigners inhibited the development of local industry because it put purchasing power into the hands of people with a taste for foreign goods. This increased imports and was particularly damaging to the luxury handicraft industries.

Another important effect of foreign rule on the long-run growth potential of the economy was the fact that a large part of its potential savings were siphoned abroad. This 'drain' of funds from India to the UK has been a point of major controversy between Indian nationalist historians and defenders of the British raj. However, the only real grounds for controversy are statistical. There can be no denial that there was a substantial outflow which lasted for 190 years. If these funds had been invested in India they could have made a significant contribution to raising income levels.

The first generation of British rulers was rapacious. Clive took quarter of a million pounds for himself as well as a jagir worth £27,000 a year, but the British did not pillage on the scale of Nadir Shah, who probably took as much from India in one year as the East India Company did in the twenty years following the battle of Plassey. They were also shrewd enough to realize that it was not in their long-run interest to devastate the country.

However, British salaries were high: the Viceroy received £25,000 a year, and governors £10,000. The starting salary in the engineering service was £420 a year or about sixty times the average income of the Indian labour force. From 1757 to 1919, India also had to meet administrative expenses in London, first of the East India Company, and then of the India Office, as well as other minor but irritatingly extraneous charges. The cost of British staff was raised by long home leave in the UK, early retirement and lavish amenities in the form of subsidized housing, utilities, rest houses, etc.

Under the rule of the East India Company, official transfers to the UK rose gradually until they reached about £3.5 million in 1856, the year before the mutiny. In addition, there were private remittances. In the twenty years 1835-54, India's average annual balance on trade and bullion was favourable by about £4.5 million a year.

During the period of direct British rule from 1858 to 1947, official transfers of funds to the UK by the colonial government were called the "Home Charges". They mainly represented debt service, pensions, India Office expenses in the UK, purchases of military items and railway equipment. Government procurement of civilian goods, armaments and shipping was carried out almost exclusively in the UK. By the 1930s these home charges were in the range of £40 to £50 million a year. Some of these flows would have occurred in a non-colonial economy, e.g., debt service on loans used to finance railway development, but a large part of the debt was incurred as a result of colonial wars. Some government expenditure was on imports which an independent government would have bought from local manufacturers. Of these official payments, we can legitimately consider service charges on non-productive debt, pensions and furlough payments as a balance of payment drain due to colonialism.

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There were also substantial private remittances by British officials in India either as savings or to meet educational and other family charges in the UK. In the inter-war period, these amounted to about £10 million a year, and Naoroji estimated that they were running at the same level in 1887. These items were clearly the result of colonial rule. In addition, there were dividend and interest remittances by shipping and banking interests, plantations, and other British investors; to some extent, these were normal commercial transactions, but there was a large element of monopoly profit due to the privileged position of British business in India; and, in many cases, the original assets were not acquired by remitting funds to India but by savings from income earned locally, or by purchase of property on favourable terms, e.g., the land acquisitions of plantation companies. About a third of the private profit remittances should therefore be treated as the profits of colonialism.

Table 3. India's Balance on Merchandise and Bullion, 1835-1967

	Balance in current prices (annual average)	Balance in 1948-9 prices (£million)	Per capita balance at 1948-9 prices (£)
1835-54	4.5	n.a.	n.a.
1855-74	7.3	50.0	0.21
1875-94	13.4	80.0	0.30
1895-13	16.8	77.6	0.26
1914-34	22.5	59.2	0.19
1935-46	27.9	66.1	0.17
1948-57	-99.9	-97.6	-0.21
			(India and Pakistan)
1958-67	-472.7	-384.7	-0.67
			(India and Pakistan)

Source: Constant price figures for 1948 onwards deflated by the national income deflator, earlier years by the price index of M. Mukherjee, *National Income of India*, Statistical Publishing Society, Calcutta, 1969. The Indian surplus is understated, and deficit overstated because imports are recorded *c.i.f.* and exports *f.o.b.*

The total 'drain' due to government pensions and leave payments, interest on nonrailway official debt, private remittances for education and savings, and a third commercial profits amounted to about 1.5 percent of national income of undivided India from 1921 to 1938 and was probably a little larger before that. Net investment was about 5 per cent of national income at the end of British rule,

so about a quarter of Indian savings were transferred out of the economy, and foreign exchange was lost which could have paid for imports of capital goods. As a consequence of this foreign drain the Indian balance of trade and bullion was always positive as can be seen in Table 3. If we take the table as a rough indicator of the movement in the colonial burden (though not of its absolute level) it would seem that it was biggest around the 1880s. Since independence the picture has been completely reversed and there is now a substantial inflow of resources because of foreign aid.

In spite of its constant favourable balance of trade, India acquired substantial debts. By 1939 foreign assets in India amounted to \$2.8 billion, of which about \$1.5 billion was government bonded debt and the rest represented direct investment (mainly tea, other plantations and the jute industry).

India did not reduce its foreign debt during the First World War as many other developing countries did. Instead, there were two 'voluntary' war gifts to the UK amounting to £150 million (\$730 million). India also contributed one and-a-quarter million troops, which were financed from the Indian budget. The 'drain' of funds to England continued in the interwar years because of home charges and profit remittances. There was also a small outflow of British capital.

In the depression of 1929-33, many developing countries defaulted on foreign debt or froze dividend transfers, but this was not possible for India. The currency was kept at par with sterling and devalued in 1931, but the decisions were based on British rather than Indian needs. Furthermore, the salaries of civil servants remained at high level, and the burden of official transfers increased in a period of falling prices.

During the Second World War, India's international financial position was transformed. The UK had enormous military expenditures for its own troops in India and also financed local costs of allied troops under Lease-Lend arrangements. Indian war finance was much more inflationary than in the UK and prices rose threefold, so these local costs of troop support were extremely high in terms of sterling, as the exchange rate remained unchanged. As a result, India was able to liquidate \$1.2 billion of pre-war debt and acquired reserve assets of \$5.1 billion, ending the war a large net creditor. These new assets and the disappearance of the colonial drain gave a formidable boost to post-war development policy.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL REFORMS

Initially, the East India Company did not evince any particular interest in matters of education. Although the British had captured Bengal in 1757, yet the responsibility of imparting education remained only in Indian hands. The study of ancient texts written in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit still continued. In 1781,

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Warren Hastings established a Madrasa in Calcutta to encourage the study of Muslim laws along with Arabic and Persian languages.

A decade later in 1791 due to the sincere efforts of the British resident, Jonathan Duncan, a Sanskrit College was established to promote the study of Hindu laws and philosophy in Banaras. Therefore, it must be contended that during the first three decades of the 19th century, the development of education took place only through the traditional institutions.

It is apparent from the government and Church records that the state of oriental learning at the time of the establishment of the Company's rule in Bengal, there were about 80,000 traditional institutions of learning in Bengal alone, which means that there was at least one institution for every four hundred people in that province. Different educational surveys of Madras, Bombay and Pūnjab also demonstrate similar facts. There was at least one school in every village of India at that time.

The East India Company began to adopt a dual policy in the sphere of education. It discouraged the prevalent system of oriental education and gave importance to western education and English language. The Charter Act of 1813 adopted a provision to spend one lakh rupees per annum for the spread of education in India.

Although there was a prolonged debate pertaining to education during the course of a general discussion on the Act of 1813 in the British Parliament, yet the matter continued to generate debate for the next 20 years. Consequently, not even a single penny out of the allocated funds could be spent on education.

The contemporary British scholars were divided into two groups on the issue of development of education in India. One group, called the **Orientalists**, advocated the promotion of oriental subjects through Indian languages. The other group, called the **Anglicists**, argued the cause of western sciences and literature in the medium of English language.

In 1829, after assuming the office of the Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck, emphasized on the medium of English language in Indian education. In the beginning of 1835, the 10 members of the General Committee of Public Instruction were clearly divided into two equal groups. Five members including the Chairman of the committee Lord Macaulay were in favour of adopting English as medium of public instruction whereas the other five were in favour of oriental languages.

The stalemate continued till 2 February 1835 when the Chairman of the committee, **Lord Macaulay** announced his famous Minute advocating the Anglicist point of view. Consequently, despite fierce opposition from all quarters, Bentinck got the resolution passed on 7 March 1835 which declared that

henceforth, government funds would be utilized for the promotion of western literature and science through the medium of English language.

In 1854, **Sir Charles Wood** sent a comprehensive dispatch as a grand plan on education. The establishment of departments of public instructions in five provinces and introduction of the pattern of grants in aid to encourage private participation in the field of education were recommended. Besides, the dispatch also laid emphasis on the establishment of schools for technical education, teacher and women education. Over and above all these, the dispatch recommended the establishment of one University each in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, on the model of the London University. Consequently, within the next few years, the Indian education became rapidly westernized.

Social Policies and Legislation

In the beginning, the British interest was limited to trade and earning profits from economic exploitation. Therefore, they did not evince any interest in taking the issue of social or religious reforms. They were apprehensive of interfering with the social and religious customs and institutions of the Indians because of the fear that they might lose trade advantage. Thus, they adopted the policy of extreme precaution and indifference towards social issues in India. The one reason why they indulged in criticizing the customs and traditions of India was to generate a feeling of inferiority complex among the Indians.

However, in the mid-19th century the social and religious movements, launched in India, attracted the attention of the Company's administration towards the country's social evils. The propaganda carried out by the Christian missionaries also stirred the minds of the educated Indians. Western thought and education and views expressed in different newspapers and magazines had their own impact. Some of the British administrators like Lord William Bentinck had evinced personal interest in the matter. There were primarily two areas in which laws were enacted, laws pertaining to women emancipation and the caste system.

Social Laws Concerning Women

The condition of women, by the time the British established their rule, was not encouraging. Several evil practices such as the practice of *Sati*, the *Purdah* system, child marriage, female infanticide, bride price and polygamy had made their life quite miserable. The place of women had come to be confined to the four walls of her home. The doors of education had been shut for them. From economic point of view also her status was miserable. There was no social and economic equality between a man and woman. A Hindu woman was not entitled to inherit any property. Thus, by and large, she was completely dependent on men.

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During the 19th and 20th centuries some laws were enacted with the sincere efforts of social reformers, humanists and some British administrators to improve the condition of women in Indian society. The first effort in this direction was the enactment of law against the practice of Sati during the administration of Lord William Bentinck.

Female Infanticide

Female infanticide was another inhuman practice afflicting the 19th century Indian society. It was particularly in vogue in Rajputana, Punjab and the North Western Provinces. Colonel Todd, Johnson Duncan, Malcolm and other British administrators have discussed about this evil custom in detail. Factors such as family pride, the fear of not finding a suitable match for the girl child and the hesitation to bend before the prospective in-laws were some of the major reasons responsible for this practice. Therefore, immediately after birth, the female infants were being killed either by feeding them with opium or by strangulating or by purposely neglecting them. Some laws were enacted against this practice in 1795, 1802 and 1804 and then in 1870. However, the practice could not be completely eradicated only through legal measures. Gradually, this evil practice came to be done away through education and public opinion.

Widow Remarriage

There are many historical evidences to suggest that widow remarriage enjoyed social sanction during ancient period in India. In course of time the practice ceased to prevail increasing the number of widows to lakhs during the 19th century. Therefore, it became incumbent on the part of the social reformers to make sincere efforts to popularize widow remarriage by writing in newspapers and contemporary journals.

Prominent among these reformers were Raja Rammohan Roy and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. They carried out large scale campaigns in this regard mainly through books, pamphlets and petitions with scores of signatures. In July 1856, J.P. Grant, a member of the Governor-General's Council finally tabled a bill in support of the widow remarriage, which was passed on 13 July 1856 and came to be called the **Widow Remarriage Act, 1856**.

Child Marriage

The practice of child marriage was another social stigma for the women. In November 1870, the Indian Reforms Association was started with the efforts of Keshav Chandra Sen. A journal called *Mahapap Bal Vivah* (Child marriage: The Cardinal Sin) was also launched with the efforts of B.M. Malabari to fight against child marriage. In 1846, the minimum marriageable age for a girl was only 10 years. In 1891, through the enactment of the Age of Consent Act, this was raised

to 12 years. In 1930, through the **Sharda Act**, the minimum age was raised to 14 years. After independence, the limit was raised to 18 years in 1978.

Purdah System

Similarly, voices were raised against the practice of Purdah during the 19th and 20th century. The condition of women among the peasantry was relatively better in this respect. Purdah was not so much prevalent in Southern India. Through the large scale participation of women in the national freedom movement, the system disappeared without any specific legislative measure taken against it.

Struggle against the Caste System and the related Legislation

Next to the issue of women emancipation, the caste system became the second most important issue of social reforms. In fact, the system of caste had become the bane of Indian society. The caste system was primarily based on the fourfold division of society viz. Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishyas and Shudras. On account of their degradation in their social status, the Shudras were subjected to all kinds of social discrimination. In the beginning of the 19th century the castes of India had been split into innumerable subcastes on the basis of birth.

2.4 EMERGENCE OF NEW CLASSES

The Indian society witnessed the emergence of many new classes after the advent of the British rule. There emerged classes of Zarnindars, tenants, peasant-proprietors, money-lenders, agricultural laborers, etc. in rural areas; in the urban areas the classes of capitalists, workers, small traders, etc., appeared. There also emerged an educated middle class. Gradually these classes acquired national character, which manifested in the formation of all India organisation by them. The capitalist class formed the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The workers built All India Trade Union Congress. The peasant-proprietors, tenants and agricultural laborers built All India Kisan Sabha. The creation of a national economy and state system out of almost unconnected local economies and congeries of state by the British provided the impulse among the new classes to organise and struggle on an all India basis. The pre-British India was marked with the absence of an all India economy and an unified administrative system. That is why there were no all India classes. These new classes started struggling for the promotion of their sectional interests. The enlightened sections of these classes started understanding the true nature of British rule, they could see the clash of interests of the Indian people with British interests in India. They also realised that the general prosperity of India society would create better conditions even for promotion of their sectional interests. They also realised this general prosperity could only come with freedom. This realisation galvanised the progressive classes to join the united nationalist freedom struggle.

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The emergence of new classes did not follow any uniform pattern everywhere and among all the communities. The new economy causing the rise of new classes was introduced in the areas, which came under the British control. The conquest of India was not achieved in one stroke. It was done in bits and pieces. The part of the country coming under British control early witnessed the early rise of the new classes. Bengal was the first to usher in the two new classes the Zamindars and the tenants because British conquest started from Bengal and it was in Bengal where for the first time the permanent settlement, which gave birth to the zamindars and the tenants, was introduced.

Even the industrial enterprises which gave rise to the class of industrialists and workers were first set up in Bengal and Bombay areas. The professional and the educated middle class also came into being in these areas much ahead of the other areas. It was because of the introduction of a new administrative apparatus and the modern educational system. Gradually the whole country came under the British control. So the economic system, the administrative set up and the modern education system introduced by the British enveloped the whole of the country. This is how the emergence of the new classes became a countrywide phenomenon.

Even among the different communities the emergence of new social classes was not uniform. Baniyas and Parsis were first to be drawn to the commerce and banking so they blossomed into capitalist class. Similarly the Brahmins were first to take the modern education introduced by the British. That is why they largely constituted the class of professionals and the intelligentsia. The Muslims witnessed late emergence of the new classes because they stayed away from the trade and commerce and looked at the modern system of education with suspicion and they lived in northern India, which came under the British subjugation at a much later stage. Bengal had a very large Muslim population.

FACTORS LEADING TO EMERGENCE OF NEW CLASSES

The altering of the economic arrangement like introduction of new land relation, opening of Indian society for commercial exploitation by the capitalists world, introduction of a new administrative arrangement, a modern education system and the establishment of modern industries were the factors largely responsible for the emergence of the new social classes. The creation of private property in land by the permanent and Ryotwari settlements gave birth to the new classes in the form of large estate owners, the zamindars and peasant proprietors. The class of tenants and sub-tenants were born with the creation of the right to lease land. The right to private property in land and the right to employ labourers to work on land created classes like absentee landlords and agricultural labour. There also emerged a class of moneylenders.

The opening of new economy for market forces also give birth to new classes. Under the British rule the production, both industrial and agricultural became for the market. This created opportunity for people whose role was to import and export goods from and into India. These people came to be known as merchants. Even in Pre-British India there existed the class of merchants because both internal and foreign trade had existed but it was very small in scale and volume. This class did not carry enough weight in society. The accumulation of profit in hands of the trading class, a section of zamindar and the wealth among the professional classes formed the capital for the rise of textiles, mining and other industries owned by Indians. This led to the emergence of the native capitalist class. Thus completely new classes appeared; one, the industrial capitalist who owned the mills, mines and other capitalist enterprises; two, workers who worked in factories, mines, railways and on plantations.

The new social, economic and state system introduced by the British needed a class of Indians having acquired modern education in professional fields like law, technologies, medicines, economics, etc. The introduction of modern education system all over the country was done with this objective in mind. This ever-expanding class of professionals was the creation of the new socioeconomic and administrative arrangement. This professional class was absent in the pre-British India. These professional classes had acquired modern knowledge in the fields of science and arts. The legal system introduced by the British provided opportunities to those who studied law. Those who studied medicine were absorbed in government hospitals and medical colleges.

OLD CLASSES IN NEW MILIEU

India had undergone a transformation on the capitalist line under the British rule but this transformation was not as thorough as it was in France, England or the United States of America. This meant stunted industrial development. Consequently some of the old classes continued to survive. The classes of village artisans and urban handicraftsmen were such classes. But the context within which they were functioning had changed because of the development of capitalist economy. Now village artisans unlike in the past were no more servants of the village community. They started sending goods manufactured by them to the market. The urban handicraftsmen who had earlier worked for nobles, princes or wealthy merchants now started selling their products in the market. Another important class for the pre-British period, which managed to survive, was that of the princes they ruled over nearly one third of Indian Territory. They survived because after 1857 the British had abandoned the policy of annexation because by and large the princes had remained loyal to the British during the revolt of

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1857. But for the survival the princes had to accept the British paramountcy. All the vital powers of these states were surrendered to the paramount British power. Through Residents the British started interfering in the internal affairs of these states.

The condition of the general people was miserable in these princely states. Democratic liberties were almost non-existent. The land revenue and taxation were very high and most of the revenue raised was spent on luxurious life styles of the princes. The introduction of the new economy gave opportunity to the princes to invest in commercial, industrial and financial ventures at times even outside of their princedoms. From the nobles of the medieval times they had transformed into capitalists bound with national capitalist economy.

THE NEW CLASSES

Zamindars

The permanent settlement of 1793 made by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal and Bihar created the class of zamindars, an aristocratic class, at the top of the agrarian hierarchy. By creating this class the British aimed at creating support base for their rule in India. This was a political necessity for the stability of the British rule. As the zamindars owed their very existence to the British rule, they became their loyal supporters. In return the British gave them representation in various constitutional schemes introduced by the government and other favours. Another motive behind the creation of this class was the stability of income. The company was faced with perpetual financial crisis. The land revenue raised from Bengal had to finance the expansionist wars of the company; it had to meet the establishment costs of the company in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. From this money the company also had to pay for Indian commodities bought for exports. The problem faced by the company was that the revenue collection was erratic and was not enough to meet its needs. The permanent settlement of 1793 had answer to both these problems. It guaranteed stable income and also maximised company's income from land revenue. The permanent settlement also made the task of revenue collection easier. Earlier the company had to directly deal with lakhs of peasants. Now they dealt with the zamindars who became the intermediaries between the Government and peasants.

These zamindars were the agents of the British. In exchange of their commitment to pay a fixed amount of revenue to the government they got the right of collecting as much rent as they could from the defenceless, economically emaciated tenants. If the tenants could not pay revenue on time they were evicted from their land. In case of any dispute the zamindars had the courts and the machinery of government on their side. As a result the condition of the tenants deteriorated immensely in zamindari areas. The agriculture also suffered because-

the tenants had hardly any surplus left to spend on seeds or manures. The zamindars did not do any thing for improvement of agriculture. The zamindars formed their political organisation, i.e., the British Indian Association. It was a conservative body. This class was always anti-democratic. When Indian National Congress was fighting for democratic rights, administrative reforms or swaraj and organised struggles for these things the zamindars were always on the side of the government. This class was afraid of democratic struggles because the success of such struggles posed threat not only to their interest but also to their very existence. The British used the zamindars as a counter-weight against the rising tide of nationalism.

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Tenants

The permanent settlement did not give birth to the class of zamindars alone. It also created a class of tenants in the countryside. They were subjected to exorbitantly high rent. Those who failed to pay rent even due to reasons beyond their control faced ejection. The zamindari arrangement resulted in general impoverishment of the tenants. The Bengal tenancy acts of 1859 and 1885, which aimed at the improvement in the condition of the tenants, could not deliver much and their condition continued to deteriorate. In course of time the tenants became politically conscious which manifested in the formation of tenants unions in U.P., Bihar, Bengal and other areas. The tenants also came under the influence of the Kisan Sabha started by N.G. Ranga and Swami Sahajanand. In UP these were mobilised by Baba Ram Chand.

These were not only critical of the British rule they were also critical of the Indian National Congress for showing leniency towards the interest of zamindars. Their main demands included reduction of rent, abolition of illegal dues collected by the zamindars. The kisan sabha opposed the zamindars and the zamindari system.

Peasant-Proprietors

In south and south central India where the Ryotwari settlement was introduced, there emerged a class of peasant proprietors. In these areas the cultivators were recognized as the owners of their plots in return to their payment of land revenue. The general condition of this class worsened mainly because of excessive land tax, fragmentation of the size of holding and heavy indebtedness. The condition of some of the peasant proprietors improved and they joined the ranks of rich peasants but most of them fared miserably and joined the rank of poor peasants and tenants of the absentee landlords.

Some of them even joined the class of land laborers. The peasant-proprietors became politically conscious much ahead of the tenants. It was because they were in direct contact with the foreign ruler while in Zamindari areas the

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Zamindars mediated between the government and the tenants. The peasant proprietors did not have difficulty in recognizing their enemy, the British rule.

The tenants saw the Zamindars as their enemy not the British rule. The consciousness of the tenants was also blunted because of the Gandhian approach of class harmony. Gandhi emphasized the need of unity between the Zamindars and the tenants for the achievement of Swaraj. The leaders of kisan sabha like N.G. Ranga and sahjanand pressurized the Indian national congress to formulate a programme of the demands for the tenants. They also held that the congress was aligning with Zamindars against the interest of tenants in some areas.

The Kisan Movement, Main Landmarks

The formation of the U.P. Kisan Sabha in February 1918 marked a watershed development in the history of peasant movements in India. Around this time the kisans started exhibiting political consciousness. They began taking part in nationalist struggles. Their organizations emerged under their own leadership for the achievement of their programmes and objectives. It does not mean that before 1918 there were no peasant movements. In fact there were many. But these movements had narrow and local aims and were devoid of any proper understanding of colonialism or any conception of an alternative society. A conception that could unite people in a common struggle on an all India basis and sustain any long term political movement was absent.

Among the major peasant movements of the nineteenth century was the Indigo Revolt of 1859-60. Indigo was used as a dye for the cotton clothes manufactured by factories in England. Almost all the indigo planters were Europeans and they forced the peasants to grow indigo on the best part of their land. Most of the magistrates were also Europeans and in case of any dispute they used to side with the planters. The indigo revolts enveloped all the indigo-growing districts of Bengal by 1860. The peasants joined together to raise funds to fight court cases filed against them. The planters succumbed to combined pressure and closed their factories. The role of intelligentsia in the indigo revolt was to have a lasting impact on the nationalist intellectuals. Din Bandhu Mitra's play *Neel Darpan* became famous for its vivid description of the exploitation by the planters.

Between 1870 to 1880 large part of East Bengal witnessed agrarian unrest caused by efforts of zamindars to enhance rent beyond legal limits. This they were doing to prevent the tenants from acquiring occupancy rights under Act X of 1859. To achieve this objective they used coercive methods like forced eviction and seizure of crops. In May 1873 an agrarian league was formed in Pabna district to resist the demands of the zamindars. The tenants refused payment of enhanced rent and raised funds to challenge the zamindars in courts. Many of the disputes were settled partly due to government pressure and partly due to zamindar's

fear of being dragged into long drawn legal battle by the united peasantry. The 1885 Bengal tenancy act was an attempt to address the worst aspects of the zamindari system.

Poona and Ahmednagar districts of Maharashtra became theatres of major agrarian unrest in 1875. In these areas cotton pikes had gone up in 1860s due to American civil war. When the civil war ended cotton prices crashed. A fifty percent increase in rent by the government and a series of bad harvests further compounded the woes of the peasants. The peasants had no option but to go to the moneylenders. The moneylenders used this opportunity to tighten their grips on the peasants and their lands. The peasants organized a complete social boycott of the moneylenders. They attacked the houses of the moneylenders and also burnt the debt records.

In response to this unrest the government brought the Deccan Agriculturistics Relief Act in 1879. Among other important peasant movements in other parts of the country in the nineteenth century were the Mappila outbreak in the Malabar region and the Kuka revolt of Punjab.

Peasant movements in the twentieth century were distinct from those of nineteenth century. Now both the peasant movements and the freedom struggle started influencing each other. Three major movements emerged in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. The kisan sabha and Eka movement in the Avadh area of U.P., the Mappila rebellion in the Malabar region and the famous Bardoli Satyagraha in Gujarat. In U.P. the peasants were faced with the problems of exorbitant rent, illegal levies, begar [unpaid labour] bedakhli [ejectment]. The hefty increase in the prices of essential commodities after the war had further added to their problems.

The U.P. kisan sabha was formed in 1918 and by June 1919 it had set up 450 branches in the province. An alternative Oudh kisan sabha was set up in 1920, which succeeded in integrating all the grassroots kisan sabhas of Avadh. This Avadh kisan sabha appealed to the kisans to refuse to till bedakhli land and not to do begar. The Avadh rent act of 1921 attempted to address to some of these demands. Towards the end of 1921 another movement grew in some areas of Avadh under the name of Eka [unity] movement. The main cause of discontent was that the rent in these areas of Avadh was 50% higher than recorded rent. Severe repression by the government brought this movement to an end. The Malabar area of Kerala, which had witnessed disturbance even in the nineteenth century in August 1921, witnessed rebellion by Mappila [Muslim] tenants. Nambudri Brahmins landlords exploited the Mappila tenants. This rebellion had started as an antigovernment anti-landlords affair but acquired communal colours.

It was crushed ruthlessly by the government. Another important struggle of the peasantry broke out in 1928-29. A thirty percent increase in rent was

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recommended in the Bardoli taluka of the Surat district in 1926. The peasantry fought under, the able leadership of Sardar Patel the peasants fought and forced the government to withdraw the increase in rent.

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The 1930s witnessed a countrywide awakening of Indian peasants. The economic depression of 1929-30 and consequent drastic fall in prices of agricultural commodities had badly hit the income of the peasants. But the government and the Zamindars refused to bring down tax and rent. There was a spurt in peasant movements in U.P., Andhra and Bihar. The left ideology propagated by J.L. Nehru; Subhash Bose and the communists was gaining in influence. The leftists underlined the need of an independent class organization of peasants. The All India Kisan Sabha was formed in 1936 with Sahjanand, the founder of Bihar Kisan Sabha as president and N.G. Ranga, the founder of Andhra kisan movement as secretary. The birth of an all-India organization representing the aspirations and common demands of peasants from all over the country was a development of great significance.

The Indian national congress shied away from raising the issues concerning the peasants more particularly the tenants living in the zamindari areas. According to Bipan-Chandra Congress did not want to weaken Indian nationalism by dividing our people in political groups based on different economic interests. In 1930 the eleven-points submitted to the British government by Gandhi did not include the main demands of the peasants like reduction of rents and redemption of agricultural indebtedness. The formation of the Congress ministries in a majority of the provinces raised the expectations of the peasants. These ministries brought many legislations aiming at debt relief, restoration of land lost during depression and security of tenures to the tenants. These steps did not affect the conditions of peasants belonging to lower strata. Many kisan leaders were arrested and their meetings banned. The congress was accused of being anti-peasant. Their radical elements within the kisan sabha accused the congress of siding with the capitalists and zamindars.

After the end of world war second when independence appeared imminent the peasants started asserting their rights. The demand of zamindari abolition was raised with a great sense of urgency. In Telangna the peasants organized themselves to resist the landlord's oppression and played an important role in the anti Nizam struggle. In 1946 the Bengal provincial Kisan Sabha led the movement of the share croppers who wanted to pay only one third and not half share of their crop more to the jotedars. This movement came to be known as Tebhaga movement.

RISE OF MODERN INDIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

In the early decades of the nineteenth century the number of the educated persons were very small. The spread of modern education was largely the work

of the British government. But the Christian missionaries and a large number of enlightened Indians had also established schools and colleges all over the country. Around the middle of the nineteenth century there emerged a large section of intelligentsia. They assimilated western democratic culture and understood the complex problems of the incipient Indian nationhood. They led many social and religious reforms movements to integrate Indian people into a modern nation. The intelligentsia was the first to acquire national consciousness. The people who led the nationalist movement during its different phases may have believed in different ideologies but they all belonged to the same class, the intelligentsia.

Leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade and others led the moderate phase of the nationalist movement. In the militant phase the trio of Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and B.C. Pal together with Aurobindo Ghose were main leaders. When the freedom struggle acquired a mass base after the non-cooperation movement of 1919 its leadership passed into the hands of leaders such as M.K. Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Ballabh Bhai Patel, J.L. Nehru, S.C. Bose and intellectuals with socialist and communist leanings. All of them were products of the modern education system. This class was fired with a modern rational, secular, democratic and nationalist vision they were imbued with ideas of democracy, equality, liberty and justice. They fully realized the negative impacts of the British rule and could grasp the contradiction between British interest in India and the Indian interest according to Bipan Chandra it would be wrong to think that the nationalist movement was a product of modern education system launched during the British rule. In fact Indian nationalism was born out of and sustained by conflict of interests between India and Britain. The modern education system helped to understand the nature of conflict in a better way. This class, which included scientists, poets, historians, economists and philosophers, had a dream of a modern, strong, prosperous and united India. Most of the progressive social, religious and political movements were organised by them during the British rule. Their role was crucial because they had to spread consciousness among illiterate, ignorant, superstitious masses.

The middle class, which comprised of lawyers, doctors, professors, journalists, government employees, students and others, was the product of modern education system. In the second half of the nineteenth century their number swelled because of the expansion in the number of schools and colleges. But the growth in the numbers of educated Indians was not matched with corresponding increase in number of jobs. The economic policies followed by the government failed to create adequate number of jobs that could absorb the educated persons produced by the academic institutions. The discontent among the educated unemployed was the main factor behind the rise and growth of militant nationalism led by Lala Lajpat Roy, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipan Chandra

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Pal and Aurobindo. This was true also about the growth of revolutionary terrorist movements.

The Capitalist Class

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The emergence of the capitalist class was the result of the opening up of the Indian economy to the world capitalist system, the process of industrialisation and the growth of the banking sector. Thus the mercantile, industrial and financial capitalists were born. The accumulation of sufficient savings in the hands of Indian merchants, princes, zamindars and money-lenders provides the basis for the emergence of the Indian industries.

The industrialisation of the country started with the setting up of cotton textiles, jute and coal mining industries in 1850s. But most of these industries were owned by the British capitalists because investment in India offered them the prospect of high return due to availability of raw material and labour at cheap rate. Besides, they could count on an oblong colonial government and bureaucracy. But the Indian capitalists had to suffer hostile trade, tariff, taxation and transport policies of the government. In its infancy Indian industries needed protection for rapid growth. All other industrialised countries had protected their infant industries by imposing heavy customs duties on imports from foreign countries. A policy of free trade was imposed upon India to suit the interest of British industries because India was not a free country.

From the beginning most of the cotton textiles industry was owned by the Indians. The Swadeshi and Boycott movement launched by the Indian National Congress in 1905 gave a fillip to the expansion of the Indian industries. The period of the first world war [1914-1918] proved to be a boon for the Indian industries. The diversion of shipping to the war needs had made imports difficult. Therefore, to cater to the war needs many industries were established. Between 1914 to 1947 the Indian capitalist class grew at a faster pace and encroached upon areas of European domination. Towards independence Indian capitalist class owned around seventy percent of the market and eighty per cent of deposits in the organized banking sector.

The rising capitalist class had become quite powerful and conscious by 1905. This class supported the Swadeshi and Bycott movement launched by the Indian National Congress because the objective of the movement suited their class interest. After the First World War and more particularly after 1919-20 the influence of this class started increasing in the nationalist movement and the Indian national congress. According to Bipan Chandra it is true that the congress accepted funds from the capitalist class but inspite of this the congress maintained its independent position on, policy and ideological matters. According to A.R. Desai the capitalist class was attracted towards congress because of Gandhi's

leadership, his theory of social harmony, his opposition to the idea of class struggle and his concept of trusteeship.

The capitalist class was aware of the contradiction the interest of the colonial government and their own independent growth. They realized that a national government would provide better atmosphere for their growth. The Indian capitalists were making efforts since 1920s towards forming a national level organization of Indian commercial, industrial and financial interests. These efforts culminated in the formation the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1927. The F.I.C.C.I. was very soon recognized as national guardian of trade commerce and industry. It pledged its support to the Indian freedom struggle since its inception.

During the 1930s the congress was getting increasingly radicalized under the leadership of Nehru and the socialists. The fear of radicalization did not push the capitalist class to align with the imperialists. The Post War Economic Development Committee set up by the capitalists in 1942 drafted the Bombay Plan, which attempted to accommodate socialist demands like equitable distribution of property, partial nationalization and land reform without capitalism surrendering its basic features.

Rise of the Working Class

The modern working class made its appearance in India in the second half of the nineteenth century with the growth of modern industries, railways, post and telegraph network, plantation and mining. In the beginning the Indian working class was formed out of popularised peasants and ruined artisans. The peasants were pauperized because of high land tax, fragmentation of holdings and growing indebtedness. The artisans were forced to join the rank of workers because their could not compete with the cheaper machine made goods from England. The works living in inhuman and degrading condition without any trace of even the minimum duties performed by the authorities towards them. S.V. Parulekar, who was the Indian delegate at the International Labour Conference held at Geneva in 1938 described the situation of the Indian workers in these words in India the vast majority of workers get a wage which is not enough to provide them with the meanest necessities of life. According to R.P. Dutt under the enlightened protection of the civilized British Raj filth ridden conditions, limitless exploitation and servitude of the Indian workers were zealously maintained.

The labour movements started in an organised way only after the end of the first World War. Before the war there were strikes and agitations mostly sporadic, spontaneous, lacking long term objectives, devoid of class consciousness, and based on local and immediate grievances. The worsening economic condition.

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of the workers due to the economic crisis that followed the war, the socialist revolution in Russia, the Non-cooperation and Khilafat movement in the country formed the background in which All India Trade Union Congress [A.I.T.U.C.] was borne in 1920 mainly due to the efforts of leaders like N.M. Joshi, Lala Lajpat Roy and Joseph Baptista. Its stated objective was to coordinate activities of all organizations in all the provinces of India to further the interests of Indian labour in economic, social and political matters. The Indian National Congress at its Gaya session in 1922 welcomed the formation of the A.I.T.U.C. and formed a committee of prominent congressmen to assist in its works. According to Bipan Chandra early nationalists paid relatively little attention to the question of labour despite their wretched condition because taking up the issues of labour versus indigenous employer would have weakened the common struggle against imperialism. Another reason for not taking up the issues of worker was the belief of the early nationalists that industrialisation could solve the problems of poverty.

In the second half of the 1920s there was a consolidation of left ideological forces in the country. There developed a left wing leadership even with the trade union movement. In 1928 the left wing including the communists succeeded in acquiring dominant position inside the A.I.T.U.C. The old leadership represented by the Joshi group became in minority. This led to a split in A.I.T.U.C. The workers participated in large numbers in, strikes and demonstrations all over the country under the influence of the communists and the radical nationalists. They also participated in Simon boycott demonstration. The government implicated almost the entire radical leadership in the Meerut conspiracy case.

Before the elections for the provincial government in 1937 the Congress had promised to take steps for settling the labour disputes and securing rights to form union and go on strike. The civil liberties had increased under the Congress government. It reflected in the phenomenal rise in the trade unions. There were some charges of undemocratic and pmcapitalistic legislations like Bombay Trade Dispute Act and there were cases of banning labour meetings and imprisonment of labour leaders. When the Second World War started in 1939 the working class of Bombay was amongst the first in the world to hold anti-war strike in which 90,000 workers participated. With the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 the communists argued that the character of the war had changed from imperialist war to people's war. They were of the view that the working class should now support the allied powers and dissociate themselves from the Quit India Movement of 1942.

In spite of the indifference of the communists towards it, the Quit India Movement had its impact on the workers. After the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders there were strikes all over the country. There were strikes between 1945-47 in support of the I.N.A. prisoners in Calcutta when their trial began. There

were strikes by Bombay workers in solidarity with mutiny of the Naval Ratings in 1946.

The emergence of the new classes in India proved to be an event having far-reaching implications. Generally the enlightened sections of these classes strengthened the freedom struggle but there were reactionary trends also. The reactionary section of the intelligentsia spread distrust among different communities, which manifested in growth of communalism. The abolition of zamindari was essential for the improvement in the condition of the rural masses. The Indian capitalist class never supported this demand. Another important fact was that while these classes combined together to win independence their vision of post-Independence India, and the form of state the socio-economic structure were divergent.

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2.5 CULTURE AND NATIONALISM

It was in the field of culture that the ideas of nationalism was expressed first. This happened at two levels :

- Firstly it happened in the form of questioning some of the elements of traditional Indian culture and a desire to bring about reforms in it by removing some socially undesirable feature of Indian culture like caste system, religious superstitions, priesthood, discrimination against women etc.
- Secondly, an attempt was also made by the Indians to oppose the British encroachment in the Indian culture.

It is important to remember that the colonial conquest did not just mean the replacement of one kind of rulers by another. Its effect penetrated deep down to the lives of the ordinary people. In a variety of ways, through the efforts of British rulers and their agents, the culture of then colonial rulers began to spread among the Indian people. This spread of colonial culture and language produced two responses among the Indian elites (elite: socially privileged people belonging to high culture and the upper strata of the society). Some of them began to compare the traditional Indian society and culture with the one that existed in Modern England. They thus questioned some of the elements of the Indian culture. For instance social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy and Ishwarachandra Vidyasagar worked hard for the eradication of some of the social evils that were a part of the Indian society.

In particular Rammohan Roy attacked the practice of *Sati* (burning of the widow along with the husband on his death) and Vidyasagar advocated remarriage of widows. Leaders like Jotiba Phule initiated anti-caste movements in Maharashtra. They also made an appeal to the colonial rulers to intervene in the Indian society and bring about reforms, although they did not believe that the

European culture was superior to Indian culture. They did, however, believe that the British rule represented a modernizing force which could help in the development of the Indian society along modern and rational lines.

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At another level, however, the Indian leaders tried to 'defend' and protect Indian culture against what they thought was an encroachment of the colonial culture into the lives of the Indian people. When attempts were made in the 1850s to impose a European dress and other practices on the Indian people, it was resisted by them. Interestingly this was also true of those social reformers who admired the British rule and hoped that the colonial rule would, through legislation and other means, introduce modernity in India. Thus Keshub Chandra Sen, a prominent 19th century reformer and a leader of the Brahmo Samaj (formed by Rammohan Roy in 1828) did not like to wear English dress or eat English food. Similarly Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar refused to go to a function hosted by the Lt. Governor because he was required to wear European dress. In this approach cultural rights and practices of the people were seen as very important and the colonial rule was defied on the ground that it was trying to impinge upon them.

The two approaches mentioned above may seem to you different and also in conflict with each other. The former approach (of questioning the evils of the traditional Indian culture) may look different from the later approach (of resisting any attempt on the part of the colonial rulers to either appropriate or try to change the local Indian cultures). It may appear to you that the first approach invited British intervention in the Indian society whereas the second approach opposed it. But it is very important to remember that, as components of Indian nationalism, both the approaches complemented each other. The idea of cultural nationalism, as it developed in the 19th century was based on a firm rejection of some of the negative features of the traditional Indian culture by, or its integration into, the culture of the colonial rulers. In other words the 19th century social reformers wanted the Indian culture to become truly modern; but they did not want it to become totally western. In this sense they were opposed to both the traditional culture but also to the modern colonial culture. This was the essence of cultural nationalism as practised in 19th century India.

2.6 ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

You have now understood what is meant by cultural nationalism and what was the relationship between culture and nationalism in India. Let us now try to understand economic nationalism. The origins of economic nationalism can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century when Indian leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade and Romesh Chandra Dutt among others began realizing that the British rule was economically exploiting India and that it was largely responsible for keeping India under extreme poverty. From

this a whole generation of Indian leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, C.V. Joshi and many others developed a systematic and comprehensive economic critique of the British rule. Following are some of the features of economic nationalism they propounded and preached through their writings :

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They emphasized that the colonial rule was economically exploiting India in a variety of ways. Initially this exploitation was confined to heavy taxation of the peasantry and the unequal trade with India. It was an unequal trade because the British East India Company (which was granted a monopoly of trade with India by the British Parliament) bought Indian goods very cheap and sold British manufactured goods to India at a very expensive rate. This resulted in India's wealth going to England. It also destroyed the traditional handicraft industries of India. However, in the 19th century, whereas this form of economic exploitation continued, new and more complex forms of exploitation came into being. Now the colonial rulers exploited India as a supplier of raw material for their industries and a market where the goods produced in the British industries could be sold. India was made to cultivate those raw materials (like cotton or jute) which were required by British industries. The impact of this was that India's wealth, which could have been utilized for India's industrialization and economic development, was utilized instead for Britain's economic development. The Indian nationalist leaders learnt these vital facts and propagated them at the same time.

- As a part of their understanding about a steady economic exploitation of India, the nationalist leaders, Dadabhai Naoroji in particular, propounded the 'drain theory'. Naoroji, in his famous book *Poverty and the Un-British Rule in India* written in (1901 pub. 1988) argued that India's economic resources were being systematically siphoned off to England through trade, industrialization and high salaries to British officials which were being paid by Indian money. According to their calculations this 'drain' amounted to one half of government revenues and more than one third of India's total savings. It was thus that Britain's enrichment and India's impoverishment were taking place *simultaneously*.

The early nationalist leaders thus argued that the British colonial rule, in a variety of ways, completely subordinated Indian economy to the economy of Great Britain. In their view the direction of the Indian economy was being geared to suit the needs of British economy. They demanded an end to the flow of Indian wealth to England and the industrialization of India with the help of Indian capital only, so that it would benefit India and Indian people. In order to achieve this, the nationalist leaders demanded self-rule, or self-government or *Swaraj* for their country.

The relevance of economic nationalism, as formulated by the nationalist leaders, was two-fold :

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- Firstly, it demolished the notion, generally held by the educated people in the first half of the 19th century, that the British colonial government was a benevolent government and would ultimately lead to India's economic development. Many people had believed that, if the colonial rule would continue for a long time, India would, in the end, become prosperous like Great Britain. The Indian nationalist leaders were able to demonstrate that this was wrong thinking and that the British colonial rule was actually harmful to the interests of the Indian people.
- Secondly, economic nationalism laid the foundation for a powerful nationalist agitation against the British colonial rule which started in the 20th century under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders. These leaders took the ideas of the 'economic nationalism' to the Indian people and thus mobilized them into the national movement. Once the masses of Indian people joined the national movement, it became impossible for the British colonial rule to remain in India.

2.7 RELIGION AND NATIONALISM

Apart from cultural nationalism and economic nationalism, there were other ways also in which the idea of Indian nationalism was being expressed. There came into being, in the second half of the 19th century, a thinking on Indian nationalism which was based on religion. It was leaders like Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, Dayanand Saraswati (who founded Arya Samaj in 1875), Vivekanand and Arbindo Ghosh who made Hindu religion and its ideas the motivating force behind Indian nationalism. They looked upon the British presence in India as an attempt by the Western civilization to dominate the Indian civilization. They were completely opposed to this domination.

These leaders were convinced that although the British had succeeded in conquering India, the Eastern civilization was superior to the Western one. Bankim Chandra argued that although the British had conquered India with the help of military and technological superiority, Indians should not start blindly following it. He argued about the uniqueness of the Indian society where the ideas of Western civilization could not be applied. These leaders understood the Western civilization to be based on the ideas of individualism (rather than spirituality) and found them to be completely unsuitable for India. Vivekanand believed that the Western ideas had to be re-modelled according to the Indian situation. He said: "In Europe, political ideas form the national unity. In Asia religious ideas form the national unit."

These leaders derived their inspiration not from the Western texts and other sources but from the traditional Indian texts like Vedas, Upanishads and Gita. They criticized the British colonial rule mainly on the ground that it was trying to

impose an inferior material system on India which was a land rich with spiritual resources.

This understanding of nationalism based on religion had a political aspect also. Leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak wanted to take the idea of nationalism to the people. They knew that religion was a very important moral force in the Indian society. Hence they decided to use religion in the propagation of nationalist ideas. In order to be able to speak to people in their language, i.e. religious language, Tilak introduced the Ganapati festival in Maharashtra in 1893 to create a religious platform from where nationalist idea could be preached and spread.

This understanding of nationalism based on religion led to two different kinds of political mobilizations in the 20th century. On the one hand, leaders like Mahatma Gandhi welcomed the use of religion for nationalist mobilization. But they did not confine this approach only to Hindu religion. They used the symbols and language of Hinduism, Islam and other religions too. Thus they tried to bring members of different religious communities into the national movement and also promote unity among them.

The second approach was more exclusivist in nature and was reflected in the activities of organizations like Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League. Whereas the leaders of Hindu Mahasabha confined their activities only to Hindu, those of the Muslim League appealed only to Muslims. They also did not develop any understanding of Indian nationalism either by contributing to the unity of the Indian people or by engaging in persistent opposition to British colonial rule.

In the end it is important for you to understand some aspects of the relationship between various kinds of nationalisms that you have read in this Module. Although they may seem different from each other, they actually had many things in common. They were different from one another only to the extent that they followed different paths so come to the same destination. They were also not opposed to each other in any fundamental sense.

They were all opposed to the British colonial rule but their opposition was based on different grounds. The advocates of cultural nationalism believed that the colonial rule had started encroaching into Indian culture which should be resisted. The founders of economic nationalism argued that the colonial rule was economically exploiting India and was the main factor in keeping India backward. Similarly leaders like Bankim and Vivekanand opposed the British rule on the ground that it was tempering with the spiritual resources of India. All the three were opposed to the colonial rule because of its impact on the Indian people. Their ideas helped in the building of a powerful anti-colonial Indian national movement in the 20th century which finally defeated and overthrew the colonial rule from India.

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2.8 MAJOR EARLY UPRISINGS

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From 1760s to the Revolt of 1857, there were a large number of rebellions spreading over different parts of India. We will discuss these rebellions in two categories – the peasant uprising and the tribal uprisings.

PEASANT UPRISINGS

Growing burden of taxation, eviction from land and the Bengal famine led to the impoverishment of a large section of the peasantry. Many of these people being evicted from lands joined the bands of *Sanyasis* and *Fakirs*. Though they were religious mendicants they used to loot the grain stocks of the rich and the treasuries of the local government. The Sanyasis often distributed their wealth among the poor and established their own government. However, they could not sustain their struggle for long in the face of strong repressive measures of the British rulers. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee wrote a novel, *Anand Math* to immortalise the Sanyasi Rebellion.

Peasants of Rangpur and Dinajpur, two districts of Bengal, were aggrieved by the tyranny of the revenue contractors. One such revenue contractor, Debi Singh, created a reign of terror by torturing the peasants in order to collect taxes. When the British officials failed to protect the peasant, the peasants took the law in their own hands. They attacked the local catcheries and store houses of the contractors and government officials. The rebels formed their own government and stopped paying revenues to the Company agents. This rebellion was in 1783. The rebels were finally forced to surrender before the Company officials.

In South India, the situation was in no way different. The dispossessed landlords and displaced cultivators raised the banner of revolt. The poligars of Tamilnadu, Malabar and coastal Andhra revolted against the colonial rule in the late 18th and the early 19th century. The revolt of the Mappilas of Malabar was most significant. The Mappilas of Malabar were the descendants of the Arab settlers and converted Hindus. Majority of them were cultivating tenants, landless labourers, petty traders and fishermen.

The British conquest of Malabar in the last decade of the 18th century, and the introduction of the British land revenue administration in Malabar enraged the Mappilas. Over assessment, illegal taxes, eviction from land and the change in land ownership right caused growing discontentment among them. Thus, they rose in revolt against the British and the landlords. The religious leaders helped in strengthening the solidarity of Mappilas and in developing anti-British consciousness. These Mappilas were suppressed by the colonial rulers.

In Northern India the Jats of Western U.P. and Haryana revolted in 1824. In Western India Maharashtra was a common centre of uprising and Gujarat also

witnessed the revolt of the Kolis. We can add more to the list of peasant rebellions. But let us look at tribal uprisings.

TRIBAL UPRISINGS

The establishment of colonial rule also affected the tribal people. Living *outside the boundary of the mainstream population* the tribals lived in their own world being governed by their own traditions and customs. The colonial government extended their authority to the tribal lands and the tribals were subjected to various extortions. The tribals resented the entry of the colonial administration into their land.

Take the example of the Bhils of Khandesh and the Kols of Singhbhum (Bihar) who enjoyed independent power under their chiefs. But the British occupation of their territories and the entry of merchants, money-lenders and the British administration in these tribal lands curbed the authority of the tribal chiefs. This led the tribal leaders to revolt against the British rule and their target of attack were all the outsiders in the tribal territories. The insurrections were suppressed by the British.

Similarly, the Santhals had been living in a large tract of land in the border of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Their livelihood depended upon the flora and fauna of the jungle. *With the introduction of the British rule they were used to clear jungle lands and once they started cultivation on these lands, they were forcibly evicted.* Thus, penetration of landlords, merchants and money-lenders into their lands brought misery and oppression for the simple living Santhals. The oppression forced the Santhals to take up arms, and they found their leaders in two brothers, Sidhu and Kanu. It was believed that Sidhu and Kanu had blessings from the gods to bring an end to their miseries.

They decided to get hold of their lands and to set up their own government. The rebellious Santhals were supported by the local poors like the Gowallahas, Telis, Lohars and others. The rebellious Santhals ultimately failed in the face of the ruthless suppression by the British.

2.9 MILITANT NATIONALISM

The main objective of this section is to acquaint you with the general characteristics of *Militant Nationalism*. The militant nationalist brought about a departure in the national movement by adopting more radical methods of agitation than those followed by the earlier moderates. The prominent leaders of this phase of the national movement were Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh, Bipan Chandra Pal and the Late Lajpat Rai. Militant nationalism represented a distinct phase in the anti-colonial struggle. It introduced new methods of political

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agitation, involved popular symbols for mobilisation and thus tried to broad base the movement.

Militant Nationalism, as stated above, was a phase of Nationalism in India. It had all the features of Nationalism, besides certain distinctive features of its own. Let us take note of these general and specific features in turn.

THE ELEMENTS OF NATIONALISM

The essential elements of a Nation are territory, population and a sovereign state. For the growth of a nation the population must have certain characteristics which give it unity and separateness. These are a common language, a common race, a common religion and a common cultural tradition. Though none of these characteristics are completely present in every nation, they are generally present in a large degree. A nation may not have a single language. There may be many languages within it but it may still have a sense of national unity. There may be a common literary tradition though the languages may be many. It is the same with race, religion and cultural tradition. There can be differences in all these respects *within a broadly unified society*.

Common historical and cultural traditions can unite people very firmly. The sense of nationality is generally promoted by the memory of a people's shared experience of the past. This memory of the past is rekindled when a country is subjected to foreign rule and exploitation. A foreign rule always adversely affects the culture of a subject people. An important aspect of the anti-colonial movements is to recover the self-respect of the people and retrade indigenous culture. History confirms the truth that subjection to foreign rule, misgovernment and exploitation is the most powerful factor in creating the sense of nationalism.

Despite all these constitutive elements, nationalism is an abstraction. It is ultimately a *state of mind* of a group of people. The factors mentioned above help in its formation but above all it remains a psychological phenomenon.

DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF MILITANT NATIONALISM

With the background provided in the previous section, we can proceed to note the special characteristics of militant nationalism. The adjective 'militant' gives a fair idea of its distinctive nature. While nationalism is itself a very strong feeling and sentiment, militant nationalism is an even more vehement, assertive and aggressive feeling.

There can be two ways of winning freedom for a subject country. One is to impress upon the rulers that freedom is the birthright of the people and should be granted to them gracefully. This presumes that the alien rulers are open to reason and will quit of their own accord without being forced to do so by the subjects.

The other way is to attack the rulers and the government and bring their domination to an end, as it is futile to expect that colonial rulers will listen to reason and agree to surrender the gains and advantages of an empire.

The first may be described as the liberal or moderate method and the second as the militant method. Liberals or moderates may well be aware of the evils of foreign rule, but they do not consider it a total or unmitigated evil. The evils can be removed by gradual stages by convincing the rulers through representations and petitions and the normal process of argument. The benefits of a modern and civilised government ought not to be lost through impatience over temporary and curable complaints. The moderates regarded the British connection as part of a divine plan for the advance of India into the modern age.

The militant nationalists' attitude was entirely different. To them, the alien government was a total evil. It was the cause of political, economic, cultural and spiritual ruin of the country. The foreign ruler could never be trusted to vacate the country that he has gained by conquest. Persuasion, therefore, was futile; more forceful methods must be used and the moderates, according to them, were lacking in will and a sense of urgency. The difference between the moderates and the militant nationalist was radical, according to Lala Lajpat Rai. It was not one of speed, nor of method, but of fundamental principles. He pronounced that India would never evolve into a self-governing state, if it were to follow the methods of the moderates. He also said that unless the Congress took steps to change its nature and adopt direct methods of political action, some other movement might start with this object. The result would then be that the Congress would sink into insignificance. It was prophetic of him indeed to have said this in 1905, two years before the stormy session of the Congress at Surat in 1907.

MILITANT NATIONALISM AND TERRORIST REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM

We may note that though militant nationalism differed radically from liberal nationalism, it must be distinguished from revolutionary and terrorist anarchism. Political murder and assassination were not approved by the militant nationalists, though the extremists drew their inspiration from the creed of the militant nationalists. The connection between the two was at the most indirect. The militant nationalists were able to understand the extremists with greater sympathy. The extremists were, according to them misguided and reckless but it was all due to the harsh and repressive policies of the government.

It was a natural reaction on the part of the sensitive minds of the younger generation. B.C. Pal went to the extent of saying that what ultimately prevails in politics is force rather than right and therefore, one must not fail to use force when it is necessary. But like Tilak and Sri Aurobindo, he came to regard these methods as obsolete and inapplicable under Indian conditions, especially under

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the changed conditions towards the end of the first decade of the present century. These methods were bound to be ineffective, as the government had gained immensely in its power to crush extremist action. In Lala Lajpat Rai's words, "Violence for political purposes by unarmed people is madness. To talk of violent methods is also in my judgement criminal folly It will be nothing short of madness to rely on violence or even think of it under the present conditions of life in India."

MILITANT NATIONALISM: A HIGHLY EMOTIONAL, RELIGIOUS FEELING

In militant nationalism, each one of the factors of nationalism named earlier—territory, population, religion, race, etc. acquire an added emotional emphasis. For example, the territory of a nation is much more than geographical entity.

It is a sacred land. The motherland is considered as greater than heaven. It is a divinity in physical form and the embodiment of its philosophy of life and dharma. The mountains and rivers of the country are also more than physical objects. They are objects of worship. Sri Aurobindo wrote, "Whereas others regard the country as an inert mass and know it in terms of plains, fields, mountains and rivers, I look upon the country as the mother; I worship and adore her as the mother." Lajpat Rai in his letter to Ramsay Macdonald made this point even more explicit :

"To the Indian, or India is the land of the Gods - the Deva-Bhumi of his forefathers. It is the land of knowledge, of faith, of beatitude - the Gian-Bhumi, the Dharma-Bhumi and the Punya-Bhumi of the ancient Aryas. It is the land of the Vedas and of the heroes - the Veda-Bhumi and the Vir-Bhumi of his ancestors. You may call it foolish, impractical, sentimental and unprogressive; but there it is a mighty of life, into which no foreigner can penetrate."

THE MISSION OF THE NATION: SWAMI VIVEKANAND AND SWAMI DAYANAND SARASWATI

Every nation state believes, at least implicitly, that it is distinct from other nations and has a mission to carry out. Militant nationalism believes this more openly and emphatically. It holds that the people of a nation should become a free and sovereign nation state in order to live according to its own spirit and genius and contribute to the progress of mankind. India and the East, as compared with the West, have according to this view, a pronouncedly religious and spiritual character. National freedom and independence are necessary, as Sri Aurobindo said, because India has first of all to live for herself and then to live for the world. He wrote, "God has set apart India as the eternal fountain-head of holy spirituality,

and he will never suffer that fountain to run dry." "India is the 'guru' of the human soul in its profounder maladies, she is destined once more to new-mould the life of the world and to restore the peace of the human spirit."

Sri Aurobindo spoke of Hindu religion as, 'Sanatana Dharma', *Sanatana* meaning eternal and *Dharma* meaning that which holds together and unites society in the universal sense. It is more than a creed and a religion. These have a restricted meaning and can unite people together, but also divide them from other peoples. Sanatana Dharma is eternal as well as universal and transcends national distinctions and differences of creed. India is its home and it is India's mission to uphold it and convey it to the world. B.C. Pal expressed the meaning of Sanatana Dharma in similar terms. "The ideal (of Nationalism) is that of humanity in God, of God in humanity the ancient ideal of *Sanatana Dharma*, but applied as it has never been applied before to the problem of politics and the work of national revival. To realise that ideal, to impart it to the world is the mission of India."

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2.10 EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS UPTO 1885

One important effect of the introduction of western culture in India was the growth of modern political concepts like nationalism, political rights; etc. The Indian sub-continent witnessed the growth of political ideas and organizations hitherto unknown to the Indian world. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first Indian leader to start an agitation for political reforms in India. Many public associations were started in different parts of India after 1836. All these associations were dominated by wealthy and aristocratic elements-called in those days "prominent persons"- and were provincial or local in character. They worked for reform of administration, association of Indians with the administration, and spread of education and sent long petitions, putting forward Indian demands to the British Parliament.

The Bengal British India Society was founded in 1843 which in 1851, merged with the Landholders Society and formed the British Indian Association. The East India Association was organized by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866 in London to discuss the Indian question and influence public men in England to promote Indian welfare. The Indian Association of Calcutta was founded in 1876 by Surendrenath Bannerjee and Anand Mohan Bose. Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was founded in 1867 by M.G. Ranade and others, with the object of serving as a bridge between the Government and the people. The Bombay presidency Association was started by Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta and K.T. Telang in 1885, and the Madras Mahajan Sabha was founded in 1884 by M. Viraraghavachari, B. Subramiya Aiyer and P. Ananda Charlu.

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POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS BEFORE 1885

- Association of Landholders: Landholders Society (1837), Bengal British India Society (1843). In 1851, the two were merged to form the British Indian Association.
- Bombay Association and Madras Native Association Were established in 1852. They sent petitions suggesting changes in EIC's charter to end company's monopoly of salt and indigo.
- Associations like Poona Sarvjanik Sabha were established to promote reform and political consciousness.
- 1876— Indian Association was founded in Calcutta by Surendranath Banerjee, & Anand mohan Bose Madras.
- Mahajan Sabha and Bombay Presidency Association were established in 1884.
- In December 1883, the Indian Association of Surendra Nath Bannerjee & Anand mohan Bose decided to invite prominent public men and associations to discuss questions of general concern. This was referred to as the National Conference (in 1883) and is described as the 'dress rehearsal' for the Indian National Congress (INC).
- National Conference & Indian National Union (by A.O Hume in 1884) merged to form the Indian National Congress in 1885.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The time was now ripe for the formation of an all-India political organization of the nationalists who felt the need to unite politically against the common enemy-foreign rule and exploitation. Many Indians had been planning to form an all-India organization of nationalist political workers. But the credit for giving the idea concrete and final shape goes to A.O. Hume, a retired English civil servant. He got in touch with prominent Indian leaders and organized with their cooperation the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in December 1885. It was presided over by W.C. Bonnerjee and attended by 72 delegates. The aims of the National Congress were declared to be the promotion of friendly relations between nationalist political workers from different parts of the country, development and consolidation of the feeling of national unity irrespective of caste, religion or province, formulation of popular demands and their presentation before the government, and most important of all, the training and organization of public opinion in the country.

It has been said that Hume's main purpose in encouraging the foundation of the Congress was to provide a 'safety valve' or a safe outlet to the growing discontent among the educated Indians. He wanted to prevent the union of a

discontented nationalist intelligentsia with a discontented peasantry. The 'safety valve' theory is, however a small part of the truth and is totally inadequate and misleading. More than anything else, the National Congress represented the urge of the politically conscious Indians to set up a national organization to work for their political and economic advancement. Thus with the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the struggle for India's freedom was launched in a small but organized manner. The history of the Indian national movement can be divided into three phases. The first phase from the period 1885 to 1905 can be called the moderate phase, the second from the period 1905 to 1919, the period of extremism and finally the third period 1919 to 1947 as the Gandhian phase.

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Aims and Objectives of Congress

- Promotion of friendship amongst the countrymen.
- Development and consolidation of feeling of national unity irrespective of race, caste, religion or provinces.
- Formulation of popular demands and presentation before the Government through petitions.
- Training and organization of public opinion.
- Consolidation of sentiments of national unity.
- Recording of the opinions of educated classes on pressing problems.
- Laying down lines for future course of action in public interest.

2.11 THE MODERATES (1885-1905) : PROGRAMMES, PRINCIPLES, METHODOLOGY AND ACTIVITIES

The national leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, P.M. Mehta, W.C. Bannerjee, S.N. Bannerjee who dominated the Congress policies during the period 1885-1905 were staunch believers in liberalism and worked to procure for Indians freedom from race and creed prejudices, equality between man and man, equality before law, extension of civil liberties, extension of representative institutions etc. They genuinely believed that the continuation of India's political connection with Britain was in the interest of India at that stage of history. They believed in the British sense of justice and fairplay.

They believed that a direct struggle for the political emancipation of the country was not yet on the agenda of history. They believed that their main purpose was to educate the masses, heighten national consciousness create a consensus on political issues and to convince the British government about the justness of their demands. The moderates believed in constitutional agitation within the four corners of the law and slow orderly political progress. Gradualism and constitutionalism were the key concepts.

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The early nationalists carefully analyzed the political economy of British rule in India and put forward the 'Drain Theory' to explain British exploitation of India. The moderates also put forward a number of constitutional reforms like expansion and reform of the legislative Councils in particular they demanded Indian control over the public purse and raised the slogan of "No taxation without representation". The British Government was forced by their agitation to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Later on they put forward the claim of self government within the British empire on the model of self governing colonies like Australia and Canada.

The most important administrative reform they desired was Indianization of the higher grades of the administrative purposes. They urged the government to undertake and develop welfare activities like expansion of education, development of agricultural banks and extension of irrigation facilities, extension of medical and health facilities etc. The early nationalists also put up a strong defense of these civil rights namely freedom of speech, the Press thought and association. Whenever the government tried to curtail them.

If we critically evaluate the work of the moderates, it appears that they did not achieve much success. Very few of the reforms by them were carried out. The moderates failed to acquire any roots among the common people as they had a narrow social base. Their methods were described as "halting and half hearted" Their methods were described as those of mendicancy or beggary through prayers and petitions. However historically viewed, the moderates achieved a lot. It succeeded in creating a wide national awakening, in arousing among the people the feeling that they belonged to a common nation – the Indian nation. It made the people of India conscious of the bonds of the common political, economic, social and cultural interests and the existence if a common in imperialism and thus helped to wield them in a common nationality. In spite of many failures, they laid strong foundation for the national movement to grow upon.

THE MODERATES

The Congress programme during the first phase of the Freedom Movement (1885-1905) was very moderate.

- It demanded mild constitutional reforms, economic relief, administrative reorganization and protection of civil rights.
- A strong point made by the nationalists during this phase was about the economic drain of India.
- Political methods of the moderates were constitutional agitations within four walls.

- Moderates believed that the British people & parliament wanted to be just to India but did not know the true state of affairs.

The other important demands were :

- Organisation of the provincial councils.
- Simultaneous holding of examinations for the I.C.S in India and England.
- Reconstitution of the Indian Council, 1892.
- The separation of the judiciary from the executive, and the repeal of the Arms Act.
- The appointment of Indians to the commissioned ranks in the Army.
- The reduction of military expenditure etc.
- Indianisation of higher grades of the administrative services on economic, political & moral grounds.

During the first twenty years (1885-1905) there was practically no change in the Congress programme. The leaders were cautious in their demands. They did not want to annoy the government and incur the risk of suppression.

To pacify them, the government was forced to pass the Indian Councils Act, 1892 but the moderates raised the slogan No taxation without representation.

However, during this period, a general impression grew that the Moderates were political mendicants only petitioning and praying to the British Government for petty concessions. This was because early Congress leaders believed that the presence of the British administration was important for continued political progress in India.

MODERATE-LED ANTI-PARTITION MOVEMENT (1903-05)

- Under Surendranath Banerjee, K.K.Mitra, Prithwish Chandra Kay.
- Public meeting, petitions, memoranda, propaganda through newspapers and pamphlets.

2.12 GROWTH OF EXTREMISM

The closing 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. This group 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. There were certain causes which were responsible for the birth of the new group. The political events of the years 1892 to 1905 disappointed the nationalists and made them think of more radical politics.

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The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was a complete failure. A sharp reaction was created in the Indian minds by Curzon's seven year rule in India which was full of missions, commissions and omissions. Administrative measures adopted during his rule the Official Secret's Act, the Indian Universities Act, the Calcutta Corporation Act and above all, the Partition of Bengal (1905) –left no doubts in Indian minds about the basically reactionary nature of British Rule in India. Several events abroad during this period tended to encourage the growth of militant nationalism in India.

The rise of modern Japan after 1868 showed that a backward Asian country could develop itself without western control. The defeat of the Italian army by the Ethiopians in 1896 and of Russia by Japan in 1905 exploded the myth of European superiority. Revolutionary movements in Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey and China convinced the Indians that a united people willing to make sacrifices could challenge the most powerful of despotic governments. The most outstanding leaders of militant nationalism were Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai.

MOVEMENT UNDER EXTREMISTS (1905-08)

- Led by Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai, and Aurobindo Ghosh.
- The political extremists demanded self-government for India, not under British tutelage or British Paramountcy (as the Moderates wished), but by severing all British connections, and wiping off British influences. Methods included boycott of foreign cloth and other goods, public meeting and Processions, forming corps of volunteers or samitis.
- Use of traditional popular festivals and melas for propaganda.
- Emphasis on self-reliance or atma shakti.
- Launching programme of swadeshi or national education, swadeshi or indigenous enterprises.
- Initialing new trends in Indian painting, songs, poetry, pioneering research in science.
- Call for boycott of schools, colleges, councils, government service, etc.
- The students of Bengal played a prominent part. They practiced & propagated Swadeshi.
- Remarkable aspect was the involvement of women.
- Many prominent Muslims including Abdul Rasul, Liaquat Hussain. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad also joined the movement.
- Tilak played the leading role in spreading the movement to the rest of the country.

Swaraj for the extremists meant "complete freedom from foreign control and full independence to manage national affairs without any foreign restraints. They hated foreign rule and had no faith in the benevolence of the British public or Parliament. 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 also affirmed their faith in passive resistance, mass agitation and strong will to suffer or make self-sacrifices. The extremists advocated boycott of the foreign goods, use of swadeshi goods, national education and passive resistance.

The conditions for the emergence of militant nationalism had thus 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 parts: Eastern Bengal and Assam with a population of 31 million and the rest of Bengal with a population of 54 million consisting of Bengalees, Biharis and Oriyas. The official reason given for the decision was that Bengal was too big to be administrated properly. However the real motive behind the partition plan was the British desire to weaken the nerve centre of Indian nationalism- Bengal, on communal grounds by creating a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims.

The Indian National Congress and the nationalists of Bengal firmly opposed the partition. The anti-partition movement was initiated on 7 August 1905 at the Town Hall, Calcutta, where a massive demonstration against the partition was organized. The partition took effect on 16 October, 1905. It was observed as day of national mourning and hartal throughout Bengal. Rabindranath Tagore composed the national song, "Amar Sonar Bangla", for the occasion which was sung by a huge crowd parading the streets. The ceremony of Raksha Bandhan was utilized in a unique way where Hindus and Muslims tied rakhis on one another's wrist as a symbol of unbreakable unity. To make their protest more powerful the Swadeshi and Boycott movement was launched. Mass meetings were held all over Bengal where Swadeshi or the use of Indian goods and the boycott of British goods were proclaimed and pledged. In many places public burning of foreign cloth were organized and shops selling foreign cloth were picketed. Soon the movement spread to other parts of the country in Poona and Bombay under Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, in Delhi, under Syed Haider Raza and in Madras under Chidambaram Pillai. An important aspect of the Swadeshi movement was the emphasis placed on self reliance or Atmashakti. Self reliance meant assertion of national dignity, honor and self confidence. In economic field, it meant indigenization of the industry.

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Many textile mills, soaps and match factories national banks and insurance companies were started. As a consequence of the Swadeshi movement, there was a flowering of nationalist poetry, prose and journalism. Another self reliant, constructive activity undertaken at the time was that of National education. National educational institutional institutions were opened by them and literary, technical and physical education was given there. On 15 August 1906, a National Council of Education was set up. A National College with Aurobindo Ghose as principal was started in Calcutta. The extremists also gave a call for passive resistance. They asked the people to refuse to cooperate with the Government and to boycott government service, the courts, governments' schools and colleges, and municipalities and legislative councils.

A prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation was played by the students of Bengal and women. Many prominent Muslims joined the Swadeshi Movement. The British Government tried to suppress the extremists by passing a number of restrictions.

THE IDEOLOGIES OF EXTREMISTS

Attachment to rationalism and western ideals had almost alienated the 'Liberal' (Moderate) school from the masses in India. Socio-religious reform also influenced the extremists ideology. Movements like Ramakrishna Paramahansa and his disciple, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda, and the Arya Samaj founded by him with a strong emphasis in native pride, played a vital role in the birth of extremist philosophy.

They derived inspiration from their traditional cultural values wanted to have relations with other countries in terms of quality and self-respect. They opposed the Moderates who were considered by them to be servile and respectful to the British.

They gave a call for passive resistance in addition to Swadeshi & boycott —

- Social Reform Movements like Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society gave impetus to political radicalism. The political radicals derived inspiration from their traditional cultural values.
- There were three groups of extremists— The Maharashtra Group (headed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak), The Bengal Group (represented by B C Pal and Aurobindo) and the Punjab group (led by Lala Lajpat Rai.).
- Aurobindo published *New Lamps for Old* in the *Indu Prakash* in 1853-94. It was the first systematic critique of the Moderates.
- Tilak resented any interference by an alien government into the domestic and private life of the people. He quarreled with the reformers over the Age of Consent Bill in 1891.

- Tilak asserted, 'Swaraj is My Birth Right and I will have it'. He was also the editor of the Maratta (English) and the Kesari (Marathi).

REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF EXTREMISTS

1. Realization that the true nature of British rule was exploitative.
2. International influences and events, which demolished the myth of white/European supremacy. These included—
 - Abyssinia's (Ethiopia) victory over Italy.
 - Boer Wars (1899-1902) in which the British faced reverses.
 - Japan's victory over Russia (1905).
 - Nationalist movements worldwide.
3. Dissatisfaction with the achievements of Moderates.
4. Reactionary policies of Curzon such as the Calcutta Corporation Act (1899), the Official Secrets Act (1904), the Indian Universities Act (1904) and partition of Bengal (1905).
5. Existence of a militant school of thought and the emergence of a trained leadership.

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MODERATES AND THE EXTREMISTS

Moderates : Constituted of zamindars and upper middle classes in towns. Believed that the movement should be limited to middle class intelligentsia and that the masses were not yet ready for participation in political work. Inspired by western liberal thought and European history. Professed loyalty to the British Crown, believed in England's providential mission in India believed and that political connections with Britain to be in India's social, political and cultural interests. Demanded constitutional reforms and share for Indians in services and insisted on the use of constitutional methods only.

Extremists : Constituted of educated middle and lower middle classes in towns and had immense faith in the capacity of masses to participate and to make sacrifices. Inspired by Indian history, cultural heritage and Hindu traditional symbols. Believed that political connections with Britain would perpetuate British exploitation of India and rejected 'providential mission theory' as an illusion. Demanded swaraj as the panacea for India's ills. Did not hesitate to use extra constitutional methods like boycott and passive resistance to achieve their objectives.

CONFLICT AND SURAT SPLIT

Tilak was unpopular with the Moderate group of Bombay. At the Calcutta Congress (1906) Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo wanted Tilak to become the

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President of the Congress. But the Moderates were in no mood to accept him. P Mehta, MM Malaviya and Gokhale were heckled and booed. Ultimately a compromise was hurriedly made and the agreeable resolutions on the partition of Bengal.

Swadeshi and Boycott were phrased and they secured a smooth passage in the open session. With the foundation of the Deccan Sabha the division between the Extremists and the Moderates in Maharashtra was complete. The Congress split in 1907 at Surat under the presidentship of Rash Behari Ghosh.

The agitation following the partition of Bengal brought into prominence the rise of extremists which differed in some essential points from the Moderates which had hitherto dominated the National Congress. The differences between the two came out in the open at Surat session of Congress in 1907 which led to split in Congress.

2.13 POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE EARLY NATIONALISM PHASE

The development of the nationalist idea right from the early days went through an intricate course. Veneration of the British empire was so strikingly articulated by Dadabhai Nauroji in 1885 at the first session of the Congress in the following words : "What makes us proud to be British subjects, what attaches us to this foreign rule with deeper loyalty is the fact that Britain is the parent of free and representative government" As mentioned, this was a dominant idea, in varying degrees among the intellectuals and leaders of early nationalism. They realized the economic ruin and immiseration of Indian people as a result of British rule. Indian economy according to Dadabhai Nauroji was subjected to heavy 'drain' of resources.

This, he considered, the outcome of what he called "drain" theory. In fact, his critique of Indian economy was based on factors independent of British rule: dependence on agriculture, lack of capital, antiquated credit system etc. He therefore advocated commercialization of agriculture and industrialization.

It was only later that Aurobindo Ghosh and S.N. Banerjee developed a case for self-government. Such an idea was never on the agenda of earlier nationalists, whose main emphasis, as you have seen was on reforms. Essentially the debate was whether social reforms should precede political reforms or vice versa. Banerjee thought self-government would increase efficiency in administration. Moreover, he believed it to be India's mission to be the spiritual guide of mankind, which could not be fulfilled unless India itself was free. Aurobindo Ghosh considered that a foreign government by its very nature was bound to deny freedom to the individual to develop self-expression. He also considered self-government essential

for completeness and full development of national strength. Nationalism to him was a "religion that has come from God."

Swaraj became the clarion call of later nationalists *i.e.*, the 'extremists', though they still defined swaraj as self-government within the Empire. Tilak took up the theme of the country's economic drain once again, which he wanted to be stopped forthwith along with revival of industries killed by foreign competition. Radical nationalists led by B.G. Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh and B.C. Pal, advocating direct methods of boycott of British goods and passive resistance denounced the colonial rule and gave the call of Swadeshi. In reaction to liberal glorification of colonial rule, they emphasised the achievements of Ancient India. To meet the challenges of nationalist political consciousness, colonial rulers introduced an elective element into the legislature through the reforms of 1892, 1909 and the Government of India Act 1919.

The radical nationalists opposed the reforms, but by and large it was received well in the beginning. Gandhi, who had initially supported the idea of cooperation in working the reforms, had changed his opinions by 1921 and declared that the reforms "were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging servitude." Anti-colonial ideas started gaining immense strength in the aftermath of the first nationalist movement of an all India character, the Non-cooperation movement in the early 1920s. The loosely connected Left-Wing of the Congress launched vigorous anti-imperialist campaign and advocated an uncompromising rule in bringing about the political and administrative unification of the country and arousal of political consciousness; recognition of Western values of knowledge and their substantiation by ancient Indian scriptures; need of a national movement across the barriers of race, caste, religion and sex; and advocacy of regional and religious symbols and sex; and advocacy of regional and religious symbols for political mobilisation. Gandhi's concepts of 'Swarajya' (self-government), 'Swadeshi' (Indian) and Bahishkar (boycott of foreign goods) provided the future programme for the anti-colonial struggle.

It can be seen therefore, that what can be called Indian Nationalism comprised of innumerable streams of thought.

The first assertions of nationalism in India were mixed with a strong sense of religious revivalism — an appeal to the past, a fervent call to revive the pristine glory of the Hindu Golden Age.

This was preceded by the moderate nationalists whose main critique of colonialism was, as we have seen, against either the economic impact of British rule, or against the "bureaucratic aspects" of it. The methods of this school of moderate nationalists were constitutionalist, limited primarily to issuing appeals and petitions.

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The militant nationalists, on the other hand, grasped fully the contradiction between the Indian people and colonial rule, and therefore advocated a more decisive break with colonial rule. They were however, thoroughly imbued with religion, which made use of religious ceremonies for mobilizations. The student religiosity of such nationalism alienated the Muslims from the nationalist movement.

The militant nationalists also drew great inspiration from the life of Mazzini and the history of the Italian risorgimento. The third stream of nationalists, *i.e.*, the revolutionary nationalists were also for the most part ideologically revivalist who believed in Swaraj, and sought to achieve it through any means, including revolutionary violence. Their chief source of inspiration ranged from the Russian Narodinka to Mazzini.

DADABHAI NAOROJI AND HIS IDEAS

Dadabhai Naoroji was a Parsi intellectual and educator, and an early Indian political leader. He was a Member of Parliament in the Parliament of the United Kingdom between 1892 and 1895, and the first Asian to be a British MP. The son of Maneckbai and Naoroji Palanji Dordi, a poor Athornan Parsi family, Naoroji was educated at Elphinstone College and later became a teacher. By 1855 he was Professor of Mathematics and Natural philosophy. He moved to England in 1855, first working in business, later becoming professor of Gujarati at University College London. In 1867 Naoroji helped establish the East India Association. In 1874 he became Prime Minister of Baroda and was also a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay (1885-88). He also founded the Indian National Association from Calcutta a few years before the founding of the Indian National Congress in Bombay, with the same objectives and practices. The two groups later merged into the INC, and Naoroji was elected President of the Congress in 1886. Naoroji moved to Britain once again and continued his political involvement. Elected for the Liberal Party in Central Finsbury in July 1892, he was the first British Indian MP.

He refused to take the oath on the Bible as he was not a Christian, but was allowed to take the oath of office in the name of God on his small book of Avesta. In Parliament he spoke on Irish Home Rule and the condition of the Indian people. In his political campaign and duties as an MP, he was assisted by Muhammed Ali Jinnah, the future Muslim nationalist and founder of Pakistan. In 1906, Naoroji was again elected president of the Indian National Congress. Naoroji was a staunch moderate within the Congress, during the phase when opinion in the party was split between the moderates and extremists. By the time of his death in 1917, Naoroji was known as the 'Grand Old Man of India', a mentor to Mahatma Gandhi. He was married to Gulbai from the age of eleven.

In every regime, even in the most oppressive one, there might be some people or groups who benefit from the existing system and flourish. The same was the case during the British period. There were many rajas, maharajas, nawabs, zamindars, talukdars, mahajans and saukars who lived in full satisfaction and without the least anxiety. But was the nation as a whole, happy and prosperous? Clearly no, because though a few classes enjoyed, masses suffered. It was sectarian economic appeasement. The country lacked the environment of economic nationalism, in which the whole nation could enjoy the fruits of progress and production. In the words of B.G. Tilak, "A country cannot be said to have economically speaking improved so long as the conditions of the toiling majority in that country have not improved." The Indian nationalist leaders, especially during the last quarter of nineteenth century, made their focus of attention the condition of masses, and not that of classes. Expressing the same spirit the famous educationist reformer Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) once observed, "To me the national honour refers to a state in which the whole nation is satisfied, majority is equipped with skill and knowledge, and all existing sciences and technology, industries and inventions are found in, the nation."

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Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) was among the leading nationalist leaders who aroused the feeling of economic nationalism and propagated for it. The most instrumental in this regard had been the theory of drain. In the following pages we would like to study that theory and its role in awakening the desire and movement to achieve economic nationalism. We shall also examine the stages through, which Dadabhai passed from economic nationalism to political nationalism or the self-rule which was his final call. The section will conclude with a remark that economic nationalism and political nationalism are complementary and supplementary to each other and none will be realized in true sense of the word without the achievement of other.

Drain – An National Loss

The theory of drain is not the invention of Dadabhai Naoroji. About 230 years ago in 1776 Adam Smith in his work *The Wealth of Nations* described the British rulers of India as 'plunderers of India'. In 1857 Karl Marx used almost the same words as used by Dadabhai Naoroji to describe the drain. Dadabhai himself refers to about a dozen of Britishers among his predecessors and contemporaries who vouched for drain. In the 19th century the drain of wealth from India to England took the form of unrequited surplus of export over import. It was in 1867 that for the first time Dadabhai Naoroji in his paper 'England's Debt to India' put forward the idea that Britain was extracting wealth from India as a price of her rule in India, that out of the revenues raised in India, nearly one-fourth went clean out of the country and was added to the resources of England',

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and that India was consequently 'being bled'. Dadabhai Naoroji dedicated his life to propagation of the drain theory and to launching a roaring campaign against the drain which was considered by him to be the fundamental evil of British rule in India.

Since the statistical methods and standardized techniques of national income calculation were not very developed at that time, there was difference of opinion on the volume and extent of wealth transferred to England from India. But the fact that there was continuous drain of wealth from India to England was undisputed issue among the nationalist leaders at that time. Only the agents and some officials of British government did not accept the drain in toto and criticized it. But the truth could not be suppressed much longer.

Expression of Love and Loyalty to British Rule — A Persuasive Tactics

Dadabhai Naoroji was an admirer of British character and system. He acknowledged wholeheartedly the British contribution to India regarding education, centralized administration, discipline, political unification of the country, railways, telegraphs, hospitals, security, etc. But he could not reconcile himself to the outcome of British rule in India. To him the British rule in India was un-British in character. Hence the title of his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. He expressed his earnest desire to see in India the true British government. While addressing a meeting in England in aid of the Indian Famine Relief Fund on July 1, 1900, he said, "If it were British rule and not un-British rule which governed us, England would be benefited ten times more than it is."

Dadabhai Naoroji adopted a persuasive approach to cure the malpractices of British rule and get the drain checked. He frequently referred to British government's pledges and assurances given to Indians. He used to quote many British officials about the importance of India to British empire and that India's prosperity was a pre requisite for Britain's prosperity. Perhaps it was his persuasive tactics that he reiterated in the 2nd session of the Indian National Congress that this Congress was not a nursery for sedition and rebellion against the British government and that it was another stone in the foundation of the stability for that government'. Again in the ninth session of the Congress in Lahore in 1893 he declared, "We, the Congress are only desirous of supporting government, and having this important matter of poverty grappled with the settled, we are anxious to prevent the political danger of the most serious order declared to exist by the secretary of state himself. We desire that the British connection should endure for a long time to come for the sake of our material and political elevation among the civilized nations of the world". He also appealed to the morale of the British people and the government, and emphasized on cooperation to strengthen the British government.

Realisation of Actual British Character and Intention

But all this was in vain. There was no sign of change in British policy of exploitation and suppression. Realising this, Dadabhai Naoroji started expressing his displeasure and disapproval of British rule in India. '... Is it just and fair, is it British that all the cost of such greatness and glory, and the prosperity of United Kingdom should be entirely, to the last farthing thrown upon the wretched Indians, as if the only relation existing between the United Kingdom and India were not of mutual benefit, but of mere masters and slaves. . . ?' He exposed the reality of protection provided by the British government. He said, "The way you secure life and property is by protecting it from open violence by anybody else, taking care that you yourselves should take away that property". In 1895 he clearly understood the aims and objectives of the government in colonization of India and declared that British India was indeed the British India and not Independent India. But he was slow in putting forward the radical demands.

Shift in His Stand

Dadabhai Naoroji exposed the danger of drain forcefully and pointed out its impact on the Indian economy. According to him, it was drain that caused and intensified the famines in India. It was the fundamental cause of mass poverty. The drain was not limited to that of wealth but there was political and intellectual drain too. The drain was a slow poisoning to the India's national economy. According to Dadabhai Naoroji the injury inflicted to India by earlier foreign invaders was limited; it was once and over. But the British rule in India was an unending chain of drain and exploitation.

Dadabhai Naoroji opposed the opium trade of Britain with China from the Indian land. According to him this being an act of immorality covered the intensity of drain. Had it been stopped, the British government would be fully exposed. The British government was behaving with India like a step mother. The other British colonies, e.g., Australia, are advancing and flourishing, but India's condition was worsening day by day.

Call for Political Nationalism and Self-Rule

Dadabhai spent his full energy to propagate the theory of drain. After years of reconciling effort and persuasion of British authorities, he was disappointed from lack of any reform on the part of British rulers and accordingly the sentiment of disloyalty crept into him whose full demonstration we find in his speeches of 1904 and 1905 in which he declared that the self-government is the only solution for India's misery. In his message of the Benares session of the Indian National Congress he asserted, "Without self-government the Indians can never get rid of their present drain, and the consequent impoverishment, misery, and destruction." Thus, he was guided from economic nationalism to political nationalism, and

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that the former could not be achieved without the latter. As early as in 1876, in his essay on 'Poverty of India', he laid stress on the fact that Britain was able to keep back a large part of India's exports chiefly because of the political position it held over India. In 1896, he wrote a letter to Welby in which in an unambiguous term he stressed that drain was all simply the result of the unnatural administration and management of Indian resources by an alien country. He reiterated that Indians must have their full share of public employment and a voice in their own expenditure.

In Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, Dadabhai was overemphatic when he declared in his presidential address that all the political demands of the Indian people could be summed up in one word, 'self-government or swaraj', like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE AND HIS POLITICAL THOUGHTS

In order to understand Gokhale's political thought it would be essential to first see the manner in which Gokhale's political career developed. It would be quite clear that his political activities are intimately linked with his beliefs and various influences that guided him.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born in a middle class Chitpavan Brahmin family at Kotluk - a small village in Ratnagiri district on May 9, 1866. His father Krishnarao was employed first as a clerk but later on rose to the position of police sub-inspector. He died when Gopalrao was hardly thirteen years old, leaving two sons and four daughters behind. Govindrao, the elder brother of Gopalrao shouldered the responsibility of the family.

Gopalrao took his primary education at Kagal near Kolhapur and completed his matriculation in the year 1881. He had his higher education in three different colleges viz., the Rajaram College at Kolhapur, the Deccan College at Pune and the Eliphinston College at Bombay from where he completed his graduation in 1884. At one time he thought of becoming an engineer but ultimately decided to devote himself to the cause of education.

In Pune a band of patriotic young men had already started a secondary school, called The New English School, under the inspiration of a veteran nationalist Vishnushastri Chiplunkar. Gopalrao accepted the job of a teacher in the New English School. His sincerity impressed the proprietors of the Deccan Education Society, and they made him a life-member of the Society. Soon Gopalrao was promoted to the post of lecturer in Fergusson College - a college run by the Deccan Education Society itself, and since then he devoted almost eighteen years of his life to the teaching career.

During his teaching career he was introduced to M.G. Ranade and since then he volunteered his talents and services to the cause of public life under the

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able guidance of Ranade. He became the Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha—a public body that was chiefly activated by M.G. Ranade to articulate the interests of the common people. The Sabha had its influential quarterly and Gopalrao worked as an editor of the quarterly. For some years he also wrote in the English Section of the journal 'Sudharak' started by Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, a veteran social reformer in nineteenth century Maharashtra.

In the year 1889 Gopalrao attended the session of the Indian National Congress for the first time and since then he was a regular speaker at its meetings.

In 1896 when Tilak and his associates captured the Sarvajanik Sabha Ranade and his followers including Gokhale dissociated themselves from the Sabha and founded a new association called the Deccan Sabha. Gokhale took keen interest in the activities of the Sabha. On behalf of the Sabha he was sent to England to give evidence before the Welby Commission which was appointed by the Government to suggest ways of more equitable distribution of expenses of the administration between the British and the Indian Government. This was his first trip to England. His excellent performance raised a lot of expectations.

In 1899 he was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council. In 1902 he retired from the Fergusson College and devoted the remaining thirteen years of his life entirely to political work. During this period he was elected, term after term, to the Imperial Legislative Council where he made a mark as an eminent Parliamentarian. His budget-speeches, in particular, have become classics as they contained so much constructive but at the same time fearless criticism of the Government's fiscal policies.

At the instance of Mahatma Gandhi, Gokhale also took keen interest in the affairs of the Indians in South Africa. In 1910 and 1912 he moved resolutions in the Imperial Legislative Council for relief to Indian indentured labour in Natal. He went to South Africa at Gandhi's invitation in 1912 and played a significant role in tackling the problems of Indians settled there. In 1913 he raised funds for helping the South African Satyagraha Movement. Gokhale's strenuous routine ultimately caused his untimely death in Feb. 1915.

Formative Influences

Political thought and ideas do not evolve in a vacuum. They emerge in a particular social atmosphere. A thinker is a product of his times. Gokhale was no exception. His ideas and thinking were influenced mainly by the leading personalities of his time and the events he encountered.

As a product of the British educational system Gokhale was bound to acquire a modern outlook towards life which characterised the English educated elite of his time. During his student days he learnt by heart Beaten's 'Public Speaker', repeated passages from Bacon's 'Essays' and 'The Advancement of

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Learning', mastered Fawcett's 'Political Economy' and memorised Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution. All this had a far reaching effect on the development of his political ideas. The liberal philosophy of John Stuart Mill made a profound impression on him and he was particularly inspired by Mill's political doctrines. As a student of history, Gokhale was particularly impressed by the Irish Home Rule Movement. The coherence, dynamism and democratic evolution of European history, considerably influenced his thinking and led him to believe that there is much to learn from the West.

Among the Indian personalities it was M.G. Ranade who influenced Gokhale to a great extent. Gokhale always took pride in being a follower of Ranade. He was particularly impressed by the social and economic ideas of Ranade. While Gokhale had a deep respect for the sacrifice made by nationalist leaders like Tilak and others. He was not much attracted by their nationalist ideology and this made him move closer to the moderate thinkers like D.E. Wacha and Pherozezshah Mehta, who exercised considerable influence on him in matters of party organisation and technique.

Contemporary liberal politicians in England such as Morley and others also had a considerable influence on Gokhale's political career. Gokhale always looked to Gladstone and Morley with a reverential attitude and believed that they would apply just Principles to the governance of India. Gokhale's political thinking essentially represented the liberal ethos of his time and it was that liberalism which shaped his social and political ideas.

Political Activities

In his political views Gokhale grew to be a moderate, liberal and constitutionalist. He was a realist or practical idealist stressing on the possible, desirable and attainable. He transformed the field of practical politics into one of the political ethics. He was against fruitless political agitation. Though loyal to the British government, he wanted it to work for the welfare of the people in India. He told Britishers, "It is not wrong to love one's country." He visited England seven times and pleaded the causes of India in most impressive manner. During his first visit in 1897 he said at a public meeting, "Indian people were living under a despotic and perfectly irresponsible government".

In 1905 he demanded self-government and replacement of the Britishers by Indians to manage their own affairs. He advocated constitutional methods for the realisation of his goal which included passive resistance and other democratic procedures. In all his visits to England he carried the voice of Indian nationalism to the people of that country. He was a humanist and did not subscribe to the myth of European hegemony and superiority. He denounced the privileges conferred on English men in the name of race. He transformed the congress into a forum recognised by the government and supported by people. He gave a

direction and a vision to the congress and helped it in overcoming many crisis. Paying tribute to him Lord Curzon once said, "I have never met a man of any nationality more gifted with what one could describe in this country as parliamentary capacities, than was Mr. Gokhale." In 1915 Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay requested Gokhale to suggest constitutional reforms. Gokhale suggested autonomy for provinces. He wanted Indians to take over the control of the country by peaceful and constitutional methods against radical approach. On this issue he was opposed by some of his friends like Tilak and Lajpat Rai.

Responses to British Rule in India

Like most of the liberal Indian thinkers of his time Gokhale appreciated and welcomed the British rule in India. His appreciation of the British rule and particularly his insistence on the continuation of the British rule in India were based on two premises. In the first instance, like all the moderates, Gokhale was convinced that it was because of British rule that the process of modernisation of the Indian society had set in. The British upheld the concept of equality before law, they introduced the principle of representative government (on however limited a scale it might be) they guaranteed the freedom of speech and press. All these things were certainly new. It was again the British who set in the process of political integration in India. There was much for Indians to learn from the British and hence, Gokhale pleaded that we should bear with them for some time and make progress in the field of industry, commerce, education and politics. Gokhale was convinced that if British rule continued for some time, India would be *modernised completely and eventually join the community of nations like any other independent state in Europe.*

Gokhale believed that in keeping with their liberal traditions, the British would fulfill their pledges and bestow on India self-government once Indians qualified themselves for the same. This concept of 'England's pledges to India' was built upon the declarations of Thomas Munro, Macaulay, Henri Lawrence and above all Queen Victoria's Proclamation. In spite of the fact that from the end of Ripon's viceroyalty in 1884 to the August-Declaration of 1917 successive Viceroys and Secretaries of India emphatically repudiated the feasibility of introducing English political institutions to India, Gokhale still believed that by appealing to the British sense of liberalism, by convincing them of India's genuine capabilities the British would ultimately be convinced and would introduce to India western political institutions. It was this faith in British liberalism that made Gokhale plead for the continuance of the British rule in India.

His justification for the continuance of the British rule in India did not mean that he was totally satisfied with the British administration in India. For instance, he was a bitter critic of the high handedness of the Curzonian administration. He also argued on many occasions that the British raj was more

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raj and less British in the sense that it was reluctant to introduce English parliamentary institutions to India, yet he believed that British rule was destined to accomplish its providential mission in India.

Gokhale sincerely felt that the history of India had nothing to offer so far as the development of democratic political institutions was concerned. In a paper read before the Universal Races Congress, London, July, 1911, Gokhale admitted, "India did not develop the national idea of political freedom as developed in the west." He was convinced that the social and political institutions of the country must be reformed in the image of the west. To him the European history presented a wellmarked evolution of the democratic idea and was therefore useful in shaping our ideas of liberty and democracy. The British connection would definitely serve this purpose and hence he welcomed the British rule in India. In one of his letters to his friend Gokhale wrote : "You must all realise that whatever be the shortcomings of bureaucracy ... however the insolence of individual Englishman, they alone stand today in the country for order; and without continued order no real progress is the 19th Century possible for our people." Thus to Gokhale British rule in India stood for social order which was the pre-condition of progress and hence he justified the continuance of British rule in India.

Political Goals

As we have noted from the discussion that Gokhale was liberal and through the technique of liberalism, he had the following political goals to achieve.

1. **Constructive Statesmanship** : Gokhale believed in constructive programmes. As a statesman, his political philosophy contained both idealism and realism. He was called idealistic because of his lofty ideas of nationalism and purity of life. He was a realist because he never wandered about abstract idealism. He believed that attainment of self-government was only possible under the framework of the British kingdom, hence he believed in the policy of gradual achievement of self-government.
2. **Moderation** : Gokhale advocated for the British rule in India. He marked British as guardians of India and hence pursued a policy of loyal cooperation. He liked the British Liberalism and had faith in British conscience to get justice and fairplay.
3. **Political Justice** : Gokhale was of the opinion that English politicians would do justice to India. In his budget speech in Indian Legislative Council in year 1902 he said : "What is needed is that we should be enabled to feel that we have a government, national in spirit though foreign in personal, a government which subordinate all other considerations to the welfare of Indian people, which resents the indignities offered to Indians abroad as though they were offered to Englishmen, and which endeavours by all

means in its power to further the moral and material interest of the people in India and outside India. The Statesman who evokes such a feeling among the Indian people will render a great and glorious service to this country and will secure for himself an abiding place in the hearts of our people. "

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Servants of India Society

In 1905, when Gokhale was elected president of the Indian National Congress and was at the height of his political power, he founded the Servants of India Society to specifically further one of the causes dearest to his heart: the expansion of Indian education. For Gokhale, true political change in India would only be possible when a new generation of Indians became educated as to their civil and patriotic duty to their country and to each other. Believing existing educational institutions and the Indian Civil Service did not do enough to provide Indians with opportunities to gain this political education, Gokhale hoped the Servants of India Society would fill this need. In his preamble to the SIS's constitution, Gokhale wrote that "The Servants of India Society will train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of country in a religious spirit, and will seek to promote, by all constitutional means, the national interests of the Indian people."

The Society took up the cause of promoting Indian education in earnest, and among its many projects organized mobile libraries, founded schools, and provided night classes for factory workers. Although the Society lost much of its vigor following Gokhale's death, it still exists to this day, though its membership is small.

Economic and Social Ideas

As noted earlier Gokhale's economic and social ideas constitute a part of his political thinking. He was not an economist in the strict sense of the term. Neither was he a social thinker with deep sociological insight. However, as a leader of the Congress and as a member of the legislature Gokhale had to ponder over many socio-economic issues of the time which, in turn, gave birth to his economic and social ideas. These ideas reflected his way of thinking which considerably influenced the process of social change of his time.

As far as his economic ideas are concerned Gokhale owes much to Justice M.G. Ranade and Prof. List, a German economist. Both Ranade and List differed from the classical economists such as Adam Smith and Ricardo. Ranade argued that 'Political Economy being a Hypothetical Science, its propositions are not based upon axiomatic truths like those of Euclid and do not absolutely and universally hold good, like the latter, true in all times.' Therefore, if a particular economic policy was suited to England it was not necessarily valid for India as well. It was on this ground that Ranade opposed the policy of free trade in India

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as advocated by the classical English economists. Ranade argued that it was not the policy of free trade but that of protection which India needed. Ranade noticed that in Germany it was because of state initiative that the country was able to transform itself into a first rate modern power, and hence he pleaded that the state should take initiative in accelerating the process of industrialisation. Like Prof. List, Ranade thought that the trade policy of the country is integrated with its general economic policy and therefore he felt that 'the government should guarantee or subsidise private efforts till private enterprise could support itself... should advance loans to private capitalist at low interest and help them in the choice of places and the selection of the form of investment.' According to Ranade, the grave problem before India was that of poverty and it could not be removed until the process of industrialisation set in. The policy of free trade, open competition, as followed by the British administrators were not conducive to the growth of industrialisation in India and hence Ranade advocated state intervention in the economic life of the Country.

Gokhale made a careful study of Indian finance from 1874 to 1909 dividing this period into four phases comparing the growth in expenditure with the growth of revenue. The results are given in the table below :

<i>Average annual increase in Revenue and Expenditure</i>		
<i>Period</i>	<i>Increase in Revenue</i>	<i>Increase in Expenditure</i>
1874 - 1884	1.25 %	0.67 %
1884 - 1894	1.5 %	1.5 %
1894 - 1901	1.5 %	1.5 %
1901 - 1909	2.5 %	5.0 %

(Reference : Gopal Krishnan P.K. *Development of Economic Ideas in India*).

On the basis of his study Gokhale concluded that the growth in expenditure tended to more than the growth in revenue, whereas in fact it was essential to keep the two in balance. Moreover, there was no point in having a surplus budget while the budget of the common man failed to balance itself. During a period of budgetary surplus, Gokhale recommended that the state adopt the following measures :

- (i) a reduction in state demand on land by 25 to 30%,
- (ii) the creation of a fund of million sterling to rescue the Indian agriculturists from the load of debt,
- (iii) the activation of co-operative credit societies through establishing agricultural banks on Egyptian model,

- (iv) the promotion of industrial and technical education and the sanctioning of the increased expenditure for this purposes,
- (v) free and compulsory primary education,
- (vi) improvement of the finances of the local bodies.

It is evident from the above proposals suggested by Gokhal that he was of the opinion that it was of no use to have surplus budget when the budget of the common man failed to balance itself. If there was to be a surplus budget the surplus must be devoted to the work of promoting development functions of the state.

Gokhale was also aware of the state of the agricultural life in India. He saw that the agricultural industry in India was in a serious depression and the crop yield per acre was low. In such circumstances he resented the increase in the land revenue demanded by the state. He made it clear that he regarded land revenue and the indirect taxes as together placing an unbearable burden on the poor. He wanted the state to give importance to irrigation and scientific agriculture as measures for agricultural prosperity. He disapproved the excise duty on cotton textiles which in his opinion was imposed to counter balance the duties on imports. Gokhale thought that such a duty further burdened the poor.

Following the German economist Prof. List, Gokhale pleaded protection for the new industries in India on the ground that she was an industrially backward country. Gokhale observed: "...he (List) says that when a country is industrially backward ... comes into vortex of universal competition-competition with countries which use steam and machinery... in their production-the first effect is to sweep of local industries and the country is thrust back on agriculture for some time. But then, he says, comes in the duty of the state. When such a situation is reached, the state should step forward and by a judicious system of protection it should foster such industries as are capable of being fostered so that the country may once again enter on its industrial path with the aid of the latest appliances and ultimately stand successfully the competition of the whole world. India should follow this advice of List.' In short, Gokhale stood for the industrial development, advocated state initiative to further the process of industrialisation, demanded protection for infant industries and thus paved the way for capitalist development.

Gokhale did not stop at merely criticising the fiscal policy of the government but also advocated the cause of Swadeshi. However, he did not identify Swadeshi with boycott. To him the Swadeshi movement was both a patriotic and an economic movement. So far as its patriotic aspect concerned it meant devotion to motherland but the movement on its material side was economic. It ensured a ready consumption of such articles as were produced in the country and furnished a perpetual stimulus to production by keeping up the demand for indigenous

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things. To Gokhale the question of production was a question of capital, enterprise and skill and whoever could help in one of those fields could be called a worker in the Swadeshi cause. Gokhale did not mind even to seek governmental cooperation in the cause of Swadesh. Through the Swadesh movement Gokhale sought to lay the foundations of indigenous capitalism.

In the sphere of social reforms Gokhale sided with Ranade. Like Ranade, Gokhale also believed that social reforms must go along with political reforms. As early as in 1890 Ranade had advocated certain reforms *viz.*, (i) not more than a year's income should be expended on the marriage ceremonies of son or daughter; (ii) that the boys should not be married before the ages 16, 18 or 20 and the girls before the ages of 10, 12 and 14; (iii) Polygamy should be prohibited; (iv) no one should marry after the age of 60; (v) that efforts should be made to promote female education. By and large Ranade believed that all these reforms should be introduced gradually, and the state might be utilised to bring about social change through legislative procedure whenever it was absolutely necessary. But on an average, Ranade believed, that 'popular initiation' rather than 'imposed laws' would be helpful in reforming the society. However, it must be noted here that Ranade was not totally against the state-intervening to promote social reforms as Tilak was. Gokhale followed Ranade in this respect. He was of the opinion that the state must help the progressive elements in the society. He thus supported the motion on the Civil Marriage Bill. With the support of an influential and enlightened minority Gokhale wanted the state to proceed with measures of social change.

Gokhale suggested free and compulsory elementary education for the masses. To him the elementary education meant something more than a mere capacity to read and write. It meant the greater moral and economic efficiency of the individual and hence he strove hard to insist on compulsory free education. He also suggested prohibition of liquor and other measures of public health so as to remove hindrances and hardships from the path of the development of individual personality.

It could be easily noticed from the reforms suggested by Gokhale that his programme of social reforms reflects his liberal faith. Liberalism attaches greater importance to individual dignity. This dignity cannot, however, be restored unless the person is educated and enlightened. It is for this purpose that the liberal ideology advocates the all-round development of the individual personality. Gokhale as a convinced liberal attached utmost importance to this aspect of human life *viz.*, the development of personality. Caste barriers, racialism, communal disharmony, ignorance, religious fanaticism, subjugation of women, were all hindrances in the path of the development of individual personality and hence had to be removed immediately. Thus Gokhale's social reformism was also

the child of his liberal outlook. His ideas of spiritualisation of politics presupposed the moral purification of the individual along with that of his or her enlightenment which is implicit in his general programme of social reforms.

Political Techniques

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1. **Faith in Constitutional Methods** : In political techniques, Gokhale was moderate par excellence. For acquiring the Indian demands he advocated constitutional methods. He advocated constitutional agitation and discarded extreme measures and outbursts of popular frenzy. As he said, "Constitutional agitation is agitation by methods which we are entitled to adopt to bring about the changes we desired through the action of constituted authorities."
2. **Moral Pressure** : The only way to attain what we desire is to bring moral pressure on the ruler. Gokhale was a middleman between the government and the people. He interpreted popular aspirations to the Viceroy and the government's difficulties to the Congress.
3. **Search for Self-Government** : Being disappointed, Gokhale changed the words as seen for the repressive policies adopted by Lord Curzon. This shook him for British sincerity. In Congress session of 1905, he said that self-government goal is a last resort, boycott was to be used. In the words of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru he was the great Apostle of self-government.
4. **Mutual Co-operation** : Gokhale had faith in mutual cooperation of both India and England. He planned for the moral and material advance of the country. He asked the British that Indians should be given more places in the government.
5. **Spreading Western Education** : To free Indians of the old ideas based on blind faith, superstitions and dogmas, Gokhale gave importance to Western education to generate a greater responsiveness to the appreciation of freedom and value of free institutions.
6. **Patriotism and Nationalism** : Gokhale gave importance to Ranade's view that "British Empire in India was in the scheme of diviner dispensation and was meant to be of immense benefit to India." Secondly, strong nationalism could be created through hard work and sacrifices. According to him nationalism was a kind of self devotion to a higher cause.
7. **No Confrontation with the Government** : Gokhale maintained that he was a peacemaker and confrontation with government will bring chaos, and peace and order will be disturbed. According to him slow and gradual transfer of power to Indians was possible only through dominion status.
8. **Training of Political Workers** : Servants of Indian Society was started by Gokhale to train the political workers with full interest. It pleaded for the

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- loyalty to the British Empire and pledged to work for the motherland.
9. **Primacy of Means over Ends** : According to Gokhale in order to bring good ends the means should also be good. He never believed that ends justify means. He believed that politics and morality should go together. Hence, he spoke of self government as the end for all nationalists in India but the means to achieve it must be noble.
 10. **Swadeshi Movement** : Gokhale was an advocate of Swadeshi Movement. It was not an economic weapon to beat the foreign government. The use of Swadeshi would regularly remind us for our being Indian first.
 11. **Legislative and Administrative Reforms** : At the Benaras Congress Session Gokhale put nine demands : (i) Reforms in Legislative Councils by raising the number of elected members to one-half and budgets be passed by the council; (ii) Three Indian be appointed to the Indian Council; (iii) Countryside creation of District Advisory Boards and District Magistrate should compulsorily consult them in the matters of administration; (iv) Judicial branch should consist of legal professionals for Indian Civil Services; (v) Judicial and executive administration should be separated; (vi) Military expenses should be reduced; (vii) Primary education should be expanded; (viii) Industrial and technical education should be expanded; and (ix) Rural indebtedness should be avoided.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed the development of the Indian National Movement to a new, higher stage under a new militant nationalist leadership. This was in part the fruition of the earlier nationalist agitation, and in part the consequence of the reassertion of imperialism at the end of the 19th century. The symbol of the new imperial assertion, of despotism and 'efficiency', was Lord Curzon the Viceroy since 1899. Political Indians now despaired of getting political concessions from the rulers through political argument and methods of polite agitation. Indians must, they realized, depend on themselves and take recourse to mass politics and mass agitation around the goal of independence from Britain.

The social and economic conditions of the country also pointed in the same direction. Economic decay and stagnation, the fruits of colonial underdevelopment, were beginning to surface by the end of the 19th century. Symbolic in this respect were the famines that devastated the country from 1897 to 1900, and killed millions.

Several international events at this time contributed to the growth of militant nationalism. The defeat of the Italian army by the Ethiopians in 1896 and Russia

by Japan in 1905 exploded the myth of European superiority. Similar was the impact of the revolutionary movements in Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey and China: a united people, who were willing to make sacrifices, were surely capable of overthrowing foreign despotic rule even if it appeared powerful on the surface.

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A new political leadership now emerged on the scene. The most prominent in it were Bal Gangadhar Tilak, known as the Lokmanya, Aurobindo Ghose, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. The new leadership believed and preached that Indians trust rely on their own efforts, on their own political activity and on their own sacrifices. Their political work and outlook encouraged self-reliance and self-confidence. Moreover, they possessed deep faith in the strength of the Indian people and mass action. Once the masses took up politics, they asserted, it would be impossible for the British to suppress the national movement. They, therefore, pressed for political work among the masses. They also denied that British rule could be reformed from within. Swaraj or independence was to be the goal of the resurgent national movement.

Early Life

Tilak was born at ratnagiri on 23rd July 1856. His father Mr. Gangadhar Ramchandra Tilak was at first an assistant teacher at Ratnagiri & then assistant deputy Educational inspector at Thana & Poona. Mother- Parvati Bai Gangadhar (passed away when Tilak was 10 years old) The uprising of 1857 had various causes – political, social, economic, military & immediate.

Political cause was in relation to the policy of Lord Dalhousie, the doctrine of lapse annexation for misgovernment was the root cause of the discontent among the Indian states. Economic ruin caused to Indian by British policy. The new system made it obligatory to pay the rent in cash. The rural economy was completely upset by the new land laws.

Social cause was in relation to the western way of life was not favoured. The immediate cause was the news of greased cartridges. The cartridge was greased with the fat of beef & pork which defile both Hindus & Muslim.

The causes of the failure of the revolt of 1857 were more than one. Firstly the unity of purpose which was the sine-qua-non to make a movement successful was totally absent.

Secondly, the movement was most local & not a country wide struggle. This was confined to upper gangetic provinces of central India. Thirdly, the movement lacked to lead the mutineers to the desired success. There was no leader who could fuse the scattered elements into a consolidated force of great momentum. Fourthly, lack of interest shown by Indian intellectuals in the movement. Although the revolt of 1857 ended in failure, it produced some epoch-making consequences.

Extinction of the east India Company & India under the crown Britain gave up the policy of further annexation. The company rule made India fall into political subordination & stagnation in economic growth.

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Education and Childhood

Tilak's father did not live long to superintend the education of his son. By the death of his father in August 1872 young Bal was left an orphan at the age of 16. He was however able to continue his studies without interruption and passed the matriculation four months after his father's death. He joined the Deccan College, passed the B.A with honours in 1876, and took the degree of L.L.B of the Bombay University in 1879. While studying law he made friendship of the late Mr. Agarkar afterwards the principle of the Fergusson College and the two youth passed many a sleepless nights in deliberating upon the best scheme they could construct for benefiting their countrymen. They eventually formed a resolution never to accept government services, but to start a private high school and college for the purpose of imparting education to younger generation.

Tilak and Agarkar having heard of Mr. Chiplunkar's plan conferred with him and the trio was soon joined by Mr. M.B. Namjoshi a man possessing remarkable energy and intelligence.

Mr. M.B. Namjoshi, Messrs, Chiplunkar and Tilak started the Poona new English school on 2nd January 1880. Tilak taught for 5 yrs. Simultaneously with the school two newspapers the Mahratta and Kesari, were started and they at once made their mark in the field of native journalism.

The new school soon attained the first rank among the Poona schools; the Kesari & Mahratta become the leading papers in the Deccan. Tilak's connection with the school and the college however ceased in 1890. The causes that brought about this disruption were many and various. The Chitrashala had become an independent concern even in the life time of Vishnu-shastri. In the year 1888 differences of opinion on social & religious questions between Mr. Tilak and Mr. Agarkar.

Prof. Chhatre remarked "Tilak's intelligence has the brilliance of the sun". Sharangpani, a friend of Tilak has related the following incident about Tilak. Once he found walking restlessly in his room. When Sharangpani asked Tilak replied that he was thinking about a problem in integral calculus. Sharangpani said "then why don't you meet Prof. Chhatre?" Tilak replied "I know the method of solving the problem as stated in our text-book but, I want to solve it by a new different method. Tilak's teaching was appreciated by brilliant students but ordinary students had difficulty.

He once said "there is poetry in mathematics but it requires a particular type of intelligence to understand the poetic charm of mathematics. Just as you

visualize beauty while reading poetry, I visualize beauty while studying astronomy and while making mathematical calculations about the stars during their course." Further added "I think a person who does not understand mathematics, has a defective intellect"

Artic in the Vedas

Tilak devoted himself to his favorite books the "Bhagavad-Gita" & the "Rig-Veda". As a result of his researches in the chronology of the Vedas, he wrote a paper on the antiquity of the Vedas as proved by astronomical observations.

He continued with his academic pursuits & found time to read the Vedas & other ancient Sanskrit texts, as also books by eminent authors of indology, astronomy and such subjects.

Prof. Max Müller had sent him a copy of the Rig-Veda, edited & annotated by him. Tilak in spite of his respect for Prof. Max Müller's scholarship did not agree with the latter's interpretation of the Vedic verses. When he read a particular *richa*, he did not accept the meaning given by Max Müller. Tilak came to the conclusion that the *richa* must have been written somewhere in the arctic region, near the North Pole. Tilak was almost in ecstasy & decided to write a book based on the thesis that the Aryan had their homeland in the arctic.

"Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage"

Though Tilak was in a solitary cell, surrounded by high walls of the prison, his mind transcended the limitations of time & space & he felt as if he was hearing the *richas* recited by the Aryan sages living in the arctic four thousand years ago.

He carefully sifted the data he had collected from reading books on geology & archaeology & planned his book in a logical & methodical way. In the summer of 1902, he went to stay at Sinhgad fort where he found the necessary solitude & peace to write the book. He took with him writer Gopalrao Gogate, to whom he dictated his voluminous book, *The Arctic Home of the Vedas*.

The Arctic Home of the Vedas was published in 1903. Tilak in the preface wrote "The inference that the ancestors of the Vedic Rishis lived in the arctic home in inter-glacial times was forced on me by the mass of Vedic & avestic evidence". This voluminous work, divided into 13 chapters, presents a scientific description of the arctic region & says that in ancient times the arctic region was inhabited by man. He did not depend solely on Vedic literature but analyzed the evidence he had collected in the light of geology, the vedanghijyotish & linguistics.

In the first three chapters geological evidence throws light on the problem of the period.

In the ninth chapter, Tilak gives a novel interpretation of the Vedic myths on the war between Vritra & Indra, since the phenomena a long day night followed by a long day existed only in the North Pole, the myths belong to the area.

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In the thirteenth chapter, he put together all the evidence collected to arrive at the conclusion that the original homeland of Aryans was the arctic region.

Dedication towards the Country

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While the Indian movement was being thus moulded by this new spirit of nationalism, events took place in the Bombay presidency, which, though only provincial in their character, contributed, in their effects, to swell the rising tide of nationalism. In the province of Bombay & particularly in the Deccan, the spirit of conservation nationalism found its ablest & most powerful exponent in Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Mr. Tilak was one of the makers of new India, he played a most remarkable part in her struggle for Swaraj.

The Indian national congress was established in 1885. It was a national unity platform evolved by eminent leaders like S.N. Banerjee & Justice Ranade & many others.

Though a staunch supporter of the congress, Tilak always made a plea for radicalizing the congress. Being an admirer of Dadabhai Naoroji & through his editorials said "Dadabhai Naoroji is a new preacher of political religion who has taught us that India in our motherland & our goddess, that we are dwellers of India tied through the common bond of Brotherhood & that our religion is to strive selflessly to ameliorate the political & social sufferings of our country."

He first came into prominence in 1891 as a powerful champion of Hindu orthodoxy, by his vehement opposition to the age of consent bill and as a strong critic of the government. He led the agitation against it as a strong critic with an ability and vigour that at once marked him out as an outstanding popular leader.

In 1893, Tilak was elected fellow of the University of Bombay. The election was held by postal ballot.

In 1895 he was elected to the Poona municipality and in the same year to the legislative council of Bombay. The election was held as per the Reforms Act of 1892, which provided for the election of a representative by the municipalities and the district boards. Tilak contested the election from the central Zone and won 35 out of the 65 votes polled.

Tilak also pointed out though from 1870 – 1895, the earnings of the Bombay presidency had increased to five and a half crores of rupees, the Government, instead of spending it on the welfare of the people, had misused it to meet the departmental expenses. He exposed the flaws in the administrative set-up. In 1897, when prosecuted for seditious activities, he promptly resigned from the Legislative Council. The government had wanted to stifle his voice when he was organising the peasants of Maharashtra during the famine of 1896. However, Tilak with his rare legal acumen was acting strictly within the framework of law, and the government could take no action against him. Such an opportunity

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however came for the government at the time of the plague epidemic in Poona in 1897. As no preventive inoculation was available, hundreds of people lost their lives. Tilak was not the one to keep quiet. He rose to the occasion and did everything possible to create confidence in the people. In *Kesari*, of 16th February 1897, he wrote in favour of segregating the patients affected by plague, and spoke against the superstitious belief of the people to regard hospitals as the chambers of death. He urged the government to take up the work of segregation and house-searching with the willing co-operation of the people. He himself took the lead in setting up a plague hospitals besides the one started by the government.

12th June was the day on which Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj was crowned the King. In order to celebrate this day Prof. C.G. Bhanu of Fergusson College, delivered a lecture in which he referred to the killing of Afzal Khan by Shivaji Maharaj. Tilak presided with his presidential remarks, observed: "in Killing Afzal Khan, Shivaji did not commit any sin, because he took this action not to further his own interests but to do public good. Shivaji Maharaj strove to drive out the aggressors and there is no sin of covetousness in that."

The Times of India referred to Tilak's remarks on Shivaji and Afzal Khan, alleging that he supported the murder of Afzal Khan. Tilak protested against the misrepresentation by the newspaper and denied the allegation that he had preached sedition.

The Moderates believed the British rule had been a kind of blessing in disguise for the people of India. Under British rule Indians had got an opportunity to imbibe modern knowledge, to learn new industrial techniques, to liberate themselves from outworn customs & social system.

Tilak had strong expectation to this view. He constantly emphasised the antagonism of interest between Britain and India. Every Government represented certain interests, when one nation ruled another; it sought its own benefit, not the benefit of the conquered. Tilak said: "If you want anything, you can get it through your determination, persistence and courage. If the Government is strong, it has become so through assistance. Your weakness makes for its strength; your ignorance about your potentialities gives it power."

The victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 stirred the minds of the people of Asia. The yellow people of small Asian island, united, courageous, ready for any sacrifice had bent to their will the mightiest Emperor in Europe. Tilak's belief in the power of public opinion and he devoted all his resources in the next few years to arouse & organise the people's will.

"The will of the people and their potential power for non-cooperation constitute invariably an extraordinary force."

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To quote Tilak : The power of public opinion lies in its resolute will. It cannot be gauged by the supporting numbers. The straws put together to make a big heap serve no useful purpose. But the same grass twisted into a strong rope is capable of subjugating even an intoxicated elephant.

Rise of Indian Nationalism/Early Nationalist Activities

The foundations of the nationalist movement were laid during the last three decades of the Company's rule by Raja Rammohan Roy and Derozio and his disciple. Political awakening had its birth in Bengal. Raja Rammohan Roy has been acclaimed as Father of Modern India.

Political activities before 1857 had four principle characteristics. First, this represented the "politics of petition" which were based on the idea that the British would gradually concede political rights to their fellow Indian subjects. It failed to realize the true nature and purpose of British rule in this country. It sought removal of grievances and slow admission into partnership with the British masters. There was no radical change in this aspect of nationalist aspiration till Gandhi introduced the "politics" of resistance. Secondly, the "new politicians" being "impeccably constitutional" worked through lawful associations. They spoke and wrote in English, submitted the demands to the rulers. However their voice was hardly intended to reach the illiterate masses and their activities were concentrated at big urban centres.

The events of 1857-58 emphasised the fundamental disunity of the country on which and administrative unity had been imposed by the foreign rulers. The "rebels" in arms found no national leader and devised neither a national strategy nor a national programme. The culmination of this trend was the foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 by A.O. Hume. Thirdly, English education which provided the impetus for nationalist ideas distributed great unevenness among the provinces of British India. The growth of the educated class was concentrated in the three coastal presidencies where the British rule had much deeper impact than other parts of the country. The intensity of nationalist feelings and activities varied with the rate of English education. Fourthly, Muslims kept themselves completely aloof from the nationalist ideas and activities sponsored by the English educated Hindus. They could not reconcile themselves psychologically with their loss of political power and make adjustments with the new political system. They did not accept English education and confined themselves to their traditional system of education in Arabic and Persian. The result was that the nationalist movement originated as a Hindu movement.

Demand for Increase in Indian Representation

Tilak wanted to secure the right of self determination for India. He was not satisfied with the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1919. Though he thought the reforms made by the Act of 1919 were paltry he advised the people

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to contest the elections and secure more and more seats in the Council. Further, on return from England in 1920 at the time of election of the reformed Council he established the Congress Democratic Party and asked the people to contest elections from as many constituencies as possible. The reforms introduced from 1857-97 had strengthened the hands of bureaucracy and made the people helpless. Therefore, Tilak wanted to make the councils increasingly responsible to the people so that the despotism of the government departments could be checked. He further stressed that it was the natural right of the people to conduct the government according to their desire.

As a realist, he demanded the reforms by stages. "Demand the first step so that the introduction of the second step would be much easier than it is at present. The final step for him was election of the Governors and Lt. Governors through legislative bodies. While reacting on the Montford Reforms Tilak emphasised that "I must have the key of my house. Swaraj is our end. We want possession of our government." Tilak's thought on constitutional reforms are important because it was through these thoughts that he urged the people to push their demands vigorously. He warned the people that self-interest of the British people would prevail over their liberal character; and nothing would be given to them unless they press hard for it.

Nationalism

Among the leaders of the Congress was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The word "Swaraj" used by Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the nineties was used from the Congress platform for the first time in 1906 and it became "the war cry of India for the next forty years." In 1897 Tilak and several other leaders in Maharashtra were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on the charge of spreading and writings.

In Maharashtra Tilak had captured control over the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha after a split with the group led by the old veterans, Mahadev Gobind Ranade and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He became an all-India political celebrity as a result of his imprisonment in 1897. He said that Indians could not "achieve any success if we croak once a year like a frog."

On release from jail in 1898, Tilak found himself thwarted in the Congress session of 1899. The Shivaji Festival sponsored by him to commemorate the achievements of the great Maratha hero was accepted in Bengal as a national celebration. The older leaders of the congress, firmly committed to constitutional methods, were 'apprehensive of the forces that the awakening of the masses might unleash'.

The difference lay chiefly in the method. The 'old party', which came to be known as the party of 'Moderates' 'believed in appealing to the British nation'. This belief was not shared by Tilak and his supporters, who came to be known as

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'Extremists'. They believed in 'achieving the goal by our own efforts'. They believed in use of 'political weapon, boycott'. Extremist leaders established 'swadeshi' industries, introduction of technical education and revolutionary terrorism.

One characteristic feature of the 'Extremist' ideology inside the congress was its identification of nationalism with what Tilak called feelings of "Hindutva". He used 'revivalism' for the purpose of 'awakening the different sections of the people' and strengthening their self-confidence by convincing them that they had a sound socio-religious heritage. But he was not a communalist; his stress on 'hindutva' was not a crusade against Islam as a religion or the need for Hindu Muslim unity and made a major contribution to the Lucknow Pact (1916) which forged temporary unity between the two communities.

A very important change occurred inside the congress in 1916. Tilak excluded from the 1907 session for his Extremism joined the annual session at Lucknow and with the cooperation of Annie Besant and Bipin Chandra Pal secured control over the organisation.

After release from prison in 1914 Tilak considerably modified his political views. He denied that he had ever entertained any intention of over throwing the British government. In 1915 at a provincial congress organised by him at Poona he declared that it was in India's interest that Britain should win the war, for there was greater hope of Swaraj. He condemned acts of violence as impediments in the way of political progress. He became less rigid in his religious and social views and realised the necessity of a Hindu Muslim settlement of political issues.

Influence of Theosophists

The Theosophical Society was founded in the United States in 1875 by Madame H.P. Blavatsky and col. H.S. Olcott. It had three main objectives. First to form a universal brotherhood of man; second, to promote studies in ancient religion, philosophy and science; thirdly, to investigate the laws of nature and develop the divine powers latent in man. It was introduced in India by its founders in 1879 and its headquarters were found at Adyar near Madras in 1886. Its influence in spread in India under the leadership of Mrs. Annie Besant who came to this country in 1893 and played an important role in the struggle for freedom in the later years. The theosophists succeeded in attracting many educated Hindus through subtle arguments which defended the current practices of Hinduism. A movement led by westerners who glorified Indian religious and philosophical traditions naturally promoted self confidence among Indians and strengthened nationalist ideas.

Tilak found an able collaborator in Mrs. Annie Besant 'who brought a knowledge of European political methods' to the Indian political struggle. She was convinced that the moderates were too weak to secure self government. So

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she decided to launch the Home Rule Movement in 1914. Its aim was self government for India within the British Empire. Its programme included religious liberty, national education, social reforms and political reforms. A few months earlier (April 1916) Tilak had established an Indian home rule with the object of attaining "Home Rule or self government within the British empire by all constitutional means". The two home rule leagues worked in close cooperation. The government of India realised that the "vocal classes" were being led by Mrs. Besant and Tilak and the moderate leaders had lost public support. Mrs. Besant was interned in June 1917 but the home rule movement was not weakened.

The home rule movement had two very important political consequences. First, it hastened the formulation of a new policy by the British government which was defined in Montague's declaration. Second, the moderates were finally ousted from control over the congress. Mrs. Besant's election as president marked a new era in history of congress.

Tilak's view on Social Reform

An interesting interplay of action and interaction is thus witnessed in the thought currents of Maharashtrian thinkers of 19th century. Lokhitawadi, Vishnushartri Chiplunkar, Jotiba Phule, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak were some of the persons thought in Maharashtra during this period.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Jotiba Phule, Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur and latterly Bhauroo Patil advocated the spread and development of education. Tilak started the New English School in Poona with Chiplunkar and Agarkar in 1880, which was well known for its educational standards, which had all praise from Dr. W.W. Hunter, President of the Education Commission in 1880.

Both Jotiba Phule and Lokmanya Tilak advocated social reforms as they would contribute to the growth of national consciousness. The British rule with its superior organisation, its scientific temper, its historical perspective and tradition of Liberal thought, indirectly helped to build in India a force that was ultimately to undermine the British rule itself. It is in this respect that Raja Rammohan Roy occupied a place of prominence among modern India political thinkers. Raja Rammohan Roy struck at the root of social evils not by quoting English texts but by quoting ancient Indian texts.

Lokmanya Tilak did a similar thing in the political sphere by reinterpreting the Bhagwad Gita and imputing a political meaning to its message which was relevant to the contemporary India. In Maharashtra especially, in those days there was a greater accent on social reforms, to integrate the Hindu society, remove untouchability and liberate women from bondage.

The revival of Ganapati festivals by Tilak, on the other hand, led to an identification of religio-cultural sentiments with nationalism and patriotism. In

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this direction, Tilak reinterpreted the message of the Gita and organised political agitation by using the popular Hindu symbols and Ganapati festivals. Tilak bought to bear his tremendous Sanskrit learning on his Philosophy of political action. He was rightly the "Father of Indian Unrest" as the impudent British Journalist Sir Valentine Chirol called him.

Tilak used proper technique of mass communication. He was the first to realise that unless there was mass mobilisation of the people leading to their participation in the political struggle, nothing including social reforms would succeed.

In 1905, at the venue of the Benares session of the Congress, an exhibition of Swadeshi goods was organised. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya placed before the delegates his concept of founding a Hindu University. This found strong support in Tilak, in the speech Tilak pleaded for the adoption of Devnagiri script all over India. He suggested that a beginning could be made by printing textbooks for primary schools in the said script. The movement for national education soon gained momentum.

He defined national education as education which promotes love for one's nation and in an editorial in the Kesari under the title "The responsibility of private Institutions in Imparting National Education".

To Tilak, social reforms must not precede popular education in the need for reform; and secondly reforms must be based on Indian civilizations own ideals of co-operative social organisation and a healthy respect for past traditions. Social change brought about by following these principles alone would result in enduring change and be a truly nation building activity.

Economic thought of Tilak

Tilak was not trained in economics. As a political leader of eminent structure he had occasions to write on economic problems, of India and in such writings he, on the whole, shared and endorsed the economic views generally prevalent in the nationalist invisible college. Thus, he endorsed the Drain theory of Dadabhai Naoroji and advocated Permanent Land revenue settlement following Romesh Dutt. His writing on economic problems of India was much more numerous before 1904 when he was laying down the foundations of his own leadership. As his political stature grew in the context of India as a whole his writing seemed to be exclusively devoted to politics or to political problems of India.

In the earlier part of his life before 1904 he extensively wrote on currency, famine and famine relief in Maharashtra, on regulation of moneylenders' activities, land ownership regulation laws, the Khoti system, cooperative movement, swadeshi, etc. His writings on specific economic problems are very few and far between in the period after 1904.

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During August and September of 1892, Tilak wrote a series of articles on the problem of Indian currency that was then bedeviling the Indian economy, under the title *Gold and Silver Coinage*. The articles were mainly expository in nature aimed at making it easy for the general readers of *Kesari* to understand the economic issues involved. The first three essays in this series were devoted to the exposition in simple terms of monetary theory. They dealt with the institution of money, metallic currency, currency standards, price level and its relation to money, etc. He explained this with great lucidity and clarity in Marathi like a trained economist and perhaps better. Even today his writing is a model of clarity. The other occasion on which he had to and did write as a trained economist was when he wrote the concluding article in a series of essays on "*decentralization of Finance*."

Tilak was familiar with (socialist thought is attested to by his favourite reference) to that line of thought in the series of articles he wrote on "*The Necessity of adoption*" in *Kesari* in 1883-84. His writing indicated that he sided with landlords (being himself a *khot*, though only in name) and opposed to a certain extent, to any regulation of land ownership legislation for the regulation of moneylenders activities.

He believed that one of the principle causes of Indian poverty was British rule and imperial system that articulated it, and consequently the end of British rule was the first precondition of ending Indian poverty. He however on one occasion enumerated the benefits that India had derived from the British impact and had said further candidly... that these benefits could not have come from any other rulers than the British. This was high praise from the "*Father of Indian Unrest*". Surprising for his time, he remarked that the other-worldly attitude of the Indian people together with their passive attitude also had its own share to contribute to this underdevelopment.

Four Point Programme for Swaraj

Lokmanya Tilak started the Shivaji festival with the hope that the noble life and heroic deeds of Shivaji would provide inspiration to the people and instil self respect in them. At this time, Swami Vivekananda gave a brilliant exposition on the noble qualities present in Hinduism to an international conference on religion. He made the world realise the glorious nature of India's tradition and devotion to noble values in life. In September 1893, while addressing the World Conference of Religions, he declared, "*Hindu religion is based on tolerance and accepts the existence of other religions. I regard truth as God. The entire world is my country.*" Owing to his broad outlook and wide vision, Swami Vivekananda won world wide acclaim. In an obituary on Vivekananda, Tilak published in his journal an inspiring character sketch of the noble preacher and appealed to the people to

practise what Vivekananda had preached. He wrote that India's glory could be revived if Indians were to act according to the inspiring message of Swami Vivekananda.

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Tilak was of the opinion that a nation striving for freedom had the moral right to use all means and method in its struggle. He knew the significance of the contribution made by Swami Vivekananda in India's freedom struggle by trying to mould world opinion. He also appreciated Gokhale's fervent advocacy of the Indian cause and his giving political rights to the Indians. He was also aware of the importance of the spade work done by Shyamji Krishna Varma in building up a revolutionary cadre. He strongly supported all these efforts carried out in different corners because all aimed at the single ideal of winning freedom. His ideological stance was to accept the Sutra which called for adoption of all kinds of means for the realisation of the goal of *Swaraj*.

Tilak was eager to give a radical twist to the political movement so that feelings could be roused to such a pitch as to encourage all to participate in the freedom struggle. Tilak felt the need for challenging Curzon's tyrannical rule. He fearlessly took certain steps in that direction. When Curzon declared his resolve to partition of the Country, Tilak wrote a fiery editorial in the Kesari entitled, "The Moment of Crises". He said, "Like Ravana, Lord Curzon wants to dance frantically all over India. Power has gone to his head to such an extent that reason has ceased to function and like a wild elephant he is trampling on public opinion in Bengal." Tilak, while arguing that the people ought to react strongly to Curzon's high-handedness, wrote "unless we take some stringent action to hurt the Government's pride, Lord Curzon's arrogance will not get checked."

In the editorial of 22nd August, Tilak wrote: "Instead of submitting petitions and making requests, the people should resort to some extreme measures which would be an eye-opener for the autocratic and arrogant British rulers... National boycott is a measure of this kind."

On 29th August 1905, he wrote highly inflammatory editorial under the heading, "The rule of Lord Curzon". He wrote: "Just as in the solar system there are some comets, similarly among the galaxy of politicians, who surround the King Emperor, there are some who resemble the comets. Lord Curzon is a person of this kind".

On 16th October 1905, Bengal was partitioned. Bengal was a politically conscious state(wher) dead against the partition. Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai made the people aware that partition of Bengal was not a regional issue but an attack on the self-respect and dignity of all Indians. In this movement the *Trio- LAL, BAL, PAL*, emerged as the accredited leaders of India's freedom struggle, blessed with political foresight.

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Tilak with his strong sense of realism knew that once the wrath of the people had been sufficiently aroused against British rule, it would require giving it the right direction. He came forth with a Four-Point Programme of Swadeshi, Boycott, national education and Swaraj, thus involving the people in different activities and enabling them to contribute their bit to the freedom struggle. In his bid to involve as many people as possible in the struggle against Bengal's partition, Tilak insisted on the implementation of his Four-point Programme of Swadeshi, boycott, national education and Swaraj. Tilak was confident of building up a mass base through his programme. It was due to the 3 leaders – *Lal, Bal & Pal* – that the four point programme became popular during the antipartition agitation. Lal observed "Swadeshi is the road to freedom, only then we can become self-reliant. We shall have to mobilise man power and other resources in India. We shall have to collect capital, and then only can we make the swadeshi movement a success in the interest of our country." While advocating Boycott, Tilak and Pal said that boycott was just the first step and that the movement should culminate in the boycott of the British Government.

In Bengal the people in a demonstration of unity collected all cloth manufactured in Manchester as also clothes of British and made a bonfire of them. They knew this marked the beginning of the process of destroying British rule in India. LAL, BAL and PAL, in order to prevent the anti-partition movement from becoming negative in character, therefore, while encouraging the Boycott of British goods, gave an impetus to the swadeshi movement by persuading resourceful businessmen to start mills for weaving cloth.

Concerning efforts were made to promote among the youth the need for a *healthy physique, intellectual curiosity and spirit of patriotism*. A number of young men became teachers in such schools and colleges to make the national education programme a success.

Tilak felt it necessary to involve people of all the states in his four-point programme. He wrote editorials in the *Kesari* on Swadeshi and Boycott & appealed to the people to participate wholeheartedly in the programme. Tilak collected a number of industrialists and businessmen and started the *swadeshi Co-operative Stores LTD.*, which evoked an enthusiastic response from all sections of the society. For this purpose he collected a fund of two-and-a-half lakh rupees from eminent persons like Tata, Dwarkadas Dharamsi, Khatau Makanji and others.

The swadeshi movement was instrumental in imparting impetus to some enterprise which had been started before the anti-partition movement. He launched the *paisa-fund* in Maharashtra. Many young men came forward to collect for the fund and the money thus collected was utilised for setting up a glass factory at Talegaon in Poona.

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Tilak believed that emphasis on economic issues and the demand for removal of poverty would give a fillip to the struggle for swarajya. He advocated that the reins of the Congress should be given to the hands of Radical leaders. Dadabhai Naoroji was chosen president of the Indian National Congress after a tug of war between Tilak and Gokhale. Tilak paid glowing tribute to Dadabhai's contribution as member of the British parliament and quoted the following statement of Dadabhai: "it is not enough to put a check on the economic exploitation of India by the British. It is absolutely necessary that Indians should be given the rights of Swarajya. Tilak's prognostications came true. Dadabhai Naoroji in his presidential address stated: "We do not ask for any concessions or favour. We want justice. To state this in brief, we want self-government *i.e.*, Swarajya." Dadabhai was the first leader to utter the word Swarajya from the platform of the congress party and give sanctity to it. Thus came to be sown the first seeds of Swaraj in the minds of the Indians.

After a long and arduous struggle by the people of India and of Bengal in particular, the British government revoked the decision to partition Bengal. This marked a victory for the mass movement organised by Lal, Bal and Pal. The success of this movement was the first major step on the path to swarajya. The word Swarajya, which Tilak made famous, had both spiritual and political connotations. And it is significant to realise this for it provides the clue to understand Tilak's nation building theory. Swaraj had dual implications. For the individual it meant "the choice of the cosmos over chaos" and the regulation of all actions morally in accordance with the individual's swa-dharma by which alone the individual could fulfil the purpose of Life. For the community it also meant, "The choice of cosmos over chaos" and the regulation of all community activities morally in accordance with Dharma-Rajya, the rule of "Dharma". Declares "our Life and our dharma are in vain in the absence of Swarajya."

Journalism as a Career

In western India, the journalistic style was determined by Tilak. Though the periodicals he founded in 1881, *Mahratta* (English) and *Kesari* (Marathi), he aroused the people and mobilised the public opinion. The story of his newspapers is the story of Indian struggle for Independence. Tilak was unique among men, need not be reiterated, but that as an editor he was a unique phenomenon which deserves a many dimensional studies. His life was his message and his preaching and practices were nothing but selfless services. He identified himself with the common man. He was successful to a great extent, in feeling the pulse of the mute millions, so that he would know what exactly they wanted.

Though Tilak modestly insisted that he learnt his political lesson at the feet of Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motolal Ghosh of *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, he went far

beyond these and other journalists of Bengal. Tilak was the first Indian to practise the political importance of 'Mass Communication', when this particular phrase was not at all invented.

In Tilak's own words, the Bengal journalists sought to "teach the people how to criticise the bureaucracy and at the same time keep oneself safe, bodily at least, if not peculiarity."

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This was foreign to Tilak's nature and with all boldness he straightway took the guardianship of younger journalists setting before them an example of exerting hardship for one's writings.

Tilak's idea of journalism was to educate the people about the precarious conditions they were rotted in. He emphasised the constitutional aspect of the functioning of the British government and strove hard to explain it to the readers of *Mahratta* and *Kesari*. Especially, "in the prosperity of the people will be our strength; in their contentment, our security and in their gratitude, our best reward" – part of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 was very significantly projected by Tilak as a "charter for the Indian for their Rights".

Tilak's view that "the political movement could not afford to cut itself off the great mass of the nation or split itself into warring factions by premature association of the social reform question with politics". Tilak as a leader of clear perception wrote : This attitude may be right or wrong; but Tilak being what he is and the nation being what it is, he could take no other..... A subject nation does not prepare itself by gradual progress for liberty; it opens by liberty its way to rapid progress. The only progress that has to be made in the preparation for Liberty is progress in the awakening of the national spirit and in the creation of the will to be free and the will to adopt the necessary means and bear the necessary sacrifices for Liberty.

The writing style was simple but in attacks he never missed his mark. Such a brave fight by using the medium of a newspaper was totally unknown before Tilak.

July 1897, saw the culmination of Tilak's journalists abilities when he wrote 3 editorials in *Kesari* which were full of powerful and strong expression. The titles of the leading articles have become maxims in Marathi language and could as well be used now to refer something of similar type. The conclusive part of this series of articles indicated quite boldly, that "Government holds no monopoly for commonsense and at times it does commit blunders like child, inspite of it great strength and the public has to suffer the consequences of the blunders of the bureaucracy."

Tilak however never had the detachment of the scholar. Nor did he prefer journalism as a carrer. He made use of the journalistic weapon and his battle was

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the first assault on British pride and self-complacency. Due to the inspiration and motivation provided by Lokmanya Tilak many papers were started in different regions of the country and surprisingly well they followed the Kesari line. "How well they followed Tilak and Kesari can be judged from the fact that about a dozen of them were prosecuted during 1905-08 for seditious writings."

The profession of journalism in India offered little monetary return, but it certainly made up for this by taking its members out of the narrow world they lived in and widening their horizon.

Tilak's Philosophy of Law

Tilak lived during a period of formative years of British Rule in India. The INA was set up by Hume in 1885, the major purpose of which was to petition the British to be kind to Indians. Its demands were modest. It wanted more jobs for Indians and greater representation of Indians in Legislatures. Indian politics was radicalised under Tilak, the demand for Home rule being its legitimate product. Tilak had a degree in Law, and although he never practised law he taught it in his law class. In that sense Tilak was an earliest Law teacher.

However, Tilak seems to have chased all his life by Legal battles. He was twice prosecuted for sedition, first in 1897, and again in 1908, and between 1901 and 1904 he was involved in the most agonising legal battle known as the Tai Maharaj suit. Out of these, except the Tai Maharaj suit in which he got a favourable decision, Tilak lost all other battles. He was a convict in the Barve case and two sedition cases and lost the Chirol Case.

Thus we see that Tilak was not successful in most of his legal battles and all legal battles including the Tai Maharaj suit was painful, frustrating and expensive. But the spirit in which Tilak fought all these battles shows his abiding faith in the British system of Justice.

During Tilak's days, John Austin jurisprudence held the field. It is well known that the Realist School of jurisprudence pointed out how the Austinian theory over-simplified the judicial process. This school emphasised that the judges not only interpret the law but they also make it and naturally the law will vary according to the predilections of the judge. Tilak believed in the first theory.

Tilak could never see that although English judges might have been impartial in other matters, where politics was concerned, they doubtlessly interpreted the law to suit the interests of the British Empire. When England started applying its own laws and legal principles to India, it was dominated by the thoughts and ideas of Jeremy Bentham. Jeremy Bentham advocated hedonistic utilitarianism for judging the wisdom of legislation. He was a champion of codification and deprecated development of law through judicial process. Codified law was certain

and intelligible. The first legal draftsmen's of Indian laws were disciples of Bentham and we find his theory of utility very succinctly applied in the Indian Penal Code. Many other codes followed.

In England, this was the period of economic laissez faire and Indians were exposed to the philosophies of Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, etc., who advocated minimum state intervention. The first generation of the English knowing Indians were doubtlessly fascinated by western liberalism. Tilak belong to this generation.

It was believed that the individual by birth was endowed with certain rights which no state could take away. In England, although Parliament was supreme, the Magna Carta of 1215 and the Bill of Rights of 1689 were considered as important restraints which no Parliament could disregard. Tilak's argument in the sedition cases show that he believed that the British Government in India was bound by those restraints to which it was bound in respect of the English people.

In the first sedition case, it was argued on behalf of Tilak that the Law punished only such criticism as had a tendency to create hatred or disobedience towards the government. Such criticism of the government would not amount to sedition. Here Tilak was obviously asking for the strict construction of the penal statutes which is a settled English judicial practise.

The courts in England protect liberty by giving narrow construction to statutes that encroach upon individual liberty. Where the court has to alternative construction before it, it adopts that which is more favourable rights, the attitude of the courts is to assume that there are certain fundamental principles of liberty and justice which the legislature does not override. Tilak took this position and argued that an act was seditious only if the speech or writing tended to incite people to rebellion against the king. The law of sedition could not be so construed as to curb legitimate freedom of expression. This argument however was not accepted by the court and it was held that mere lack of affection amounted to sedition. Tilak's position was vindicated when his argument was accepted by the supreme court of India in 1963 in Kedar Nath.

In the second sedition case, Tilak argued his case himself. Tilak made history by delivering his defence speech for 21 hours in 4 days. He was assisted by Barrister Baptista, Jinnah and Davar and Messers Bodas, Dadabahi Khare and Dadasaheb Karandikar. His first point was that :

The publication is only one factor in judging of (sic) a criminal intention. There must be a distinct criminal intention. Intention cannot be inferred from merely the fact of publication but from surrounding circumstances; between these two lays the liberty of the press.

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Tilak further emphasised that an accused had a right to a fair trial. Tilak emphasised how jurors were expected to be independent and the protectors of the individual against oppressive state power. Tilak's trial was vitiated by many factors. Tilak's writings were in Marathi language. The Trial was not held in Pune, the place where Tilak's writing was published, but it was held in Bombay. The jurors did not know Marathi they were Parsi, Anglo-Indian and Christian to whom Tilak's writings were presented only through English translations. Tilak rightly argued that these translations were not accurate and that the essence of his written speech could not be understood through translations. This was a very valid argument because every language has its own idiom which cannot be wholly caught in translation and therefore holding Tilak guilty of sedition through such translations was improper.

While Tilak used English legal concepts such as narrow construction of penal statutes or fair trial or independent judiciary which helped political agitation, he was against the use of law for bringing about social modernisation. Did he oppose the law as such or did he oppose the English made law? In fact, the fact that the foreign power was the law maker merely suited Tilak's social conservativeness. What he really opposed was modernisation through law. It seems he unknowingly subscribed to Savigny's theory that law should merely follow not lead, social action. It was necessary for society to accept the change, and then only the law became effective. Although there is some truth in it, no law maker can afford to wait for society to change first.

Law is doubtless one of the factors which facilitate or accelerate the social change. Such social change will have to be aided by other processes such as education, social action etc. In modern India, law has been relied upon as an important instrument of social transformation. Unfortunately we have not shown enough awareness of the need for a proper legal culture to sustain a desirable interaction between law and society.

Tilak was a Liberal who wanted minimum state or legal interference with individual liberty. He would not challenge the law on the ground of morality. He would like a good lawyer argue for the incorporation of the principles of natural law into the positive law. But when he failed he recognised that "There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things and it may be the will of providence that the cause I represent may prosper more by my suffering than my rearing free".

Tilak looked to law as a means of stability rather than change. He had no vision of social change, apart from political independence.

2.14 SUMMARY

- The main changes which the British made in Indian society were at the top. They replaced the wasteful warlord aristocracy by a bureaucratic-

military establishment, carefully designed by utilitarian technocrats, which was very efficient in maintaining law and order. The greater efficiency of government permitted a substantial reduction in the fiscal burden, and a bigger share of the national product was available for landlords, capitalists and the new professional classes. Some of this upper class income was siphoned off to the UK, but the bulk was spent in India.

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- Coal mining, mainly in Bengal, was another industry which achieved significance. Its output, which by 1914 had reached 15.7 million tons, largely met the demands of the Indian railways.
- The permanent settlement of 1793 made by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal and Bihar created the class of zamindars, an aristocratic class, at the top of the agrarian hierarchy. By creating this class the British aimed at creating support base for their rule in India.
- In South India, the situation was in no way different. The dispossessed landlords and displaced cultivators raised the banner of revolt. The poligars of Tamilnadu, Malabar and coastal Andhra revolted against the colonial rule in the late 18th and the early 19th century. The revolt of the Mappilas of Malabar was most significant. The Mappilas of Malabar were the descendants of the Arab settlers and converted Hindus. Majority of them were cultivating tenants, landless labourers, petty traders and fishermen.
- Swaraj for the extremists meant "complete freedom from foreign control and full independence to manage national affairs without any foreign restraints. They hated foreign rule and had no faith in the benevolence of the British public or Parliament. 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 also affirmed their faith in passive resistance, mass agitation and strong will to suffer or make self-sacrifices. The extremists advocated boycott of the foreign goods, use of swadeshi goods, national education and passive resistance.

2.15 REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the impact of British Imperialism on Indian Society?
2. Discuss the cultural aspects of Nationalism.
3. Explain the important elements of Economic Nationalism.
4. Discuss the early tribal and peasant uprisings.
5. Outline the characteristics of Militant Nationalism.
6. Differentiate between the nature of Moderates and Extremists.

2.16 FURTHER READINGS

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CHAPTER — 3

*British and National
Movements*

BRITISH AND NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

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3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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After studying the chapter, students will be able to :

- describe the foreign and administrative policies of Lord Curzon;
- state the important features of some of the relevant legislations such as The Indian Council Act, 1861, Morley-Minto Reform, 1909, Government of India Act, 1919, etc.;
- understand the emergence and contributions of socio-religious movements such as Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Theosophical society etc.;
- explain the origin and developments of various other National Movements such as Non-cooperation Movement (1920), Civil Disobedience Movement, Quit India Movement etc.;
- discuss the important aspects of second phase of revolutionary movements.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Viceroy Curzon's division of the large province of Bengal was announced in July 1905. Eastern Bengal and Assam would have 18 million Muslims and 12 million Hindus. Western Bengal would have 42 million Hindus to 9 million Muslims, but those speaking Bengali were outnumbered by the Biharis and Oriyas. The secret motivation of Lord Curzon seems to have been to divide the Bengali movement that he considered seditious. This technique of divide and rule increased the conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in Bengal. The plan was approved by the Secretary of State without consulting the Parliament. The Bengal Legislative Council strongly denounced the plan on July 8, and the Indian press in Bengal and other provinces condemned the proposal. Curzon won over Dacca nawab Salimullah with a low-interest loan and with the prospect of Dacca becoming the new capital. The weekly *Sanjivani* in Calcutta suggested a boycott of British goods on July 13, and a public meeting at Bagerhat adopted it three days later. The boycott idea spread as two thousand public meetings were organized in the cities and in hundreds of villages. In the town of Barisal students and even teachers went to school barefoot and were threatened with expulsion.

During the Durga Puja national festival in Bengal on September 28 about 50,000 people gathered in the Kali temple at Kalighat despite a heavy rain. They vowed not to purchase or use foreign articles or to employ foreigners. The two Chief Secretaries of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam issued circulars ordering teachers to discipline protesting students. The partition of Bengal went into effect on October 16. On that day after bathing in the sacred Ganga River more than 50,000 people attended a meeting to lay a foundation for Federation Hall in Calcutta. At a meeting in the house of ailing Ananda-mohan Bose 70,000 rupees

were collected for the Swadeshi movement. An Anti-Circular Society was formed on November 4.

The movement began with verbal protests in meetings, the newspapers, petitions, and conferences before most turned to the more coercive tactic of the boycott. Bengal was the richest market in India for Manchester cotton goods, and they also wanted to revive their indigenous (*swadeshi*) textile industry. Mill owners in Bombay and Ahmadabad quickly increased their production and their profits. Societies (*Samitis*) formed in Bengal to promote the boycott campaign. Brahmins and priests honored the boycott, and washer-men vowed not to wash foreign cloth. Shops selling foreign goods were picketed, and altercations led to police beating protesters with *lathis* (bamboo sticks). Those advocating the boycott were expelled from schools and colleges, imprisoned, fined, and flogged. The Government used its influence on local landlords (*zamindars*). Processions and meetings were banned, and newspapers were censored. Finally leaders were detained without trials. The boycott developed a four-fold program that included not using English cloth and other products, not using English speech, resigning Government offices, and socially boycotting persons who purchase foreign articles.

When Lord Curzon refused to receive a deputation from Congress in 1905, they sent Gokhale and Lajpat Rai to England. The Congress met at Benares in December 1905, and 758 delegates elected Gokhale president. The Moderates complained that the boycott methods of passive resistance were impractical or even injurious by denying themselves educational opportunities. Yet for the first time Gokhale mentioned "self-government within the empire" as their goal, and he denounced the partition of Bengal. He spoke of *swadeshi* as a profound and passionate movement that calls people to serve the Motherland. The Moderate Congress condemned the Government repression and justified the boycott as a "last protest." They repeated their demands for reform of the legislative councils.

The Extremists held a conference and formed a new National Party. As soon as he heard of the Bengal National College, Aurobindo Ghose left his teaching position at Baroda and went to Calcutta to be its principal. The National Council of Education was founded in March 1906 with thirteen distinguished members, and only Aurobindo had been involved in the anti-partition agitation. The Bengali weekly *Jugantar* (*New Age*) began publishing that month, and within a few months its circulation was over 7,000. The English daily *Bande Mataram* started in August. They advocated fighting violence with violence because they believed that injustice must be opposed to win independence.

Viceroy Curzon had appointed Bamfylde Fuller to govern the province of East Bengal and Assam. He alienated Hindus by favoring the Muslim majority. He sent Gurkhas to Barisal, and they took supplies from shops without paying for them. During the provincial conference at Barisal on April 14-15, 1906 the cry

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of "Bande Mataram" was forbidden in the streets. Aurobindo and Surendranath Banerji led protesting marchers that were beaten with *lathis*. Magistrate Emerson fined Surendranath 400 rupees. A deputation of 36 Muslims led by Aga Khan met with Viceroy Minto on October 1 to ask for concessions. Minto decided to allow the Muslims special representation on government bodies according to their status and influence rather than by their numbers. His new policy accepted Hindus and Muslims as separate nations and gave Muslims special favor on legislative councils.

The issue was settled at Simla by the Viceroy's secretary Dunlop Smith and Archbold, the principal of the Aligarh College. Future prime minister Ramsey MacDonald noted that this agreement sowed discord between the Hindu and Muslim communities by favoring the latter, and historians have seen this as the beginning of a policy that would lead to the separate nation of Pakistan.

In 1906 the nationalist Extremists were encouraged by Japan's victory over Russia, and Congress Moderates pointed to the Liberal Party's win in the English election. Gokhale met with John Morley five times in 1906. During the Congress at Calcutta in December 1906 the 81-year-old Parsi Dadabhai Naoroji was accepted as a compromise president while 1,663 delegates and some 20,000 visitors attended. The most noted part of his speech was stating that *swaraj* (self-government) is the goal of India. The Extremists were able to get a series of resolutions passed in favor of the boycott, *swadeshi*, and national education.

After Nawab Salimullah of Dacca convened a meeting of the Central Muhammadan Association, the All-India Muslim League was founded on December 30, 1906. Their main purposes were to promote Muslim loyalty to the British Government and to protect and advance the rights of Muslims in India. They were concerned that a representative government would be unfair to them as a minority, and they believed that competitive examinations deprived Muslims of Government jobs. The way they saw of avoiding Hindu rule was by supporting the British. Muslims in East Bengal supported the partition, and Hindu-Muslim riots broke out. The Red Pamphlet (*Lal Ishtahar*) accused Hindus of taking money from Muslims and urged Muslims to boycott Hindus. When Salimullah of Dacca came to Comilla on March 4, 1907, Muslims began attacking Hindus and looted their shops for four days as the riots spread to Jamalpur and other places. An investigation by C. J. O'Donnell, a member of Parliament, later showed that public proclamations assured Muslims they would not be punished for oppressing Hindus. The Muslim League met at Karachi in December 1907, and a British branch of the Muslim League opened in London in 1908. That year the Muslim League announced its opposition to the Hindu movement to unsettle the partition of Bengal. At their annual meeting at Amritsar the Muslim League overwhelmingly supported the separate electorate for Muslims.

In April 1907 Aurobindo wrote seven articles on "Passive Resistance" in *Bande Mataram*. He argued that organized political strength was needed for national self-development. Aurobindo wrote that "political freedom is the life-breath of a nation" and was needed to bring about moral, social, and educational reforms as well as industrial expansion. He argued their popular authority would rival the "despotic foreign bureaucracy." The National Congress had recognized the boycott and the national programs for *swadeshi* and education, and arbitration could be passed at the next session. The New Party and Bengal had accepted passive resistance or what Aurobindo also called "defensive resistance." This must be organized, and the only effective way to remove foreign tyranny is to establish a democracy under a free constitution to control the executive and judiciary as well as the legislative branch of government. Only when the people become responsible can a government be a protector, instead of an oppressor. Aurobindo advised that, as long as the oppressive government was still legal and respected life, liberty, and property, there was still time for using peaceful resistance. He believed that using defensive resistance for self-development was the last chance to avoid extremist methods. He noted that aggressive resistance tries to harm the Government while defensive or passive resistance exerts the same pressure by abstaining from helping the Government. The British could not rule and exploit India without the assistance of the Indians.

Aurobindo suggested they extend self-development to every aspect of national life, not only to *Swadeshi* and national education but also to national defense, arbitration courts, sanitation, insurance against famine, etc. To avoid indoctrination they refused to send their boys to Government schools. By extending their self-development they would universalize their defensive resistance, boycotting the courts and the bureaucracy. All these methods are legal. If the administration persistently refuses, then he recommended refusing to pay taxes as "the strongest and final form of passive resistance." He noted that British justice has shown its contempt for life by giving European murderers leniency. He anticipated the British reaction of enacting coercive laws, and he said the passive resisters must be willing to suffer by disobeying unjust laws and orders. Aurobindo also recommended the social boycott against Indians who refused to honor the boycotts of salt, sugar, and cloth. He believed that passive resistance was a method by which they could meet disturbers of the peace with self-contained divine power. He concluded that the sooner they put this into practice, the sooner they would gain national liberation.

3.3 LORD CURZON : ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

Lord Curzon occupies a high place among the rulers of British India like Lord Wellesley and Lord Dalhousie. He was a thorough imperialist. In order to

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make the administration efficient, Lord Curzon overhauled the entire administrative machinery. His internal administration may be studied under the following heads.

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EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Curzon took a serious view of the fall in the standard of education and discipline in the educational institutions. In his view the universities had degenerated into factories for producing political revolutionaries. To set the educational system in order, he instituted in 1902, a **Universities Commission** to go into the entire question of university education in the country. On the basis of the findings and recommendations of the Commission, Curzon brought in the Indian Universities Act of 1904, which brought all the universities in India under the control of the government.

POLICE AND MILITARY REFORMS

Curzon believed in efficiency and discipline. He instituted a Police Commission in 1902 under the chairmanship of **Sir Andrew Frazer**. Curzon accepted all the recommendations and implemented them. He set up training schools for both the officers and the constables and introduced provincial police service. As for the remodeling of the army, it was by and large done by Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief in India in Curzon's time.

CALCUTTA CORPORATION ACT (1899)

The Viceroy brought in a new legislative measure namely the Calcutta Corporation Act in 1899 by which the strength of the elected members was reduced and that of the official members increased. Curzon gave more representations to the English people as against the Indians in the Calcutta Corporation. There was strong resentment by the Indian members against Curzon's anti-people measures.

PRESERVATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBJECTS

Curzon had a passion for preserving the ancient monuments of historical importance in India. No Viceroy in India before or after him took such a keen interest in archaeological objects. He passed a law called the Ancient Monuments Act, 1904 which made it obligatory on the part of the government and local authorities to preserve the monuments of archaeological importance and their destruction an offence.

PARTITION OF BENGAL, 1905

The Partition of Bengal into two provinces was effected on 4 July 1905. The new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam included the whole of Assam and the

Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong divisions of Bengal with headquarters at Dacca. Though Curzon justified his action on administrative lines, partition divided the Hindus and Muslims in Bengal. This led to the anti-partition agitation all over the country. This had also intensified the National Movement.

ESTIMATE OF LORD CURZON

Lord Curzon assumed his office, when he was forty years old. All his reform measures were preceded by an expert Commission and its recommendations. He made a serious study of the Indian problems in all their aspects. At the beginning Curzon earned the popularity and admiration of the Indian people. He lost the popularity by the act of Partition of Bengal.

PARTITION OF BENGAL AND THE RISE OF EXTREMISM

The partition of Bengal in 1905 provided a spark for the rise of extremism in the Indian National Movement. Curzon's real motives were :

- To break the growing strength of Bengali nationalism since Bengal was the base of Indian nationalism.
- To divide the Hindus and Muslims in Bengal.
- To show the enormous power of the British Government in doing whatever it liked.

On the same day when the partition came into effect, 16 October 1905, the people of Bengal organised protest meetings and observed a day of mourning. The whole political life of Bengal underwent a change. Gandhi wrote that the real awakening in India took place only after the Partition of Bengal. The anti-partition movement culminated into the Swadeshi Movement and spread to other parts of India.

The aggressive nationalists forced Dadabhai Naoroji to speak of *Swaraj* (which was not a Moderate demand) in the Calcutta Session of Congress in 1906. They adopted the resolutions of Boycott and Swadeshi. The Moderate Congressmen were unhappy. They wanted *Swaraj* to be achieved through constitutional methods. The differences led to a split in the Congress at the Surat session in 1907.

This is popularly known as the famous **Surat Split**. The extremists came out of the Congress led by Tilak and others.

3.4 SWADESHI MOVEMENT

The Swadeshi Movement involved programmes like the boycott of government service, courts, schools and colleges of foreign goods, promotion of Swadeshi goods, Promotion of National Education through the establishment of national schools and colleges. It was both a political and economic movement.

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The Swadeshi Movement was a great success. In Bengal, even the landlords joined the movement. The women and students took to picketing. Students refused using books made of foreign paper.

The government adopted several tough measures. It passed several Acts to crush the movement. The Swadeshi volunteers were beaten badly. The cry of *Bande Mataram* was forbidden. Schools and colleges were warned not to allow their students to take part in the movement or else their aid would be stopped. Some Indian government employees lost their jobs. Extremist leaders Bala Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh were imprisoned and deported.

As soon as the final announcement was made Bengal broke out in protest. Protest meetings were held all over Bengal and most significantly not only in Calcutta but also in the smaller towns in the interiors of Bengal e.g., Dinajpur, Pabna, Faridpur, Dacca, Barisal etc. The decision to 'boycott' British goods was taken up for the first time in one of these meetings. Formal proclamation of the Swadeshi movement was made on August 7, 1905 with the passing of the 'Boycott' resolution in a meeting at the Calcutta townhall which brought about the unification of the hitherto dispersed leadership.

On the day the partition was put into effect i.e., October 16, 1905, a hartal was called in Calcutta and a day of mourning was declared. People fasted and no fire was lit in the cooking hearth. People paraded the streets singing *Bande Mataram*. The people of Bengal tied rakhis on each others' wrist as a symbol of solidarity.

This peculiar form of mass protest of 'swadeshi and boycott' attained popularity among the new members of the Congress who were more impatient than the moderates to see a positive response to their efforts. Lokmanya Tilak took the message of swadeshi and the boycott of foreign goods to Bombay and Pune; Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai to Punjab and other parts of North India; Syed Haider Raza to Delhi and Chidambaram Pillai to Madras presidency which was also motivated by Bipin Chandra Pal's extensive lecture tours. The INC formally took up the swadeshi call in its Benaras session of 1905 presided over by GK Gokhale. Although the Congress supported the swadeshi movement in Bengal it did not envisage the further intensification of the movement throughout India or the extension of the cause to total independence. The extremist leadership of Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo Ghosh etc wanted just that. This extremist pressure promoted Dada Bhai Naoroji in his presidential address in Calcutta session of the Congress to say that the ultimate goal of the INC was 'self-government or swaraj'.

The contribution of the swadeshi movement was the initiation of new forms of protest. Some of these terms of protest anticipated many of the methods

adopted by Mahatma Gandhi during his satyagraha. These new forms of protest were mass meetings, processions, boycott of foreign goods (later extended to boycott of government schools, colleges, courts, titles and government services), and organization of strikes, burning of foreign goods in public, picketing of shops selling foreign goods.

Attempts were made to achieve mass mobilization and 'samitis' were formed which penetrated deep into the interiors of Bengal spreading the swadeshi message. For the first time in the national movement there was the use of traditional and popular festivals to reach the people. The Ganapati and Shivaji festivals in Maharashtra were employed by Tilak to draw the masses to the movement and educate them about it. In Bengal the use of swadeshi songs was made to inspire the people. The popular theatre form known as *jatra* was also used to spread nationalist feeling. This movement was accompanied by a great out-burst of cultural activities. Finally the colonial government was compelled to withdraw the partition in the form in which they had envisaged it. However they did try to decrease the importance of Calcutta and hence the intellectuals of Bengal by shifting the capital to Delhi in 1911.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF EXTREMISTS

The achievements of extremists can be summed up as follows :

1. They were the first to demand *Swaraj* as a matter of birth right.
2. They involved the masses in the freedom struggle and broadened the social base of the National Movement.
3. They were the first to organize an all-India political movement, viz. the Swadeshi Movement.

3.5 FORMATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE (1906)

In December 1906, Muslim delegates from all over India met at Dacca for the Muslim Educational Conference. Taking advantage of this occasion, Nawab Salimullah of Dacca proposed the setting up of an organisation to look after the Muslim interests. The proposal was accepted.

The All-India Muslim League was finally set up on December 30, 1906. Like the Indian National Congress, they conducted annual sessions and put their demands to the British government. Initially, they enjoyed the support of the British. Their first achievement was the separate electorates for the Muslims in the Minto-Morley reforms.

3.6 CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS (1858—1947)

The history of constitutional development in India begins from the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773. The Pitt's India Act of 1784 and the successive

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Charter Acts from 1793 to 1853 form part of the constitutional changes under the East India Company's rule.

The Revolt of 1857 brought about important changes in the British administration in India. The rule of the East India Company came to an end. The administration of India came under the direct control of the British Crown. These changes were announced in the Government of India Act of 1858. The 'Proclamation of Queen Victoria' assured the Indians a benevolent administration. Thereafter, important development had taken place in constitutional history of India as a result of the Indian National Movement.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858

The Government of India Act of 1858 was passed by the Parliament of England and received royal assent on 2nd August 1858. Following are the main provisions of the Act :

- East India Company's rule came to an end and the Indian administration came under the direct control of the Crown.
- In England, the Court of Directors and Board of Control were abolished. In their place came the Secretary of State for India and India Council were established. The Secretary of State would be a member of the British cabinet. Sir Charles Wood was made the first Secretary of State for India. India Council consisting of 15 members would assist him.
- The Governor General of India was also made the Viceroy of India. The first Viceroy of India was Lord Canning.
- All the previous treaties were accepted and honoured by the Act.

Queen Victoria's Proclamation

On 1 November 1858 the Proclamation of Queen Victoria was announced by Lord Canning at Allahabad. This royal Proclamation was translated into Indian languages and publicly read in many important places. It announced the end of Company's rule in India and the Queen's assumption of the Government of India. It endorsed the treaty made by the Company with Indian princes and promised to respect their rights, dignity and honour. It assured the Indian people equal and impartial protection of law and freedom of religion and social practices. The Proclamation of Queen Victoria gave a practical shape to the Act of 1858.

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT OF 1861

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 increased the number of members in the Governor-General's executive Council from 4 to 5. Further the Governor-General's Executive Council was enlarged into a Central Legislative Council. Six to twelve "additional members" were to be nominated by the Governor-General. Not less than half of these members were to be non-officials. Thus a provision was made

for the inclusion of Indians in the Legislative Council. The functions of these members were strictly limited to making legislation and they were forbidden from interfering in the matters of the Executive Council. They did not possess powers of administration and finance.

Legislative Councils were also established in the provinces. The number of additional members in the provinces was fixed between four to eight. So, this Act was an important constitutional development and the people of India came to be involved in the law making process. The mechanism of Indian legislation developed slowly and reinforced further by the Acts of 1892 and 1909.

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT OF 1892

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was the first achievement of the Indian National Congress. It had increased the number of "additional members" in the Central Legislative Council. They were to be not less than 10 and not more than 16. It had also increased the proportion of non-officials – 6 officials and 10 non-officials. The members were allowed to discuss the budget and criticize the financial policy of the government. In the provinces also the number of additional members was increased with additional powers.

MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS OF 1909

The Indian Councils Act of 1909 was also known as Minto-Morley Reforms in the names of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India. Both were responsible for the passing of this Act. It was passed to win the support of the Moderates in the Congress. The important provisions of this Act were :

1. The number of "additional members" of the Central Legislative Council was increased to a maximum of 60. Elected members were to be 27 and among the remaining 33 nominated members not more than 28 were to be officials.
2. The principle of election to the councils was legally recognized. But **communal representation** was for the **first time introduced** in the interests of Muslims. **Separate electorates** were provided for the Muslims.
3. The number of members in provincial legislative councils of major provinces was raised to 50.
4. The Councils were given right to discuss and pass resolutions on the Budget and on all matters of public interest. However, the Governor-General had the power to disallow discussion on the budget.
5. An Indian member was appointed for the first time to the Governor-General's Executive Council. Sir S. P. Sinha was the first Indian to be appointed thus.

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6. In Bombay and Madras, the number of members of the Executive Councils was raised from 2 to 4. The practice of appointing Indians to these Councils began.
7. Two Indians were also appointed to the India Council [in England].

The Minto-Morley reforms never desired to set up a parliamentary form of government in India. However, the Moderates welcomed the reforms as fairly liberal measures. The principle of separate electorates had ultimately led to the partition of India in 1947.

MONTAGUE-CHELMSFORD REFORMS OF 1919

The political developments in India during the First World War such as the Home Rule Movement led to the August Declaration. On 20th August, 1917 Montague, the Secretary of State for India made a momentous declaration in the House of Commons. His declaration assured the introduction of responsible government in India in different stages. As a first measure the Government of India Act of 1919 was passed by the Parliament of England. This Act is popularly known as Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. At that time Lord Chelmsford was the Viceroy of India. The main features of the Act were :

1. **Dyarchy** was introduced in the provinces. Provincial subjects were divided into "**Reserved Subjects**" such as police, jails, land revenue, irrigation and forests and "**Transferred Subjects**" such as education, local self-government, public health, sanitation, agriculture and industries. The Reserved subjects were to be administered by the Governor and his Executive Council. The Transferred subjects by the Governor and his ministers.
2. A bicameral (Two Chambers) legislature was set up at the centre. It consisted of the **Council of States** and the **Legislative Assembly**. The total member in the Legislative Assembly was to be a maximum of 145, out of which 105 were to be elected and the remaining nominated. In the Council of States there would be a maximum of 60 members out of which 34 were elected and the remaining nominated.
3. The salaries of the Secretary of State for India and his assistants were to be paid out of the British revenues. So far, they were paid out of the Indian revenues.
4. A High Commissioner for India at London was appointed. The most important defect in this Act was the **division of powers** under the system of Dyarchy in the provinces.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

The Government of India Act of 1935 was passed on the basis of the report of the Simon Commission, the outcome of the Round Table Conferences and the

White Paper issued by the British Government in 1933. This Act contained many important changes over the previous Act of 1919.

Following were the salient features of this Act.

1. Provision for the establishment of an **All India Federation** at the Centre, consisting of the Provinces of British India and the Princely States. (It did not come into existence since the Princely States refused to give their consent for the union.)
2. Division of powers into three lists: Federal, Provincial and Concurrent.
3. Introduction of Dyarchy at the Centre. The Governor-General and his councillors administered the "Reserved subjects". The Council of Ministers were responsible for the "Transferred" subjects.
4. Abolition of Dyarchy and the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in the provinces. The Governor was made the head of the Provincial Executive but he was expected to run the administration on the advice of the Council of Ministers. Thus provincial government was entrusted to the elected Ministers. They were responsible to the popularly elected Legislative Assemblies.
5. Provincial Legislatures of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar and Assam were made bicameral.
6. Extension of the principle of Separate Electorates to Sikhs, Europeans, Indian Christians and Anglo Indians.
7. Establishment of a Federal Court at Delhi with a Chief Justice and 6 judges.

The working of the provincial autonomy was not successful. The Governors were not bound to accept the advice of the ministers. In reality, the real power in the Provincial Government was with the Governor. But, despite these drawbacks in the scheme, the Congress decided to take part in the elections to the Provincial Legislatures with the consideration that it was an improvement over the previous Acts.

In accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 elections to the Provincial Legislatures were held in February 1937. The Congress had virtually swept the polls. On 7 July 1937, after the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, assured the Congress of his cooperation, the party formed its ministries in seven provinces.

3.7 SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS

In the history of modern India, the socio-religious reforms occupy a significant place. Social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Swami Vivekananda were responsible for the social and cultural awakening in India. The spread of liberal ideas of the west provided further

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stimulus for the emergence of reform movements. These movements introduced important changes in social and religious life of the people of India.

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RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY AND THE BRAHMO SAMAJ

Raja Rammohan Roy established the **Brahmo Samaj** at Calcutta in 1828 in order to purify Hinduism and to preach **monotheism**. He is considered as the first 'modern man of India'. He was a pioneer of socio-religious reform movements in modern India.

Born in 1772 in the Hooghly district of Bengal, he inculcated a brilliant freedom of thought and rationality. He studied *the Bible* as well as Hindu and Muslim religious texts. He had excellent command over many languages including English, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

In 1815, he established the **Atmiya Sabha**. Later, it was developed into the **Brahmo Sabha** in August 1828. Through this organisation, he preached that there is only one God. He combined the teachings of the *Upanishads*, the *Bible* and the *Koran* in developing unity among the people of different religions. The work of the Atmiya Sabha was carried on by Maharishi Debendranath Tagore (father of Rabindranath Tagore), who renamed it as **Brahmo Samaj**. He turned the **Brahmo Samaj** into a leading social organisation of India.

Raj Rammohan Roy is most remembered for helping Lord William Bentinck to declare the practice of *Sati* a punishable offence in 1829. He also protested against the child marriage and female infanticide. He favored the remarriage of widows, female education and women's right to property. He felt that the caste system was the greatest hurdle to Indian unity. He believed in the equality of mankind.

He did not believe in the supremacy of the Brahmin priests. He favoured inter-caste marriages. He himself adopted a Muslim boy. In 1817, he founded the **Hindu College** (now **Presidency College, Calcutta**) along with David Hare, a missionary. He also set up schools for girls.

Rammohan Roy started the first Bengali weekly *Sambad Kaumudi* and edited a Persian weekly *Mirat-ul-akhbar*. He stood for the freedom of the press. Rammohan died in Bristol in England in 1833.

HENRY VIVIAN DEROZIO AND THE YOUNG BENGAL MOVEMENT

Henry Vivian Derozio was the founder of the **Young Bengal Movement**. He was born in Calcutta in 1809 and taught in the **Hindu College, Calcutta**. He died of cholera in 1833. His followers were known as the **Derozians** and their movement the **Young Bengal Movement**. They attacked old traditions and decadent customs. They also advocated women's rights and their education. They

founded associations and organized debates against idol worship, casteism and superstitions.

SWAMI DAYANAND SARASWATI AND THE ARYA SAMAJ

The **Arya Samaj** was founded by **Swami Dayanand Saraswati** at Bombay in 1875. Born in Kathiawar in Gujarat, Swami Dayanand (1824-83) was a scholar, a patriot, a social reformer and a revivalist. He believed the *Vedas* were the source of true knowledge.

His motto was "Back to the Vedas". He was against idol worship, child marriage and caste system based on birth. He encouraged intercaste marriages and widow remarriage. He started the Suddhi movement to bring back those Hindus who had converted to other religions to its fold. He wrote the book *Satyartha Prakash* which contains his ideas.

The Arya Samaj, though founded in Bombay, became very powerful in Punjab and spread its influence to other parts of India. It has contributed very much to the spread of education. The first Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) School was founded in 1886 at Lahore.

Many more schools came up in other parts of India in later years. The Arya Samaj had also spread nationalism. Hundreds of Arya Samaj patriots, including Lala Lajpat Rai, took part in the Indian freedom struggle.

PRARTHANA SAMAJ

The Prarthana Samaj was founded in 1867 in Bombay by **Dr. Atmaram Pandurang**. It was an off-shoot of Brahma Samaj. It was a reform movement within Hinduism and concentrated on social reforms like inter-dining, inter-marriage, widow remarriage and uplift of women and depressed classes. Justice M.G. Ranade and R.G. Bhandarkar joined it in 1870 and infused new strength to it. Justice Ranade promoted the Deccan Education Society.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA AND RAMAKRISHNA MISSION

The original name of **Swami Vivekananda** was Narendranath Dutta (1863-1902) and he became the most famous disciple of **Shri Ramkrishna Paramhansa**. He was born in a prosperous Bengali family of Calcutta and educated in Scottish Church College. In 1886 Narendranath took the vow of *Sanyasa* and was given the name, Vivekananda. He preached Vedantic Philosophy. He condemned the caste system and the current Hindu emphasis on rituals and ceremonies.

Swami Vivekananda participated at the **Parliament of Religions** held in **Chicago (USA)** in September 1893 and raised the prestige of India and Hinduism very high. Vivekananda preached the message of strength and self-reliance. He

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asked the people to improve the lives of the poor and depressed classes. He believed that service to mankind is service to God. He founded the Ramkrishna Mission at Belur in Howrah in 1897. It is a social service and charitable society. The objectives of this Mission are providing humanitarian relief and social work through the establishment of schools, colleges, hospitals and orphanages.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

The Theosophical Society was founded in New York (USA) in 1875 by Madam H.P. Blavatsky, a Russian lady, and Henry Steel Olcott, an American colonel. Their main objectives were to form a universal brotherhood of man without any distinction of race, colour or creed and to promote the study of ancient religions and philosophies. They arrived in India and established their headquarters at Adyar in Madras in 1882. Later in 1893, Mrs. Annie Besant arrived in India and took over the leadership of the Society after the death of Olcott. Mrs. Annie Besant founded the Central Hindu School along with Madan Mohan Malaviya at Benaras which later developed into the Banaras Hindu University.

PANDIT ISHWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR

Pandit Ishwar Chandra was a great educator, humanist and social reformer. He was born in 1820 in a village in Midnapur, Bengal. He rose to be the Head Pandit of the Bengali Department of Fort William College. He firmly believed that reform in Indian society could only come about through education. Vidyasagar founded many schools for girls. He helped J.D. Bethune to establish the Bethune School. He founded the Metropolitan Institution in Calcutta. He protested against child marriage and favoured widow remarriage which was legalised by the Widow Remarriage Act (1856).

It was due to his great support for the spread of education that he was given the title of Vidyasagar.

JYOTIBA PHULE

Jyotiba Phule belonged to a low caste family in Maharashtra. He waged a life-long struggle against upper caste domination and Brahmanical supremacy. In 1873 he founded the Satyashodak Samaj to fight against the caste system. He pioneered the widow remarriage movement in Maharashtra and worked for the education for women. Jyotiba Phule and his wife established the first girls' school at Poona in 1851.

MUSLIM REFORM MOVEMENTS

The Muslim reform movements started a little later because they had avoided western education in the beginning. The first effort was in 1863 when the Muhammad Literary Society was set up in Calcutta. Its aim was to popularise

the study of English and western sciences. It established a number of schools in Bengal.

ALIGARH MOVEMENT

The Aligarh Movement was started by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) for the social and educational advancement of the Muslims in India. He fought against the medieval backwardness and advocated a rational approach towards religion.

In 1866, he started the Mohammadan Educational Conference as a general forum for spreading liberal ideas among the Muslims. In 1875, he founded a modern school at Aligarh to promote English education among the Muslims. This had later grown into the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College and then into the Aligarh Muslim University.

THE DEOBAND SCHOOL

The orthodox section among the Muslim *ulema* organised the Deoband Movement. It was a revivalist movement whose twin objectives were : (i) to propagate among the Muslims the pure teachings of the *Koran* and the *Hadis* and (ii) to keep alive the spirit of *jihad* against the foreign rulers. The new Deoband leader Mahmud-ul-Hasan (1851-1920) sought to impart a political and intellectual content to the religious ideas of the school. The liberal interpretation of Islam created a political awakening among its followers.

SIKH REFORM MOVEMENT

Punjab also came under the spell of reforms. Baba Dayal Das founded the Nirankari Movement. He insisted the worship of God as nirankar (formless). The Namdhari Movement was founded by Baba Ram Singh. His followers wore white clothes and gave up meat eating. The Singh Sabhas started in Lahore and Amritsar in 1870 were aimed at reforming the Sikh society. They helped to set up the Khalsa College at Amritsar in 1892. They also encouraged Gurmukhi and Punjabi literature. In 1920, the Akalis started a movement to remove the corrupt Mahants (priests) from the Sikh gurudwaras.

The British government was forced to make laws on this matter. Later, the Akalis organised themselves into a political party.

PARSI REFORM MOVEMENT

The Parsi Religious Reform Association was founded at Bombay by Furdunji Naoroji and S.S. Bengalee in 1851. They advocated the spread of women's education. They also wanted to reform their marriage customs. Naoroji published a monthly journal, *Jagat Mithra*. The momentum gathered through these reform movements and went a long way in uplifting the entire community.

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By the middle of the twentieth century most of them were highly placed in various capacities and have made a significant contribution to India's development.

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SAINT RAMALINGA

Saint Ramalinga was one of the foremost saints of Tamil Nadu in the nineteenth century. He was born on October 5, 1823 at Marudhur, near Chidambaram. He was the last son of his father, Ramayya Pillai and mother, Chinnammayar.

Developing a deep interest in spiritual life, Ramalinga moved to Karunguli in 1858, a place near Vadalur where the Saint later settled down. His divine powers came to be recognised at the early age of eleven. In 1865 he founded the **Samarasa Suddha Sanmargha Sangha** for the promotion of his ideals of establishing a casteless society. He preached love and compassion to the people. He composed *Tiru Arutpa*. His other literary works include *Manu Murai Kanda Vasagam* and *Jeeva Karunyam*. His language was so simple as to enable the illiterate people to understand his teachings. In 1870 he moved to Mettukuppam, a place three miles away from Vadalur. There he started constructing the **Satya Gnana Sabai** in 1872. He introduced the principle that God could be worshipped in the form of Light.

SRI VAIKUNDA SWAMIGAL

Sri Vaikunda Swamigal was born in 1809 at Swamithoppu in the Kanyakumari district of Tamil Nadu. His original name was Mudichoodum Perumal but he was called Muthukkutty. He preached against the caste system and untouchability. He also condemned religious ceremonies. Many came to his place to worship him and slowly his teachings came to be known as **Ayyavazhi**. By the midnineteenth century, Ayyavazhi came to be recognized as a separate religion and spread in the regions of South Travancore and South Political.

3.8 DEVELOPMENTS FROM 1909 TO 1917

The period from 1905 was known as the era of extremism in the Indian National Movement. The extremists or the aggressive nationalists believed that success could be achieved through bold means. The important extremist leaders were Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh.

THE LUCKNOW PACT (1916)

During the 1916 Congress session at Lucknow two major events occurred. The divided Congress became united. An understanding for joint action against the British was reached between the Congress and the Muslim League and it was

called the **Lucknow Pact**. The signing of the Lucknow Pact by the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916 marked an important step in the Hindu-Muslim unity.

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT (1916)

Two Home Rule Leagues were established, one by B.G. Tilak at Poona in April 1916 and the other by Mrs. Annie Besant at Madras in September 1916. The aim of the Movement was to get self-government for India within the British Empire. It believed freedom was the natural right of all nations. Moreover, the leaders of the Home Movement thought that India's resources were not being used for her needs.

The two Leagues cooperated with each other as well with the Congress and the Muslim League in putting their demand for home rule. While Tilak's Movement concentrated on Maharashtra, Annie Besant's Movement covered the rest of the country. The Home Rule Movement had brought a new life in the national movement. There was a revival of Swadeshi. Women joined in larger numbers. On 20 August 1917, Montague, the Secretary of State in England, made a declaration in the Parliament of England on *British Government's policy towards* future political reforms in India. He promised the gradual development of self-governing institutions in India. This August Declaration led to the end of the Home Rule Movement.

3.9 THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENTS (1917 – 1947)

The British Government introduced the next set of constitutional reforms in 1919 (The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms). Although these reforms claimed to have brought forth local self-government and considerable autonomy to Indians, they kept the real powers firmly in British hands. The system of dyarchy as introduced by these reforms gave greater representation to Indians and greater control of local expenditure.

However the elected legislature had no control over the executive. The post war years (the First World War ended in 1918) saw growing unrest in the country as the impact of the War on the economy of India became more apparent. War led to rise in the prices, scarcity, unemployment etc added to which there was an influenza epidemic. Wartime necessities had given rise to a class of entrepreneurs in India and a large working class was also created that was becoming more *organized*. This working class was restive and a potential force in the nationalist movement. Part of the capitalist class was loyal to the colonial state because it helped them control the labour force.

However there were also some among them who were supportive of the national movement. They were opposed to the economic policies of the colonial

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government and realised that the end result of British policy would be to the detriment of Indian industry.

The arrival of MK Gandhi in these turbulent times marked yet another phase in the nationalist movement. Gandhi who arrived in India in 1915, used his own methods to harness these forces that existed in India in the post war years. His style was to address specific issues and laws and organize a peaceful resistance and violation of the laws with the help of disciplined cadres. The significance of Gandhi's movement was that he brought the focus upon specific issues. Gandhi first achieved success in three movements in Champaran Kheda and Ahmedabad respectively. The first two were peasant movements and the last was a strike of the millworkers of Ahmedabad.

The peasantry at Champaran was agitating against the European planters who forced them to cultivate indigo. There was a history of peasant unrest against planters in Champaran. Raj Kumar Shukla, one of the peasant leaders, went all the way to Lucknow to invite Gandhi to see their plight. Gandhi instituted an open enquiry into the matter in 1917. The Champaran movement also got wider publicity with the government trying to restrict Gandhi's entry into that area and later letting him go there on threat of *satyagraha*.

The outcome of the Champaran movement was that the *tinkathia* system, under which the farmers had to cultivate indigo in 3/20th of their holdings, was abolished. The next movement Gandhi associated himself with was the agitation of the mill workers at Ahmedabad. The dispute between the workers and the owners had occurred due to the withdrawal of the 'plague bonus'. The owners withdrew the bonus after the epidemic had passed and the workers opposed the withdrawal because of the rising prices after the War. Gandhi persuaded the workers and owners to negotiate before a tribunal. The owners suddenly withdrew from the arbitration on the pretext of a strike called by some workers and declared that they were ready to give only 20% bonus and threatened dismissal to those workers who did not comply. Gandhi was greatly offended by this breach of agreement and declared that after proper study of the production cost, profits and the cost of living the conclusion was drawn that the workers were justified in asking for 35% increase in wages. Ambalal Sarabhai, one of the mill owners was a close friend of Gandhi and had given a liberal donation to his ashram at Sabarmati, and his sister Anasuya Ben was one of his greatest supporters in the Ahmedabad mill workers struggle. During the last stages of this struggle Gandhi for the first time used the fast as a means of protest. Gandhi observed that the workers were slowly losing their morale so he decided to go on a fast.

He declared that if the strike was to lead to starvation then he should be the first to once more and the matter was resolved with the workers getting the 35% raise. The third movement was that of the Kheda peasants whose crops had failed

and they were unable to get a remission of land revenue from the government. First, enquiries were made into the situation, as was the norm of all Gandhian movements. Crop yields were studied and it was confirmed that it had been one third of the normal yield which made the peasants eligible for a total remission of revenue. Gandhi advised the peasants to withhold the revenue. Vallabhbhai Patel and Indulal Yajnik helped Gandhi in the Kheda district by organising his tour of the villages and urging the peasants to stand firm. The government unleashed severe repression seizing cattle, household goods and even attaching standing crops. After putting up a brave struggle however they began to suffer in the face of repression. At that very movement Gandhi learnt that the Government was contemplating a compromise by directing that the revenue be recovered from only those who could pay it. Gandhi had asked the well off peasants also to withhold payment so that the poorer peasantry may not surrender. On learning of the Government directions, thus, Gandhi withdrew the movement.

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The outcome of the Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda movements, that occurred between 1916-1917, was that Gandhi was able to experiment with his method of non-violent satyagraha. The movements helped him to test the waters so to say. He cultivated his own core group of followers who would assist him and follow his orders in the forthcoming movements. In these movements Gandhiji showed his special talent for reconciling apparently opposed interests *e.g.*, mill owners and workers, keeping his friendship with one and at the same time gaining the trust of the other.

The next significant movement under Gandhi's leadership was the Rowlatt satyagraha. In February 1919, two bills that would severely curb the civil liberty of Indians were sought to be made into laws. The government wanted to pass these laws so that they may be able to control the rising tide of discontent among the population. The laws would provide for arbitrary detention and punishment without trial etc. In fact one of the bills was passed in the Council and made into law inspite of protests from the elected Indian members. This kind of restriction on the liberty of individuals might have been acceptable during the war years. But the end of the war had given rise to the hopes of further constitutional reform and a greater control of Indians over their own affairs if not self-government.

Having seen the futility of the protests from the Council members and others, Gandhi launched 'Satyagraha'. A 'Satyagraha Sabha' was formed that attracted many members. It was decided that a nationwide 'hartal' or strike would be observed to protest against the Act and fasting and prayers will be conducted. There would also be civil disobedience of certain laws. The Rowlatt Satyagraha was the first nationwide protest in India under the guidance of Gandhi. The people of India showed a great and swelling resentment against British rule and the hartals became violent. 6th April 1919 was decided as the day of hartal, however

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due to some confusion it was observed on 30th March in Delhi and led to fighting in the streets. Punjab had faced very severe wartime oppression due to forcible recruitment and widespread disease and other hardships. Amritsar and Lahore were centres of this movement. Gandhi tried to go to Punjab and get the movement back on the track of non-violent *satyagraha*. However Gandhi was prevented from entering the Punjab by the British government and was deported to Bombay. Bombay and Ahmedabad were also experiencing disturbances at that time and Gandhi tried to control the movement there.

Events in Punjab came to a head when two local leaders were arrested and the local town hall and post office were attacked as a result. During the nationalist movement a popular form of protest was to attack the symbols of British government, telegraph wires were cut, post offices attacked, and Europeans including women were attacked. The army was called and meetings and assemblies were banned. On the 13th of April 1919 a Baisakhi day gathering at Jallianwalla Bagh in Amritsar invited the wrath of General Dyer who was made in charge of the city. The General, angered that the ban on public meetings was being flouted, attacked the unarmed and helpless gathering and had his men fire at the crowd for ten minutes and only stopped when his ammunition was spent. No prior warning was issued to the people before firing started and there was no escape other than the narrow pathway where Dyer's men stood with their guns as the Jallianwalla Bagh was enclosed by walls on all sides.

This incident left 379 dead according to a conservative government estimate. This brutal incident was followed by even more brutal repression.

ADVENT OF GANDHI

The third and final phase of the Nationalist Movement [1917-1947] is known as the Gandhian era. During this period Mahatma Gandhi became the undisputed leader of the National Movement. His principles of **non-violence** and **Satyagraha** were employed against the British Government. Gandhi made the nationalist movement a **mass movement**.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born at Porbandar in Gujarat on 2 October 1869. He studied law in England. He returned to India in 1891. In April 1893 he went to South Africa and involved himself in the struggle against **apartheid** (Racial discrimination against the Blacks) for twenty years. Finally, he came to India in 1915.

Thereafter, he fully involved himself in the Indian National Movement. Mahatma Gandhi began his experiments with *Satyagraha* against the oppressive European indigo planters at **Champaran** in Bihar in 1917. In the next year he launched another *Satyagraha* at **Kheda** in Gujarat in support of the peasants

who were not able to pay the land tax due to failure of crops. During this struggle, Sardar Vallabhai Patel emerged as one of the trusted followers of Gandhi.

In 1918, Gandhi undertook a fast unto death for the cause of **Ahmedabad Mill Workers** and finally the mill owners conceded the just demands of the workers. On the whole, the local movements at Champaran, Kheda and Ahmedabad brought Mahatma Gandhi closer to the life of the people and their problems at the grass roots level. Consequently, he became the leader of the masses.

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ROWLATT ACT (1919)

In 1917, a committee was set up under the presidentship of Sir Sydney Rowlatt to look into the militant Nationalist activities. On the basis of its report the Rowlatt Act was passed in March 1919 by the Central Legislative Council. As per this Act, any person could be arrested on the basis of suspicion. No appeal or petition could be filed against such arrests. This Act was called the Black Act and it was widely opposed. An all-India hartal was organized on 6 April 1919. Meetings were held all over the country. Mahatma Gandhi was arrested near Delhi. Two prominent leaders of Punjab, Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, were arrested in Amritsar.

JALLIANWALA BAGH MASSACRE (13 APRIL, 1919)

The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre took place on 13 April 1919 and it remained a turning point in the history of India's freedom movement. In Punjab, there was an unprecedented support to the Rowlatt Satyagraha. Facing a violent situation, the Government of Punjab handed over the administration to the military authorities under General Dyer.

He banned all public meetings and detained the political leaders. On 13th April, the *Baisakhi* day (harvest festival), a public meeting was organized at the Jallianwala Bagh (garden). Dyer marched in and without any warning opened fire on the crowd. The firing continued for about 10 to 15 minutes and it stopped only after the ammunition exhausted. According to official report 379 people were killed and 1137 wounded in the incident. There was a nationwide protest against this massacre and Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood as a protest. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre gave a tremendous impetus to the freedom struggle.

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

The chief cause of the Khilafat Movement was the defeat of Turkey in the First World War. The harsh terms of the **Treaty of Sevres (1920)** was felt by the Muslims as a great insult to them. The whole movement was based on the Muslim

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belief that the Caliph (the Sultan of Turkey) was the religious head of the Muslims all over the world. The Muslims in India were upset over the British attitude against Turkey and launched the Khilafat Movement.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, M.A. Ansari, Saifuddin Kitchlew and the Ali brothers were the prominent leaders of this movement. A Khilafat Committee had been formed and on 19th October 1919, the whole country had observed the Khilafat day. On 23 November, a joint conference of the Hindus and the Muslims had also been held under the chairmanship of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi was particularly interested in bringing the Hindus and the Muslims together to achieve the country's independence. Subsequently, the Khilafat Movement merged with the Non-Cooperation Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1920-1922)

Mahatma Gandhi announced his plan to begin Non-Cooperation with the government as a sequel to the Rowlatt Act, Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the Khilafat Movement. It was approved by the Indian National Congress at the Nagpur session in December, 1920.

Programmes

The programmes of the Non-Cooperation Movement were :

- Surrender of titles and honorary positions.
- Resignation of membership from the local bodies.
- Boycott of elections held under the provisions of the 1919 Act.
- Boycott of government functions.
- Boycott of courts, government schools and colleges.
- Boycott of foreign goods.
- Establishment of national schools, colleges and private panchayat courts.
- Popularizing swadeshi goods and khadi.

The movement began with Mahatma Gandhi renouncing the titles, which were given by the British. Other leaders and influential persons also followed him by surrendering their honorary posts and titles. Students came out of the government educational institutions.

National schools such as the Kashi Vidyapeeth, the Bihar Vidyapeeth and the Jamia Millia Islamia were set up. All the prominent leaders of the country gave up their lucrative legal practice. Legislatures were boycotted. No leader of the Congress came forward to contest the elections for the Legislatures.

In 1921, mass demonstrations were held against the Prince of Wales during his tour of India. The government resorted to strong measures of repression. Many leaders were arrested. The Congress and the Khilafat Committees were

proclaimed as illegal. At several places, bonfires of foreign clothes were organised. The message of *Swadeshi* spread everywhere. Most of the households took to weaving cloths with the help of *charkhas*.

But the whole movement was abruptly called off on 11th February 1922 by Gandhi following the **Churi Chaura incident** in the Gorakpur district of U.P. Earlier on 5th February an angry mob set fire to the police station at Churi Chaura and twenty two police men were burnt to death. Many top leaders of the country were stunned at this sudden suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement. Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on 10 March 1922.

Significance of the Non-Cooperation Movement

1. It was the real mass movement with the participation of different sections of Indian society such as peasants, workers, students, teachers and women.
2. It witnessed the spread of nationalism to the remote corners of India.
3. It also marked the height of Hindu-Muslim unity as a result of the merger of Khilafat movement.
4. It demonstrated the willingness and ability of the masses to endure hardships and make sacrifices.

SWARAJ PARTY

The suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement led to a split within Congress in the **Gaya session** of the Congress in December 1922. Leaders like Motilal Nehru and Chitranjan Das formed a separate group within the Congress known as the Swaraj Party on 1 January 1923.

The Swarajists wanted to contest the council elections and wreck the government from within. Elections to Legislative Councils were held in November 1923. In this, the **Swaraj Party** gained impressive successes. In the Central Legislative Council Motilal Nehru became the leader of the party whereas in Bengal the party was headed by C.R. Das. The Swaraj Party did several significant things in the Legislative Council. It demanded the setting up of responsible government in India with the necessary changes in the Government of India Act of 1919. The party could pass important resolutions against the repressive laws of the government. When a Committee chaired by the Home Member, Alexander Muddiman considered the system of Dyarchy as proper, a resolution was passed against it in the Central Legislative Council. After the passing away of C.R. Das in June 1925, the Swaraj Party started weakening.

SIMON COMMISSION (1927)

The Act of 1919 included a provision for its review after a lapse of ten years. However, the review commission was appointed by the British Government two years earlier of its schedule in 1927.

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It came to be known as **Simon Commission** after the name of its chairman, **Sir John Simon**. All its seven members were Englishmen. As there was no Indian member in it, the Commission faced a lot of criticism even before its landing in India. Almost all the political parties including the Congress decided to oppose the Commission.

On the fateful day of 3 February 1928 when the Commission reached Bombay, a general hartal was observed all over the country. Everywhere it was greeted with black flags and the cries of 'Simon go back'. At Lahore, the students took out a large anti-Simon Commission demonstration on 30 October 1928 under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai. In this demonstration, Lala Lajpat Rai was seriously injured in the police *lathi* charge and he passed away after one month.

The report of the Simon Commission was published in May 1930. It was stated that the constitutional experiment with Dyarchy was unsuccessful and in its place the report recommended the establishment of autonomous government. There is no doubt that the Simon Commission's Report became the basis for enacting the Government of India Act of 1935.

NEHRU REPORT (1928)

In the meanwhile, the Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead, challenged the Indians to produce a Constitution that would be acceptable to all. The challenge was accepted by the Congress, which convened an all party meeting on 28 February 1928. A committee consisting of eight was constituted to draw up a blueprint for the future Constitution of India. It was headed by Motilal Nehru. The Report published by this Committee came to be known as the **Nehru Report**.

The Report favoured :

- Dominion Status as the next immediate step.
- Full responsible government at the centre.
- Autonomy to the provinces.
- Clear cut division of power between the centre and the provinces.
- A bicameral legislature at the centre.

However, the leader of the Muslim League, Mohammad Ali Jinnah regarded it as detrimental to the interests of the Muslims. Jinnah convened an All India Conference of the Muslims where he drew up a list of **Fourteen Points** as Muslim League demand.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT (1930-1934)

In the prevailing atmosphere of restlessness, the annual session of the Congress was held at Lahore in December 1929. During this session presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru the Congress passed the **Poorna Swaraj** resolution.

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Moreover, as the government failed to accept the Nehru Report, the Congress gave a call to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Congress had also observed January 26, 1930 as the Day of Independence. Since then January 26th had been observed as a day of independence every year. The same date later became the Republic Day when the Indian Constitution was enforced in 1950.

The Dandi March

Thus, the stage was set for the second major struggle led by the Congress. On 12th March 1930, Gandhi began his famous March to Dandi with his chosen 79 followers to break the salt laws. He reached the coast of Dandi on 5 April 1930 after marching a distance of 200 miles and on 6 April formally launched the Civil Disobedience Movement by breaking the salt laws.

On 9 April, Mahatma Gandhi laid out the programme of the movement which included making of salt in every village in violation of the existing salt laws; picketing by women before the shops selling liquor, opium and foreign clothes; organising the bonfires of foreign clothes; spinning clothes by using *charkha* fighting untouchability; boycotting of schools and colleges by students and resigning from government jobs by the people. Over and above all these, the programme also called upon the people not to pay taxes to the government.

Soon, the movement spread to all parts of the country. Students, workers, farmers and women, all participated in this movement with great enthusiasm. As a reaction, the British Government arrested important leaders of the Congress and imprisoned them.

Round Table Conference

The British government adopted the strategy of talking to different political parties by convening the Round Table Conferences. The first Round Table Conference was held in November 1930 at London and it was boycotted by the Congress.

In January 1931 in order to create a conducive atmosphere for talks, the government lifted the ban on the Congress Party and released its leaders from prison. On 8 March 1931 the **Gandhi-Irwin Pact** was signed. As per this pact, Mahatma Gandhi agreed to suspend the Civil-Disobedience Movement and participate in the Second-Round Table Conference. In September 1931, the Second Round Table Conference was held at London. Mahatma Gandhi participated in the Conference but returned to India disappointed as no agreement could be reached on the demand of complete independence and on the communal question.

In January 1932, the Civil-Disobedience Movement was resumed. The government responded to it by arresting Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel and by reimposing the ban on the Congress party.

POONA PACT (1932)

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By 1930, Dr Ambedkar had become a leader of national stature championing the cause of the depressed people of the country. While presenting a real picture of the condition of these people in the First Round Table Conference, he had demanded separate electorates for them. On 16 August 1932 the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald made an announcement, which came to be as the **Communal Award**. According to this award, the depressed classes were considered as a separate community and as such provisions were made for separate electorates for them. Mahatma Gandhi protested against the Communal Award and went on a fast unto death in the Yeravada jail on 20 September 1932.

Finally, an agreement was reached between Dr Ambedkar and Gandhi. This agreement came to be called as the **Poona Pact**. The British Government also approved of it. Accordingly, 148 seats in different Provincial Legislatures were reserved for the Depressed Classes in place of 71 as provided in the Communal Award.

The third Round Table Conference came to an end in 1932. The Congress once more did not take part in it. Nonetheless, in March 1933, the British Government issued a White Paper, which became the basis for the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT

In 1937 elections were held under the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935. Congress Ministries were formed in seven states of India. On 1 September 1939 the Second World War broke out. The British Government without consulting the people of India involved the country in the war. The Congress vehemently opposed it and as a mark of protest the Congress Ministries in the Provinces resigned on 12 December 1939. The Muslim League celebrated that day as the **Deliverance Day**. In March 1940 the Muslim League demanded the creation of Pakistan.

Individual Satyagraha

During the course of the Second World War in order to secure the cooperation of the Indians, the British Government made an announcement on 8 August 1940, which came to be known as the '**August Offer**'. The August Offer envisaged that after the War a representative body of Indians would be set up to frame the new Constitution. Gandhi was not satisfied with its offer and decided to launch **Individual Satyagraha**.

Individual Satyagraha was limited, symbolic and non-violent in nature and it was left to Mahatma Gandhi to choose the Satyagrahis. Acharya Vinoba Bhave was the first to offer Satyagraha and he was sentenced to three months

imprisonment. Jawaharlal Nehru was the second Satyagrahi and imprisoned for four months. The individual Satyagraha continued for nearly 15 months.

CRIPPS MISSION (1942)

In the meantime, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow expanded his Executive Council by including five more Indians into it in July 1941. However, in the midst of worsening wartime international situation, the British Government in its continued effort to secure Indian cooperation sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India on 23 March 1942. This is known as **Cripps Mission**.

The main recommendations of Cripps were :

- The promise of Dominion Status to India,
- Protection of minorities,
- Setting up of a Constituent Assembly in which there would be representatives from the Princely States along with those of the British Provinces,
- There would be provision for any Province of British India not prepared to accept this Constitution, either to retain its present constitutional position or frame a constitution of its own.

The major political parties of the country rejected the Cripps proposals. Gandhi called Cripps's proposals as a "**Post-dated Cheque**". They did not like the rights of the Princely States either to send their representatives to the Constituent Assembly or to stay out of the Indian Union. The Muslim League was also dissatisfied as its demand for Pakistan had not been conceded in the proposal.

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942-1944)

The failure of the Cripps Mission and the fear of an impending Japanese invasion of India led Mahatma Gandhi to begin his campaign for the British to quit India. Mahatma Gandhi believed that an interim government could be formed only after the British left India and the Hindu-Muslim problem sorted out. The **All India Congress Committee met at Bombay on 8 August 1942 and passed the famous Quit India Resolution**. On the same day, Gandhi gave his call of '**do or die**'.

On 8th and 9th August 1942, the government arrested all the prominent leaders of the Congress. For once, this pre-planned action of the government left the Indian people without leadership. Mahatma Gandhi was kept in prison at Poona. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, and other leaders were imprisoned in the Ahmednagar Fort. At this time, leadership was provided by Ram Manohar Lohia, Achyuta and S.M. Joshi. The role of Jayaprakash Narain in this movement was important. Large number of students also left their schools and colleges to join the movement. The youth of the nation also participated in

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this movement with patriotism. Strikes, demonstrations and public meetings were organised in various towns and cities. Slowly the movement reached the rural areas. In 1943, as the movement gained further momentum, there were armed attacks on government buildings in Madras and Bengal. In 1944 Mahatma Gandhi was released from jail. Quit India Movement was the final attempt for country's freedom. The British Government ordered for 538 rounds of firing. Nearly 60,229 persons were jailed. At least 7,000 people were killed. This movement paved the way for India's freedom. It aroused among Indians the feelings of bravery, enthusiasm and total sacrifice.

INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

During the course of the Second World War, armed revolutionary activities continued to take place. The role of Subhas Chandra Bose towards such activities is incomparable. On 2 July 1943, Subhas Chandra Bose reached Singapore and gave the rousing war cry of 'Dilli Chalo'. He was made the President of Indian Independence League and soon became the supreme commander of the **Indian National Army**. He gave the country the slogan of Jai Hind. The names of the INA's three Brigades were the Subhas Brigade, Gandhi Brigade and Nehru Brigade. The women's wing of the army was named after Rani Laxmibai.

The Indian National Army marched towards Imphal after registering its victory over Kohima. After Japan's surrender in 1945, the INA failed in its efforts. Under such circumstances, Subhas went to Taiwan. Then on his way to Tokyo he died on 18 August 1945 in a plane crash.

The trial of the soldiers of INA was held at Red Fort in Delhi. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Tej Bahadur Sapru fought the case on behalf of the soldiers.

CABINET MISSION (1946)

After the Second World War, Lord Atlee became the Prime Minister of England. On 15 March, 1946 Lord Atlee made a historic announcement in which the right to self-determination and the framing of a Constitution for India were conceded. Consequently, three members of the British Cabinet - Pathick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander - were sent to India. This is known as the **Cabinet Mission**.

The Cabinet Mission put forward a plan for solution of the constitutional problem. Provision was made for three groups of provinces to possess their separate constitutions. The Cabinet Mission also proposed the formation of a Union of India, comprising both the British India and the Princely States. The Union would remain in charge of only foreign affairs, defence and communications leaving the residuary powers to be vested in the provinces. A proposal was

envisaged for setting up an Interim Government, which would remain in office till a new government was elected on the basis of the new Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly. Both the Muslim League and the Congress accepted the plan.

Consequently, elections were held in July 1946 for the formation of a Constituent Assembly. The Congress secured 205 out of 214 General seats. The Muslim League got 73 out of 78 Muslim seats. An Interim Government was formed under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru on 2 September 1946.

MOUNTBATTEN PLAN (1947)

On 20 February 1947, Prime Minister Atlee announced in the House of Commons the definite intention of the British Government to transfer power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948. Thus, to effect the transference of that power Atlee decided to send Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy to India. Lord Mountbatten armed with vast powers became India's Viceroy on 24 March 1947. The partition of India and the creation of Pakistan appeared inevitable to him. After extensive consultation Lord Mountbatten put forth the plan of partition of India on 3 June 1947. The Congress and the Muslim League ultimately approved the **Mountbatten Plan**.

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT 1947

The British Government accorded formal approval to the Mountbatten Plan by enacting the Indian Independence Act on 18 July 1947. The salient features of this Act were :

- The partition of the country into India and Pakistan would come into effect from 15 August 1947.
- The British Government would transfer all powers to these two Dominions.
- A Boundary Commission would demarcate the boundaries of the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal.
- The Act provided for the transfer of power to the Constituent Assemblies of the two Dominions, which will have full authority to frame their respective Constitutions.

The **Radcliff Boundary Commission** drew the boundary line separating India and Pakistan. On 15th August 1947 India, and on the 14th August Pakistan came into existence as two independent states. Lord Mountbatten was made the first Governor General of Independent India, whereas Mohammad Ali Jinnah became the first Governor General of Pakistan. The most tragic incident occurred on 30 January 1948, when Mahatma Gandhi - the father of the nation on his way to a prayer meeting was assassinated by Nathuram Godse.

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3.10 SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS OF GANDHI II

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Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) was the supreme leader of the Indian nationalist movement which he had led for about thirty years, between 1917 and 1947. He was a thinker in so far as he had challenged most of the assumptions and doctrines of his times, and in their places, provided possible and plausible alternatives.

It is really difficult to project Gandhiji in any particular frame. He was more than a Plato, one can possibly call him a Socrates; he was more than an Aristotle, one can call him a Buddha; he was more than a Mill or a Marx, one can call him a Guru Nanak. Gandhiji was a liberal among the Marxists, and a Marxist among the liberals; he was a democrat among the individualists and an individualist among the socialists. He was an idealist among the realists, and a realist among the idealists. He had combined in himself the virtues of all the known ideologies, past and present.

GANDHI AS A CRITIC OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Gandhiji was a critic of Western Civilization. His complaint against western materialism is that it destroys the very essence of spiritualism. He regarded the western type of man as an atomistic individual, with all flesh and no soul.

As against the state that existed in the West, Gandhiji advocated what he called, the Ramrajya; as against the western style of managing things through the centralizing forces, he stood for a decentralized polity. As against materialism, industrialization and capitalism, he made a strong plea for Swadeshi, cottage industries and the theory of Trusteeship.

Meaning of True Civilisation

In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi defines true civilisation as follows :

Civilisation is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance or morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati equivalent for civilisation means "good conduct".

Gandhi goes on to point out that the truly civilised conduct calls for (i) limiting our wants; (ii) avoiding life-corroding competition; (iii) preventing conditions that generate robbery, prostitution and other vices; (iv) placing the rishis and fakirs over the kings; and (v) subordinating "brute force" to "soul force", or in other words, making our social and political actions conform to the principles of ethics and morality, viz., the principles of *satya* (truth) and *ahimsa* (non-violence).

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On several occasions, Gandhi emphasised that it is the capacity for moral or ethical conduct which makes the human being higher than the brute and that therefore, the progress of human civilisation is to be measured in the scale of ethics, and not in the scale of pure materialism, utilitarianism or brute force. The path of true civilisation, Gandhi concludes, lies away from the path of violence against, and exploitation of, "the weaker races of the earth" and "lower order of creation." The path of "pure selfishness" and "brute force", he says, leads, not to civilised conduct but to the reverse of it.

STATE, DECENTRALIZATION, COTTAGE INDUSTRIES, TRUSTEESHIP

Gandhiji is not an admirer of the type of the state that exists in the Western Society. For him, the Western state represented 'violence in a concentrated form'; it is a soulless machine. Accordingly, Gandhiji, as a philosophical anarchist, admitted the state, but very unwillingly, only when it is most needed.

Anarchist is one who is opposed to every type of state; anarchism is a theory of lawlessness: without state, without government, without law.

Gandhism stands for a non-violent state based on (i) the consent of the people (ii) the near unity in the society. Gandhiji advocated decentralization of power: both political and economic. The spirit of Gandhian democracy is the spirit of decentralization. Decentralization means devolution of power at each level beginning from individual/ local unit and reaching the apex. The essence of decentralization, according to Gandhiji, is that all powers flow from below and go up, in ascending order.

So considered, political power, in the Gandhian scheme, is vested in the individuals: the centre of all activity, the repository of Swaraj; from individual, power is transferred to the village; from village, the power goes to the higher unit, and ultimately, ends up with the central/national government which, practically performs only the coordinating functions. Thus what is or what can not be done by the individual is done by the village, what is not done by the village is done by the local/regional government; what is not done by the regional/provincial government is done by the central/ national government. The spirit of the Gandhian Ramrajya is that it is a self-regulating system where everyone is one's own ruler, and not a hindrance to one's neighbours.

Gandhiji's concept of decentralization has an economic aspect. He argued for the devolution of economic power as well. He advocated village economy through the promotion of village, small, cottage industries. In fact, he was for the self-reliant village economy. His concept of Swadeshi is "that spirit which requires us to serve our immediate neighbours and use things produced in our neighbourhood in preference to those more remote."

Gandhiji favoured the revival of indigenous industries so that people could have enough to eat. In his opinion, any kind of economy which exploited people and helped concentrated wealth in fewer hands, stands condemned.

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Gandhiji's idea of trusteeship was unique. It was unique because it aimed at establishing cordial relations between the capital and the labour. Declaring all property to be the property of the community as a whole, Gandhiji pleaded that all the employers (industrialists, capitalists and the like) are the trustees of what they hold. As such, they all are entitled only for the money they need to satisfy their necessities as do the employees (the workers etc.). For Gandhiji no individual is the owner: all work and all are the workers; everyone gets for the service one renders; the profit is not of the owner, but is what belongs to the community. The employers are the trustees, and not the masters; the employees as necessary components of the enterprises, are the workers and not the slaves.

ENDS AND MEANS

According to Gandhiji, ends and means constitute two aspects of the same reality, *i.e.*, two sides of the same coin. They form an organic whole. Ends grow out of the means "As are the means, so are the ends". Gandhiji used to say. He also said, the means may be likened to a seed; the ends, to a tree and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the ends as there is between the seed and the tree." He argued that the state cannot attain its ideal character as long as the means are tainted with violence. That is why he always laid emphasis on the purity of means to achieve the ends. Impure means cannot achieve pure ends. He said once: "I would not accept Swaraj if it comes through bloodshed". Again, "For me, Ahimsa comes before Swaraj." So close and inseparable is the relation between the two that if one takes care of the means, the ends will take care of themselves. Furthermore, the realization of the goal has to be, for Gandhiji, in proportion to that of the means.

Gandhiji was no Machiavelli. For Machiavelli, ends justify the means; for Gandhiji, means justify the ends.

SOCIETY AND SARVODAYA

Gandhism is not only a theory of politics, economy, religion, strategy, but also is a theory of society. Gandhiji's whole social philosophy is a philosophy of equality: equality not in the sense of absolute equality, but in the sense that as human beings, all are equal. A society based on equality, according to Gandhiji, is a society which rejects any and every type of discrimination: either on the basis of caste, creed, class, sex, race, or region. We are born as human beings, not as Hindus or Muslims, We are born as human beings, not as an upper caste being or a dalit. Gandhiji is opposed to all types of discriminatory tendencies and trends.

For him, there is only one caste, one class, one religion, one race, and that is humanity. He, therefore, did not admit any discrimination. In fact, he was more for the welfare of the weaker, *i.e.*, for women as compared to men; for the weaker sections of society: the Harijans, the Dalits. It is not that he wanted to deprive 'A' and 'give' to 'B'; it is that he wanted to give 'B' more so as to enable him to get to the heights of 'A'. He advocated equality so as to level people in social, economic, and political hierarchy. His concept of equality aimed at bridging the gaps and not distancing them.

Gandhiji's concept of Sarvodaya sums up his views on the kind of society he used to dream. Sarvodaya, as Gandhiji had visualised, is the greatest good of all the members of the society. It is the welfare of all. It is the good of the individual together with the good of all the individuals, *i.e.*, the good of each with the good of all. The concept of good in Sarvodaya is not merely material, it is moral and spiritual as well.

GANDHI'S HIND SWARAJ

Gandhi put forward his political ideas in several of his speeches and writings, the most notable of which is the booklet, 'Hind Swaraj', which he wrote in Gujarati on board S.S. Kildonan Castle during his return voyage from London to South Africa in 1909. It was first published in two parts in Indian Opinion, a weekly edited and published by Gandhi and it refers to Indian anarchists living in London. The Indian anarchists stood for using terrorist methods against the foreign rulers of India. Once freed from foreign rule, India, according to the anarchists, was to pursue the same Western model of modernity. Gandhi's objective in writing Hind Swaraj was to condemn both the cult of violence and the claims of superiority of modern civilisation.

Gandhi, Extremists and British Colonialism

As we have seen in the previous sections, Gandhi agreed with those extremists who denied the cultural or moral superiority of the modern Western civilisation. But he disagreed with their reactionary and revivalist attitude towards the Indian tradition. He also rejected their methods of terrorism or violence. The terrorist or violent methods, he said, will not take India on to the path of real swaraj or true civilisation. With regard to the reactionary or revivalist attitude of the extremists towards Indian tradition, Gandhi maintained that while the idea of, and tendency towards, *ahimsa* and true civilisation is indeed contained in Indian tradition, that tradition too has in the course of history, strayed off the path of *ahimsa* and true civilisation. Gandhi wrote :

"There are two aspects of Hinduism. There is, on the one hand, historical Hinduism with its untouchability, superstitious worship of rocks and

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stones, animal sacrifice and so on. On the other, we have the Hinduism of the Gita, the Upanishads and Patanjali's Yoga Sutra which is the acme of ahimsa and oneness of all creation, pure worship of one immanent, formless imperishable God."

Given the deviation of Indian tradition from the ideal of true civilisation, Gandhi told his countrymen that "to blame the English is useless, that they came because of us, and remain also for the same reason, and that they will either go or change their nature only when we reform ourselves." In particular, he emphasised the need to overcome "our inveterate selfishness, our inability to make sacrifices for the country, our dishonesty, our timidity, our hypocrisy and our ignorance." His own theory of swaraj and praxis of satyagraha, he said, was meant to bring about the truly civilised conduct of both the Indians and their colonisers. In other words, he aimed to bring about both the decolonisation of the colonised and the recivilising of the colonisers.

Gandhi, Moderates and British Colonialism

While Gandhi agreed with the moderates in their condemnation of the imperialist drain of India's economy, he differed from their appreciation of the so-called cultural superiority of modern civilisation represented by Britain. In his Hind Swaraj, he condemned modern civilisation as the "reverse" of what he took to be the true civilisation which he defined as good conduct or the performance of one's moral duties towards others. Rating the civilisational status of nations in these terms (i.e., in terms of good conduct or moral duties), he wrote that the Englishmen who have come to rule over India were "not good specimens of the English nation" just as the half-Anglicized Indians were not good specimens of the real Indian nation.

Gandhi on Swaraj

The swaraj of his conception, he affirmed, was not a conception of "Englistan", i.e., English rule without the Englishman." His conception of true swaraj and true civilisation, he clarified, was deprived not from the works of such modernist thinkers as Spencer, Mill or Adam Smith, but from the perennial wisdom of Indian thought and from such non-modernist Western thinkers as Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau. From the tradition of Indian thought, Gandhi derived the cognitive-evaluative principles of *satya* (truth) and *ahimsa* (non-violence or love towards others), which he says should inform our political, economic, scientific and technological activities. In his autobiography, entitled 'The Story of My Experiments with Truth', he wrote :

For me, truth is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles. This truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness

in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God.

According to Gandhi, when our conduct is informed and governed by *Satya* and *Ahimsa*, it becomes *dharmic* conduct, which would respect the unity of life and exclude all exploitation.

POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF SWARAJ

Having found the modern Western civilisation fundamentally flawed, Gandhi concluded that the Indian freedom struggle was not to aim at the mere transfer of political power from British rulers to Indian leaders who would then be operating the same modern Western system of government. Indian *swaraj*, he said, stood for more than political independence and/or political democracy.

Definition and Meaning

He defined *swaraj* briefly as self-rule and self-restraint, or in the spirit of the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad, as the autonomy of the moral self, referring to who has acquired mastery over the senses. The word "swaraj", Gandhi writes, "is a sacred word, a Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint, and not freedom from all restraint, which 'independence' often means." *Swaraj*, so defined, he said, is an 'all satisfying goal for all time.' The major ingredients or constitutive processes of *swaraj* are : (i) decentralised participatory democracy and (ii) the spiritualisation of politics and economics or, in other words, the integration of politics and economics with the principles of *satya* and *ahimsa* to quote Gandhi :

Let there be no mistake about my concept of *swaraj*. It is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one end you have political independence, at the other the economic. It has two other ends. One of them is moral and social, the corresponding end is Dharma. *i.e.*, religious in the highest sense of the term. It includes Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc., but is superior to them all. You may recognize it by the name of Truth that pervades everything and will survive all destruction and all transformation. Moral and social uplift may be recognized by the term we are used to; *i.e.*, non-violence. Let us call this the square of *swaraj*, which will be out of shape if any of its angles is untrue. In the language of the congress, we cannot achieve this political and economic freedom without truth and non-violence, in concrete terms without faith in God and hence moral and social elevation.

In his *Hind Swaraj*, after commending Mazzini's people-centred (rather than kingcentred) concept of Italian nationalism, Gandhi clarified that his goal for India was not the mere transfer of the reins of government from British rulers

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into the hands of the Indian elite but the securing of self-rule by the "millions of India". Real swaraj, he wrote in 1925, "will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words, swaraj is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense to their capacity to regulate and control authority."

Swaraj or Participatory Democracy

In place of centralised, representative government, the swaraj of the masses would mean a system of decentralised participatory democracy. "True democracy," Gandhi wrote, "cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the Centre. It has to be worked from below by the people of every village." In fact, Gandhi likened the swarajist social set-up to an "oceanic circle" of village republic. He writes :

In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening, never-ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units.

Swaraj and Freedom

Gandhi also spoke of swaraj in terms of "freedom for the meanest of our countrymen" and "the welfare of the whole people." In practical terms, this would mean, he said, "truthful relations between Hindus and Mussalmans, bread for the masses and removal of untouchability." "Hind Swaraj", he said in 1931, "is the rule of all the people, is the rule of justice."

Purna Swaraj

According to Gandhi, under swaraj, the people would "shun the evils of capital" and would strive to attain "a juster distribution of the products of labour." Swaraj, he said, will not be **purna swaraj** until the poor are enabled to enjoy the necessities and amenities of life" in common with those enjoyed by the princes and the monied men." He defined purna swaraj as that swaraj which is "as much for the prince as for the peasant, as much for the rich land owner as for the landless tiller of the soil, as much for the Hindus as for the Mussalmans ..." **Purna swaraj**, thus understood, merges into **sarvodaya**, which is the topic of the next unit of this course.

Gandhi also referred to his ideal of **Purna Swaraj** as **Rama Rajya, Khudai Raj**, or the Kingdom of God on Earth. He explained its meaning as follows :

"... politically translated it is perfect democracy in which inequalities based on possession and non-possession colour, race or creed or sex vanish. In it, land and state belong to the people, justice is prompt, perfect and cheap and, therefore, there is freedom of worship, speech and press-all this because of the reign of the self-imposed law of moral restraint."

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3.11 SATYAGRAHA AS THE GANDHIAN SOLUTION TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT

India is observing 150 years of the first war of independence, 100 years of Satyagraha, 60 years of Independence and will also witness 60 years of the martyrdom of mahatma Gandhi. The world and India has come a long way in the past one hundred fifty years. Gandhi expounded the philosophy of Satyagraha hundred years back. The need of the hour is to understand his philosophy of Satyagraha so that we can resolve conflict and manage ourselves in better manner.

Non-violence is both a science and an art. Like all sciences, it has a history and philosophy behind it. It is not an invention of the age. It is a discovery that has been resuscitated from the debris of violence and materialism of rage and passion, of hatred and competition by which it has been covered over for centuries. Gandhi's struggle called Satyagraha was a moral equivalent of war and a deeply spiritual action. To quote Gandhi, 'I believe in war bereft of every trace of violence.'

Satyagraha was an important constituent of Gandhi's programme of national self-purification. When he started campaigning against the racially discriminatory measures in South Africa Gandhi discovered that his countrymen there lacked personal and communal self-respect, courage and the willingness to organize themselves. In a memorable phrase, he urged them to 'rebel' against themselves. The concept of 'rebel' was something totally new for the people, who up till now were used to take orders and not do any critical thinking on their own. In fact the people did not take any major decision for themselves. It was like a fresh wind, which had blown into their lives, daring them to come out in the open and breath fresh air.

The same holds true when Gandhi used the weapon of Satyagraha in India. The millions in India were coiled in superstition, poverty, ignorance, and religious beliefs and had no weapon with which to resist the mighty empire. Gandhi provided them the weapon of non-violence, urged them to resist with non-cooperation and shook the foundation of the empire on which the sun was never to set. Gandhi struck a chord with people, talked about their concerns in the language they understood. He also believed that in our land of millions of destitute and crippled people, if we take to the practice of seeking justice through

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murder, there would be a terrifying situation. Our poor people will become victims of our atrocities. By making a dharma of violence, we shall be reaping the fruit of our own actions. The only weapon available to the people was a spiritual weapon and that was Satyagraha.

The term *Satyagraha* was coined by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in South Africa as a name for the force that Indians there used in their fight to earn respect and basic rights. The root meaning of *Satyagraha* is holding on to 'truth' hence truth force. It is a combination of two words – *Satya* and *Agraha*. The word *Satya* is derived from Sanskrit 'Sat' which means 'being' or to exist 'eternally'. Nothing really exists eternally except Truth. Truth is also absolute which means God. Therefore, Truth is God. *Agraha* means holding firmly on to truth.

Gandhi believed in the efficacy of Satyagraha. For Gandhi Satyagraha, meaning civil insistence on or tenacity in the pursuit of truth, aimed to penetrate the barriers of prejudice, ill will, dogmatism, selfrighteousness and selfishness to reach out to and activate the soul of opponent. The concept of Satyagraha gives practical expression to religious and ethical ideals of truth and non-violence. But Gandhi's choice of the term Satyagraha did more than that : it forged bond between his actions and his basic beliefs concerning the nature of man and the nature of reality. His religious and metaphysical beliefs concerning truth or god, the soul or atman and essential unity of all existence were given existential expression through the principle of Satyagraha. Hence, the reason it is referred to as truth force or soul force or surgery of the soul.

Satyagraha is Gandhi's technique of nonviolent activism. The term is translated as 'nonviolent resistance', 'nonviolent direct action', 'passive resistance' and even 'militant nonviolence'. However, there is a fundamental difference between Satyagraha and passive resistance. By the choice of the term Satyagraha, Gandhi distinguished the non-violent actions of the Indian movement from the passive resistance to the European movements thereby removing the cause of confusion and at the same time preparing the way for a better understanding of Indian aspirations in South Africa.

Satyagraha differs from Passive resistance as the North Pole from the South. To further elaborate Passive resistance is power oriented, a method of securing rights by personal suffering: it is the reverse of resistance by arms. Satyagraha on the other hand is truth oriented, a process of conflict-resolution by mutual understanding and by educating public opinion through reason, discussions and self-suffering. It implies self-sacrifice, readiness to bear endless suffering bravely. Gandhi describes Satyagraha as not associated with anger or motive. It is never fussy, never impatient, and never vociferous. It is the direct opposite of compulsion. It was conceived as or complete substitute of violence.

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However in Satyagraha, for Gandhi, 'suffering love' was the best way to do it, and formed the inspiring principle of his new method. To put it in the words of Gandhi, "For me, the law of satyagraha, the law of love, is an eternal principle. I co-operate with all that is good. I desire to non-cooperate with all that is evil, whether it is associated with my wife, son or myself." The love force in Satyagraha has no room for hatred against 'others'. Satyagraha is subject to a higher law. Gandhi had made it very clear, 'Hatred has no place in Satyagraha but is a positive breach of its ruling principle. Satyagraha proceeds on the active principle of love, which says, love those that spitefully use you. It is easy for you to love your friends. But I say unto you, love your enemies.' The compassion and influence of Christianity is evident in the above statement of Gandhi.

The reading and understanding of different religions and traditions can be observed in Gandhi's formulation of Satyagraha. Gandhi fused his own interpretation of Indian tradition of ahimsa, of Jain's observance of strict non-violence, the ideas he found in Tolstoy and the Sermon on the Mount, the result was a principle that evoked rich religious symbolism and contributed to a dynamic method of action unique to Indian history. The influence of Socrates to defy state and face the consequences, Kasturba's quiet submission to his will and patient suffering also influenced Gandhi to form his philosophy. His early childhood experience also played an important role. A Gujarat couplet, learned in his childhood days, profoundly influenced Gandhi's conscious and sub-conscious thinking:

"If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing; Real beauty consists in doing good against evil." This basic appreciation of non-violence or soul force was reinforced by Gandhi's acquaintance with the Sermon on the Mount.

Satyagraha is further described as an unending, dialectical quest for truth; it is holding on to truth come what may. It requires no physical assistance or material aid and is capable of being exercised by men, women and children. It appeals to the common sense and morality of his adversary through words, purity, humility, honesty and self-suffering. It is universally applicable, it is to violence, and therefore, to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness.

This brings us to understand the philosophy of Satyagraha. The philosophy rests on the postulate that all individuals have souls residing in them, and an individual is not different from others though the colour of the skin, race or varna may be different. As such, violence is not the law of our being. As Bhiku Parikh states, "The use of violence denied the ontological facts that all human beings had souls, that they were capable of appreciating and pursuing good and that no one was so degenerate that he could not be won over by appealing to his

fellow-feeling and humanity." Gandhi also rejected violence on moral grounds. Morality consisted in doing what was right because one believed it to be right and required unity of belief and conduct.

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Since the use of violence did not change the opponent's perception of truth, it compelled him to behave in manner contrary to his Swabhava and sincerely held beliefs and violated his moral integrity. On close analysis of the influence on Gandhi his concept of non-violence (ahimsa) differs remarkably from the traditional Indian non-violence. Gandhi used it as a means, not an end; a means to removing social injustices and social evils in society. Gandhi laid great emphasis on means and ends. Because good ends can never grow out of bad means, the opponents (for Gandhi there may be opponents but never enemies) are not forced to expose themselves to loss. There is ideally no threat, no coercion or punishment. Instead, in Gandhi's scheme, the idea is to undergo 'self - suffering' in the belief that the opponent can be converted to seeing the truth by touching his or her conscience, or that a clearer vision of truth may grow out of the dialectical process for both parties.

Gandhi believed in the inherent goodness of man. He also believed that the spiritual element in man cannot be subdued for a long time. As Gopinath Dhawan puts it, "The whole conception of Satyagraha rests on the psychological assumption that the innate goodness of the most brutal opponent can be aroused by the pure suffering of a truthful man. Thus pursuit of truth, i.e., of development of conscious non-violence is neither impossible, nor even impracticable, though it is a difficult ideal requiring constant effort and ceaseless vigilance." These belief rests on the Gandhian approach which though spiritual in essence is an extremely practical one. Once the individual's mind or the mind of the group gets rooted in truth of the situation and in rightness of the cause by identification, it is no longer the individual who works but the power - the spiritual force that is stronger than any physical force. The spiritual force overpowers the material force and the good ultimately wins over the evil. The means justifies the ends. The two opposing forces are wholly different in-kind; the one moral and spiritual, the other physical and material. The one is definitely superior to the other which by its very nature has an end.

The basic postulates of Satyagraha are Truth, Non-Violence, Faith in God, Brotherhood of man, Supremacy of Moral Law and Purity of Means. Joan Bondurant in *'The Conquest of Violence'* express the relationship between Truth and Non-Violence as, "To proceed towards the goal of Truth- truth in the absolute sense the way must lead through the testing of relative truths as they appear to the individual performer. The testing of truth can be performed only by a strict adherence to ahimsa-action based on refusal to do harm, or more accurately upon love. For truth, judged in terms of human needs, would be destroyed on whichever

side it lay, by the use of violence. Non-violence or ahimsa becomes the supreme value, the one cognizable standard by which true action can be determined."

In order to cement the relationship between truth the end and non-violence the means, Gandhi advocated the concept of self-suffering. An appeal to reason does not always work, where the layers of prejudices are age long and based on supposed religious authority. Reason has to be strengthened by suffering and suffering opens the eyes of understanding. In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi proclaims that 'Sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others and that a self-sufferer does not make others suffer for his mistakes.' When we put together Gandhi's statement on the varied dimensions of satyagraha, we find that he conceives it as essentially an attitude of mind and a way of life based on the firm desire for vindicating just causes, correcting wrongs and converting wrong - doers by voluntary self-suffering and by patient and active use of the means which are non-violent and intrinsically just.

Non-violence, thus, in Gandhi's thought has a metaphysical status equal to that of Truth, for love, like Truth, is regarded by him as the law of our being, as the universal first principle on which the very existence of the world depends. Ahimsa is the force that sustains the world and 'includes the whole creation not only human.' The link between *Satya* and *Ahimsa* can be highly metaphysical. To quote Margaret Chatterjee, "since our views of the truth are but fragmentary no man must impose his partial vision on others: this is the foundation for Gandhi belief in non-violence."

Even in the realm of science, it is found that there is a centripetal force without which nothing could have existed. Gandhi points to this relationship and says, 'Non-violence, not untruth, but non-violence, Truth is the law of our being. The ties of love bind us all. Nothing could have existed without a centripetal force. Scientist tell us, that without the presence of the cohesive force among the atoms that comprise this globe of ours, it would cease to exist, and even as there is cohesive force in blind matter, so much there be in all things animate and the name of that cohesive force among all animate beings is love.'

To change the present world order; Gandhi suggested, "I would advise the adoption of non-violence to the utmost extent possible and that will be India's great contribution to the peace of the world and the establishment of a new world order." Gandhi was also aware of limitations of individuals, to possess moral power needed by them to follow Satyagraha. He also realized that at all times people could not follow the concept of non-violence. Rather than have chaos in society, he asks them to follow the dictates of the state. Of course, the state has to be democratic in its set up. By way of an example, at New Delhi, in September 1947 Gandhi said to the Hindus, "even presuming that all the Mussalmans in Delhi have an evil design and that they possess weapons including gunpowder, sten-

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guns, bren-guns, and machine guns, which they intend to use for killing others, even then you have no right to kill them. If every citizen arrogates to himself the powers of a Government, then all government comes to an end. If, on the contrary, every citizen willingly submits himself to the authority of the government which he himself has helped to come to power, the machinery of the State would run smoothly."

For Gandhi Satyagraha was also a method of conducting conflict. The satyagrahi uses satyagraha when he is in conflict with an ideal or principle. Gandhi used the concept of Satyagraha well to resolve different conflicts both in South Africa and in India. The vital activity of Satyagraha is a search for justice to which the ethic of non-violence is invited. "The first condition of non-violence" he said "is justice all round in every department of life." Confronted with an injustice the satyagrahi seeks a dialogue with his opponent. There are three instances of how Gandhi used spiritual laws to overcome hatred and strife and to bring about justice and peace in India. One was in the economic sphere, to free the peasants of Champaran from exploitation by British planter's; another in the political sphere, to wage war against alien rule; and still another in the social sphere to overcome hatred between religious groups, that is the Hindus and the Muslims.

In a conflict situation for Gandhi, there is no other plan than the adherence to nonviolence in thought, word and deed, and no other goal than to reach the truth (and ultimately the Truth). For Gandhi, rational discussion and persuasion were the best way to resolve conflict. Gandhi like Tolstoy urges us to hate the sin not the sinner. Gandhi own statement readily reflect these principles: 'A satyagrahi must never forget the distinction between evil and the evil - doer'. 'The essence of non - violence technique is that it seeks to liquidate antagonisms but not antagonists themselves'. '...It is often forgotten that it is never the intention of a satyagrahi to embarrass the wrong doer... the satyagrahi's object is to convert, not to coerce, the wrong doer'. It is the acid test of non - violence that, in non - violent conflicts, there is no rancour left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted to friends.' In Harijan he observes: "the idea underlying satyagraha is to convert the wrongdoer, to awaken the sense of justice in him, to show him also that without the cooperation direct or indirect, of the wronged, the wrong doer cannot do the wrong intended by him."

Thomas Weber in his book Gandhi, Gandhism and Gandhians identifies three forms to resolve conflict :

The first norm relates to goals and conflicts and states that one should act in conflicts; define the conflict well; and have a positive approach to the conflict.

The second norm relates to conflict struggle and enjoins one to act nonviolently in conflicts; to act in a goal consistent manner; not to cooperate with evil; not to polarize the situation, ; not to escalate.

The third and final norm relates to conflict resolution and it directs that conflicts should be solved; that one should insist on essentials rather than nonessentials; that one should be generous with opponents; and finally that one should aim for conversion rather than coercion.

A study of Gandhi's Satyagraha points to a well laid down plan, a system and it was implemented in all satyagrahas that he had undertaken. 'In all his satyagraha Gandhi observed certain basic principles. They were preceded by a careful study of the situation, patient gathering of facts, a reasoned defense of the objectives, a popular agitation to convince the opponent of the intensity of the satyagrahi's feeling and an ultimatum to give him a last chance for negotiations. Throughout the satyagraha, the channels of communication with the opponent were kept open, the attitudes on either side were not allowed to harden, and intermediaries were encouraged.'

Diwakar expounds the moral context of satyagraha. He says, "In satyagraha, the opponent is not an enemy to be destroyed or defeated. He is a person who is to coexist with the satyagrahi. He is, therefore, to be helped to become a better man for himself and for the society." The satyagrahi is therefore obligated to enter into reason and discussion with his opponent in order to awaken the sense of justice and fairness in him. If the satyagrahi fails in discussion, then he is to undergo self-suffering instead of inflicting suffering on the latter. Voluntary self-suffering results in change of heart, Gandhi calls, 'conversion of the wrong doer.' At the same time he also does not expect man to stretch himself beyond a limit. As he said to Mirabehn "in every case never go beyond your capacity, that is a breach of truth." Richard Gregg has very rightly said, "satyagraha provides to all parties to a conflict (the satyagrahi, the opponent and the onlookers) a "mirror" in which every person sees himself as others see him."

Comparing the satyagrahi with a surgeon and the Satyagraha - participants with his assistants, Gandhi says, "Satyagraha is a purely spiritual weapon. It may be used... through men and women who do not understand it spiritually, provided the director knows that it is spiritual. Everyone cannot use surgical instruments. Many use them, if there is an expert behind them directing their move. I claim to be a satyagraha expert in the making. I have need to be far more careful than the expert surgeon who is a complete master of his science. I am still a humble searcher." Gandhi's Satyagraha points to two related things. Negatively, it enjoins upon man the duty to eradicate evil and positively, it reminds him of his obligation to serve the community... Gandhi's Satyagraha shifts the emphasis from the doer to the deed so that both the *satyagrahi* and his opponent may address themselves to the solution of the problem rather than seek destruction of each other.

Gandhi's critics criticized him of employing Satyagraha to weaken the state machinery. Gandhi believed that Satyagraha is constitutional. To the critics who

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call satyagraha as an appeal to emotions, creating chaos in society by disobeying law of the land, Gandhi explains it as; 'the law-breaker breaks the law surreptitiously and tries to avoid the penalty; not so the civil resister. He ever obeys the laws of the state to which he belongs, not out of fear of the sanctions, but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of the society. But there comes occasions, generally rare, when he considers certain laws to be so unjust as to render obedience to them dishonour. He then openly and civilly breaks them and quietly suffers the penalty for their breach. And in order to register his protest against the action of the lawgivers, it is open to him to withdraw his co-operation from the State by disobeying such other laws whose breach does not involve moral turpitude.

The pathway to satyagraha is discipline of body with the disciplining of the mind. Gandhi laid emphasis on Yoga along with penance or tapas, which will help one to become fearless. If Satyagraha is a new way of life, then the application of this principle to every walk of life and all human affairs, and especially the use of this principle on a mass scale to fight evil and injustice, to establish truth and justice, certainly a new feature. To quote Gandhi, "it is a force that may be used by individuals as well as communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility.

Gandhi's Satyagraha as such is a '*Dharma Yuddha*' and only in a state of utter helplessness utters darkness, does a Satyagrahi resort to it. Nevertheless, once the satyagrahi resorts to this principle, he will refuse to compromise on the basic moral issues in the face of the punishment, persecution and infliction of suffering. Satyagraha presents the force, which is ever progressive and endless.

Gandhi also realized that to rise the morbid generation from their slumber the key lies in the Constructive Programme in building a different nonviolent human community going on, growing, and keeping up the momentum all the time. As Gene Sharp states that Constructive Programme is an active method of attacking and removing social evils. It can be purer than a non-violent struggle because it leaves no room for hypocrisy, compulsion or violence. The programme gradually builds up the structure of a new non-violent society. ...it leads to sarvodaya of all - welfare of all.

In conclusion we again quote Gandhi who has called Satyagraha 'A science in the making' and insisted that it was still growing and there was nothing like finality. He insisted that all can use the weapon alike. In Gandhi's hand Satyagraha got its metaphysics, its philosophy, its technique and its dynamic as well as its positive function in individual and social life.

3.12 FIRST PHASE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA AND ABROAD

The rift between the moderates and extremists grew wider and wider within the Congress. The Extremists were in favour of boycott of the assembly elections to be conducted under the constitutional reforms introduced by the colonial government.

The moderates wanted to participate in the electoral process however limited. Finally the rift resulted in the split in the Congress in the Surat session of the Congress, 1907. The extremist leaders continued to mobilise the masses while the Congress tried to influence the government policies. The Morely- Minto reforms of 1909 were a blow to the aspirations of the moderates. The swadeshi movement had lost its momentum. However the revolutionary message of the movement inspired another more individualistic kind of protest *i.e.*, the *revolutionary movement*.

The revolutionary goal was the end of British rule through extreme self sacrifice. Their methods were to assassinate unpopular colonial officials who were responsible for giving shape to the repressive acts of the Government. The colonial response to the mass movements was always two fold. On the one hand it gave concessions to the leaders by undertaking constitutional reforms and inviting them to participate in the limited elections, on the other hand there was large scale repression mainly through arrest of key leaders. The extremist leadership spent several years in jails. Their being in and out of jails resulted in the revolutionary movement largely being underground, operated by secret organizations. These organizations had their genesis in the *samitis* of the Swadeshi days.

In 1908 Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki threw a bomb at a carriage that was occupied, they believed, by Kingsford, the unpopular judge of Muzzafarpur. However they killed two English ladies in his place. Chaki shot himself and Khudiram was hanged. The revolutionaries who mainly belonged to the Anushilan and Yugantar samitis, also undertook swadeshi dacoities to raise funds for their movement. The revolutionary movement was not confined to Bengal. Rasbehari Bose and Sachindranath Sanyal setup a revolutionary network spanning Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi areas. In 1912 these two revolutionaries made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of the Viceroy Lord Hardinge in Delhi.

The Revolutionary movement had also started slowly spreading beyond the shores of India. Shyamji Krishnavarma had started in 1905 a centre for Indian students in London called India House. In 1907 this organization was taken over by a revolutionary group under VD Sarvarkar. Madanlal Dhingra of this organization assassinated the India Office bureaucrat Curzon-Wyllie in London

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in 1909. In Europe (Paris and Geneva) Madame Cama a Parsi revolutionary established contacts with French socialists and brought out the revolutionary journal *Bande Mataram*. In Berlin, Virendranath Chattopadhyay and others operated since 1909. In Britain and Europe the revolutionary groups were fairly isolated.

However the movement found something of a mass base in the United States of America, specially in the states of British Columbia and those along the Pacific coast. These states had a population of 15000 Indians mainly of the Sikh community who were facing considerable amount of racial discrimination in spite of being successful traders and workers. Amongst this population began the Ghadr Movement in 1913 in the city of San Francisco. The movement was founded by Sohan Singh Bhakna and Har Dayal was one of its most prominent leaders.

The First World War began in 1914, and the revolutionaries saw in this a very good opportunity in pushing through their agenda of complete independence. Britain was busy in preparation for war and troops from India were sent out for this purpose.

Enemy nations like Germany would be only too willing to give funds for revolutionary activities to weaken Britain. Britain's aggression on Turkey brought the support of pan Islamists as Turkey was the seat of the Khalifa revered by Muslims the world over. Barkatulla was one of the important Muslim revolutionary leaders who joined the Ghadr movement. At Deoband, in an Islamic centre of learning in Uttar Pradesh a group of learned men, or Ulema, also preached the revolutionary message which had a large following among Muslims.

Meanwhile swadeshi dacoities and the assassination of Englishmen continued and there was a marked increase in revolutionary activity at this time. The Bengal revolutionary outfits united under Jatin Mukherjee (Bagha Jatin) and planned large scale disruption of rail communications and seizure of arms. They were successful when a large arm and ammunition of the Rhoda firms in Calcutta came into their hands.

However their long-term plans were cut short due to the capture of Bhagha Jatin by the police in Balasore, Orissa. Ras Behari Bose and Sachin Sanyal plan was also a part of the Bengal revolutionary movement. This group established contact with the Ghadr movement. The Ghadrites had started coming back to India in large numbers.

The Komagata Maru incident further inflamed passions. The ship Komagata Maru carrying Sikh and Muslim passengers to Canada was turned away by the Canadian government and reached Calcutta in September 1914. The passengers clashed with the police and 22 people were killed.

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The Ghadr movement and the revolutionary plans were unsuccessful because the British government came down with a heavy hand on them. Most of the Ghadrites who returned were immediately arrested. The attempt to incite mutiny in several army units was foiled and Ras Behari Bose fled to Japan and Sachin Sanyal was transported for life. The revolutionaries and specially the Ghadrites were the pioneers of organizing revolution among the army units and among peasants.

3.13 THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT : REORGANIZATION AND REORIENTATION

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

The Anushilan Samiti in Bengal was associated with Subhas Bose and the Yugantar Samiti with the JM Sengupta group. There was considerable amount of political rivalry between these two groups. Some smaller revolutionary groups began to be formed at about this time for example the one under Surya Sen of Chittagong that developed along much more radical lines. The most striking revolutionary action of the time was the murder of an Englishman, Day, by Gopinath Saha in January 1924.

Saha had planned to kill Tegarb the police Commissioner of Calcutta and killed Day by mistake. This incident resulted in the arrest of many nationalists. Another centre of revolutionary ferment was northern India where Sachin Sanyal and Jogesh Chatterji and others formed the Hindustan Republican Association in the United Provinces and started raising funds through dacoities. The most renowned of which was the Kakori train robbery in August 1925 that resulted in the arrest of several members of the organization. This organization also established links with a group of young men in the Punjab under the dynamic and brilliant student leader Bhagat Singh.

The Punjab group was deeply influenced by socialist ideology. Hence the organization was renamed Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA). The aim of the revolutionaries was complete independence and they had a vision of how the State should be after the achievement of the same. They envisaged a mass struggle of the people and for this purpose they tried to mobilise students workers and peasants.

3.14 INTENSIFICATION OF RADICAL AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AND RISE OF THE LEFT

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The years between 1930 and 1934 was also marked by an unprecedented explosion of acts of revolutionary terrorism with its focus in Bengal and Punjab. A total of 92 incidents were reported in 1931 itself that included 9 murders. Exemplary among them was the Chittagong Armory Raid. In Chittagong a group of revolutionaries under Surya Sen captured the local armoury, issued an Independence Proclamation in the name of Indian Republican Army and put up a brave fight with the British in the hills of the countryside for several days. The number of terrorist cases kept rising in spite of severe repression by the colonial administration. The HSRA had also become very active in the Punjab with 26 incidents reported in 1930 alone.

The freedom struggle was never confined to the single path of Gandhian satyagraha. It contained the very violent and extremist revolutionary movement, it also comprised of the socialist ideology that came to India after the Russian Revolution, it would also include a military offensive. These different strands of the movement were by no means isolated.

Most of the revolutionaries had participated in the Gandhian non-cooperation movement. In fact the Chittagong armoury was siezed amidst cries of 'Gandhi raj has come!' Chandrashekhar Azad and Bhagat Singh's revolutionary groups adopted Socialism as did sections of the Congress under Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose.

Socialism combined the freedom struggle with a clear cut agenda of social equality through organized mass movements that helped to mobilise the working class. The initiative of working out the ideology of the communist movement in India was taken up by eminent men like MN Roy who interpreted Marxism and the ideas of Lenin to fit the Indian context. Seven Indians including Roy founded the Communist Party of India at Tashkent in October 1920. Slowly the idea of Communism found favour among many Indian intellectuals and even members of the Congress.

Subhas Chandra Bose was a unique personality influenced by a wide variety of ideologies and epitomized the spirit of the nationalist movement from non cooperation through giving up of government posts, to the revolutionary extreme, upto the ideas of socialist thought and finally choosing the courageous option of military offensive. Bose straddle all these different strategies and proved that there was in essence no basic conflict between the different visions of freedom at work within the nationalist movement.

3.15 SUMMARY

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- Curzon believed in efficiency and discipline. He instituted a Police Commission in 1902 under the chairmanship of Sir Andrew Frazer. Curzon accepted all the recommendations and implemented them. He set up training schools for both the officers and the constables and introduced provincial police service. As for the remodeling of the army, it was by and large done by Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief in India in Curzon's time.
- On the day the partition was put into effect *i.e.*, October 16, 1905, a hartal was called in Calcutta and a day of mourning was declared. People fasted and no fire was lit in the cooking hearth. People paraded the streets singing *Bande Mataram*. The people of Bengal tied rakhis on each others' wrist as a symbol of solidarity.
- The Indian Councils Act of 1909 was also known as Minto-Morley Reforms in the names of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India. Both were responsible for the passing of this Act. It was passed to win the support of the Moderates in the Congress.
- Raja Rammohan Roy established the **Brahmo Samaj** at Calcutta in 1828 in order to purify Hinduism and to preach **monotheism**. He is considered as the first 'modern man of India'. He was a pioneer of socio-religious reform movements in modern India.
- The Theosophical Society was founded in New York (USA) in 1875 by Madam H.P. Blavatsky, a Russian lady, and Henry Steel Olcott, an American colonel. Their main objectives were to form a universal brotherhood of man without any distinction of race, colour or creed and to promote the study of ancient religions and philosophies. They arrived in India and established their headquarters at Adyar in Madras in 1882. Later in 1893, Mrs. Annie Besant arrived in India and took over the leadership of the Society after the death of Olcott. Mrs. Annie Besant founded the Central Hindu School along with Madan Mohan Malaviya at Benaras which later developed into the Banaras Hindu University.
- The chief cause of the Khilafat Movement was the defeat of Turkey in the First World War. The harsh terms of the **Treaty of Sevres (1920)** was felt by the Muslims as a great insult to them. The whole movement was based on the Muslim belief that the Caliph (the Sultan of Turkey) was the religious head of the Muslims all over the world. The Muslims in India were upset over the British attitude against Turkey and launched the Khilafat Movement.

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- Mahatma Gandhi announced his plan to begin Non-Cooperation with the government as a sequel to the Rowlatt Act, Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the Khilafat Movement. It was approved by the Indian National Congress at the Nagpur session in December, 1920.
- The Act of 1919 included a provision for its review after a lapse of ten years. However, the review commission was appointed by the British Government two years earlier of its schedule in 1927. It came to be known as **Simon Commission** after the name of its chairman, Sir John Simon.
- The years between 1930 and 1934 was also marked by an unprecedented explosion of acts of revolutionary terrorism with its focus in Bengal and Punjab. A total of 92 incidents were reported in 1931 itself that included 9 murders. Exemplary among them was the Chittagong Armory Raid. In Chittagong a group of revolutionaries under Surya Sen captured the local armoury, issued an Independence Proclamation in the name of Indian Republican Army and put up a brave fight with the British in the hills of the countryside for several days.

3.16 REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the major reforms introduced by Lord Curzon.
2. What were the objectives and achievements of Swadeshi Movement?
3. What were the outlined programmes of Non-cooperation Movement?
4. Explain the reforms introduced by Morley-Minto.
5. What were the important suggestions in Nehru report?
6. Do you consider Gandhi as a greatest ever mass leader? Discuss.
7. Discuss the emergence of revolutionary movements.

3.17 FURTHER READINGS

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CHAPTER – 4

*Other Aspects of National
Movements and
Contemporary India*

OTHER ASPECTS OF NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND CONTEMPORARY INDIA

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STRUCTURE

- 4.1. Learning Objectives
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4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying the chapter, students will be able to :

- describe the ideologies of Anti-Caste Nationalism;
- understand the elements and aspects of communal politics;
- explain the legacy of Nationalism in India;
- discuss the contemporary developments of post-independence era.

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4.2 INTRODUCTION

After the Independence in 1947, the most immediate and important tasks before the Indian leaders were the drafting of the constitution and the integration of Indian states into the Indian union. They had also been vested with the responsibility of making India economically sound and scientifically modern. In the long term perspective, the most challenging tasks ahead have been the removal of poverty and the progress of education among the masses for which the successive governments continue to take necessary steps.

4.3 DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR AND HIS IDEOLOGIES

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was elected as the chairman of the drafting committee that was constituted by the Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution for the independent India; he was the first Law Minister of India; conferred Bharat Ratna in 1990.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is viewed as messiah of dalits and downtrodden in India. He was the chairman of the drafting committee that was constituted by the Constituent Assembly in 1947 to draft a constitution for the independent India. He played a seminal role in the framing of the constitution. Bhimrao Ambedkar was also the first Law Minister of India. For his yeoman service to the nation, B.R. Ambedkar was bestowed with Bharat Ratna in 1990.

Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was born on April 14, 1891 in Mhow (presently in Madhya Pradesh). He was the fourteenth child of Ramji and Bhimabai Sakpal Ambedkar. B.R. Ambedkar belonged to the "untouchable" Mahar Caste. His father and grandfather served in the British Army. In those days, the government ensured that all the army personnel and their children were educated and ran special schools for this purpose. This ensured good education for Bhimrao Ambedkar, which would have otherwise been denied to him by the virtue of his caste.

Bhimrao Ambedkar experienced caste discrimination right from the childhood. After his retirement, Bhimrao's father settled in Satara Maharashtra. Bhimrao was enrolled in the local school. Here, he had to sit on the floor in one corner in the classroom and teachers would not touch his notebooks. In spite of these hardships, Bhimrao continued his studies and passed his Matriculation examination from Bombay University with flying colours in 1908. Bhimrao Ambedkar joined the Elphinstone College for further education. In 1912, he graduated in Political Science and Economics from Bombay University and got a job in Baroda.

In 1913, Bhimrao Ambedkar lost his father. In the same year Maharaja of Baroda awarded scholarship to Bhimrao Ambedkar and sent him to America for

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further studies. Bhimrao reached New York in July 1913. For the first time in his life, Bhimrao was not demeaned for being a Mahar. He immersed himself in the studies and attained a degree in Master of Arts and a Doctorate in Philosophy from Columbia University in 1916 for his thesis "National Dividend for India: A Historical and Analytical Study." From America, Dr. Ambedkar proceeded to London to study economics and political science. But the Baroda government terminated his scholarship and recalled him back.

The Maharaja of Baroda appointed Dr. Ambedkar as his political secretary. But no one would take orders from him because he was a Mahar. Bhimrao Ambedkar returned to Bombay in November 1917. With the help of Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, a sympathizer of the cause for the upliftment of the depressed classes, he started a fortnightly newspaper, the "Mooknayak" (Dumb Hero) on January 31, 1920. The Maharaja also convened many meetings and conferences of the "untouchables" which Bhimrao addressed. In September 1920, after accumulating sufficient funds, Ambedkar went back to London to complete his studies. He became a barrister and got a Doctorate in science.

After completing his studies in London, Ambedkar returned to India. In July 1924, he founded the Bahishkrit Hitkaraini Sabha (Outcastes Welfare Association). The aim of the Sabha was to uplift the downtrodden socially and politically and bring them to the level of the others in the Indian society. In 1927, he led the Mahad March at the Chowdar Tank at Colaba, near Bombay, to give the untouchables the right to draw water from the public tank where he burnt copies of the 'Manusmriti' publicly.

In 1929, Ambedkar made the controversial decision to co-operate with the all-British Simon Commission which was to look into setting up a responsible Indian Government in India. The Congress decided to boycott the Commission and drafted its own version of a constitution for free India. The Congress version had no provisions for the depressed classes. Ambedkar became more skeptical of the Congress's commitment to safeguard the rights of the depressed classes.

When a separate electorate was announced for the depressed classes under Ramsay McDonald 'Communal Award', Gandhiji went on a fast unto death against this decision. Leaders rushed to Dr. Ambedkar to drop his demand. On September 24, 1932, Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhiji reached an understanding, which became the famous Poona Pact. According to the pact the separate electorate demand was replaced with special concessions like reserved seats in the regional legislative assemblies and Central Council of States.

Dr. Ambedkar attended all the three Round Table Conferences in London and forcefully argued for the welfare of the "untouchables". Meanwhile, British Government decided to hold provincial elections in 1937. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar set up the "Independent Labor Party" in August 1936 to contest the elections in the

Bombay province. He and many candidates of his party were elected to the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

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In 1937, Dr. Ambedkar introduced a Bill to abolish the "khoti" system of land tenure in the Konkan region, the serfdom of agricultural tenants and the Mahar "watan" system of working for the Government as slaves. A clause of an agrarian bill referred to the depressed classes as "Harijans," or people of God. Bhimrao was strongly opposed to this title for the untouchables. He argued that if the "untouchables" were people of God then all others would be people of monsters. He was against any such reference. But the Indian National Congress succeeded in introducing the term Harijan. Ambedkar felt bitter that they could not have any say in what they were called.

In 1947, when India became independent, the first Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, invited Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, who had been elected as a Member of the Constituent Assembly from Bengal, to join his Cabinet as a Law Minister. The Constituent Assembly entrusted the job of drafting the Constitution to a committee and Dr. Ambedkar was elected as Chairman of this Drafting Committee. In February 1948, Dr. Ambedkar presented the Draft Constitution before the people of India; it was adopted on November 26, 1949.

In October 1948, Dr. Ambedkar submitted the Hindu Code Bill to the Constituent Assembly in an attempt to codify the Hindu law. The Bill caused great divisions even in the Congress party. Consideration for the bill was postponed to September 1951. When the Bill was taken up it was truncated. A dejected Ambedkar relinquished his position as Law Minister.

On May 24, 1956, on the occasion of Buddha Jayanti, he declared in Bombay, that he would adopt Buddhism in October. On October 14, 1956 he embraced Buddhism along with many of his followers. On December 6, 1956, Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar died peacefully in his sleep.

AMBEDKAR'S VIEW ON THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

Ambedkar was aware of the drawbacks inherent in foreign rule. The British government had introduced some representative institutions in India. But full self-government could not have any alternative. Besides, Ambedkar always complained that the plight of the untouchables did not change under British rule. The British rulers were not interested in removing untouchability. Their policy had always been cautious in the matter of social reform. Reforms were likely to anger the upper castes and give them an opportunity to rally against British rule. Therefore, British rulers did not encourage rapid social reforms.

Even in the field of education, Ambedkar felt that the government was not sincere in spreading education among the untouchables. All educational facilities were utilized by the upper castes only. Moreover, the interests of the upper castes

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and those of the untouchables were opposed to each other. Ambedkar' wanted the British government to mediate on behalf of the untouchables. But the government neglected this responsibility. Because of this attitude of neglect, the untouchable community could not get any benefit from the British rule. He was also not very happy about British administration. He was particularly critical of the administration on account of its over expensive character and general neglect of public welfare.

But he knew that abrupt departure of the British would result into political domination of the upper castes. Therefore, a political settlement was necessary clearly mentioning the powers of and safeguards for the untouchable community. Without this, independence would be meaningless for the untouchables. In short, Ambedkar criticized the British rule for failing in its duty to uplift the untouchables. For this reason he supported the cause of self-government. But he insisted that in free India, the untouchable community must get a proper share in the power structure; otherwise independence would merely mean rule by the upper castes.

AMBEDKAR ON DEMOCRACY

Like many other national leaders Ambedkar had complete faith in democracy. Dictatorship may be able to produce results quickly; it may be effective in maintaining discipline but cannot be one's choice as a permanent form of government. Democracy is superior because it enhances liberty. People have control over the rulers. Among the different forms of democratic government, Ambedkar's choice fell on the parliamentary form. In this case also he was in agreement with many other national leaders.

Meaning : Social and Economic Democracy

Ambedkar viewed democracy as an instrument of bringing about change peacefully. Democracy does not merely mean rule by the majority or government by the representatives of the people. This is a formalistic and limited notion of democracy. We would understand the meaning of democracy in a better fashion if we view it as a way of realizing drastic changes in the social and economic spheres of society. Ambedkar's idea of democracy is much more than just a scheme of government. He emphasises the need for bringing about an all-round democracy. A scheme of government does not exist in vacuum; it operates within the society. Its usefulness depends upon its relationship with the other spheres of society. Elections, parties and parliaments are, after all, formal institutions of democracy. They cannot be effective in an undemocratic atmosphere. Political democracy means the principle of 'one man one vote' which indicates political equality. But if oppression and injustice exist, the spirit of political democracy would be missing. Democratic government, therefore, should be an extension of

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a democratic society. In the Indian society, for instance, so long as caste barriers and caste-based inequalities exist, real democracy cannot operate. In this sense, democracy means a spirit of fraternity and equality and not merely a political arrangement. Success of democracy in India can be ensured only by establishing a truly democratic society.

Along with the social foundations of democracy, Ambedkar takes into consideration the economic aspects also. It is true that he was greatly influenced by liberal thought. Still, he appreciated the limitations of liberalism. Parliamentary democracy, in which he had great faith, was also critically examined by him. He argued that parliamentary democracy was based on liberalism. It ignored economic inequalities and never concentrated upon the problems of the downtrodden. Besides, the general tendency of the western type of parliamentary democracies has been to ignore the issues of social and economic equality. In other words, parliamentary democracy emphasised only liberty whereas true democracy implies both liberty and equality. This analysis becomes very important in the Indian context. Indian society was demanding freedom from the British. But Ambedkar was afraid that freedom of the nation would not ensure real freedom for all the people. Social and economic inequalities have dehumanized the Indian society. Establishing democracy in such a society would be nothing short of a revolution. This would be a revolution in the social structure and attitudes of the people. In the place of hereditary inequality, the principles of brotherhood and equality must be established. Therefore, Ambedkar supported the idea of all-round democracy.

Factors Necessary for the Successful Operation of Democracy

We have already seen that Ambedkar favoured the parliamentary form of government. For the successful functioning of this form of government, it is necessary that certain other conditions must be fulfilled. To begin with, political parties are necessary for the effective working of parliamentary democracy. This will ensure existence of the opposition which is very important.

Parliamentary government is known as responsible government mainly because the executive is constantly watched and controlled by the opposition. Respect and official status for the opposition means absence of absolute power for the executive. The other condition is a neutral and non-political civil service. A neutral civil service means that administrators would be permanent - not dependent on the fortunes of the political parties - and that they would not take sides with political parties. This will be possible only when appointments of civil servants are not made on the basis of political consideration. Success of democracy depends on many ethical and moral factors also. A country may have a constitution. But it is only a set of rules. These rules become meaningful only

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when people in the country develop conventions and traditions consistent with the constitution. People and politicians must follow certain norms in public life. Similarly, there must also exist a sense of morality and conscientiousness in the society. Law and legal remedies can never replace a voluntary sense of responsibility. No amount of law can enforce morality. Norms of honest and responsible behaviour must develop in the society. Democracy can be successful only when every citizen feels duty bound to fight injustice even if that injustice does not put him into any difficulty personally. This will happen when equality and brotherhood exist in the society.

To make democracy successful in India, Ambedkar suggested a few other precautions also. Democracy means rule of the majority. But this should not result into tyranny of the majority. Majority must always respect the views of the minority. In India there is a possibility that the minority community will always be a political minority also. Therefore, it is very essential that the minority must feel free, safe and secure. Otherwise, it will be very easy to convert democracy into a permanent rule against the minority. Caste system could thus become the most difficult *obstacle in the successful functioning of democracy*. The castes which are supposed to be of low status will never get their proper share in power. Caste will create barriers in the development of healthy democratic traditions. This means that unless we achieve the task of establishing democracy in the social field, mere political democracy cannot survive.

B.R. AMBEDKAR AND DRAFTING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The most important thing for which Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar is known all throughout India is that he was designer and formulator of the Indian Constitution. Though he was unpopular with many leaders of the Indian National Congress and other political parties in post-independence India, Ambedkar was summoned by the Congress-led Government to take the post of the first Law Minister of independent India. He was also made the Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee on 29 August 1947.

As he was a learned scholar and an eminent lawyer, he was given this grave task and after the completion of the work, he was praised by all. He used all his experience and knowledge in drafting the Constitution. There are many guarantees and provisions that are provided in the Constitution of India that ensure the general welfare of the common people of the country. He framed the Fundamental Rights and Duties along with the Directive Principles of State Policy that are followed and granted to the people of the country. He also formulated laws and systems for women and backward classes in the society. Ambedkar also tried to eradicate the socio-economic inequalities that prevailed in the Indian society from a long time. He had kept the clauses of the Constitution flexible so that amendments could be

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made as and when situations demanded. On 26 November 1949, the Constitution of India was finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly.

His stint in Indian politics too did not last for a long time. His resignation from the Cabinet came in the year 1951. He contested for the Lok Sabha elections as an independent candidate in 1952 but was unfortunately defeated. However, he became a member of the Rajya Sabha the same year.

With passage of time, Ambedkar's interest from politics started to shift and he aligned himself to Buddhism. For that he even went to Sri Lanka, where he spent much time with Buddhist monks and scholars. He was so impressed with Buddhism and its principles that he decided to convert himself to Buddhism. Ambedkar also went to Burma twice for enriching himself in the Buddhist religion and culture. He also established the Buddhist Society of India and wrote books on Buddhism and its principles and beliefs. B.R. Ambedkar also attended Buddhist conferences that were held all round the world.

SOCIAL ORDER — UNTOUCHABILITY AND CASTE

The various socio-religious reform movements, which took place in India during the British rule, were the expression of the rising national consciousness and spread of the liberal ideas of the West among the Indian people. These movements interestingly tended to have a national scope and programme of reconstruction in the social and religious spheres. In the social sphere, there were movement of caste reform or caste abolition, equal rights for women, a campaign against child marriage and ban on widow remarriage, a crusade against social legal inequalities.

In the religious sphere, there sprang up movements which combated religious superstitions and attacked idolatry polytheism and hereditary priesthood. These movement in varying degrees, emphasized and fought for the principles of individual liberty and social equality and stood for nationalism.

The new society which was developing in India since the advent of the British rule had distinct needs differing from those of the old society.

The new intelligentsia, which imbibed the liberal Western culture, recognized the needs and launched movement to reform or revolutionized social institutions religious outlooks and ethical conception inherited from the past since they felt that these were obstacles to national advance. They were convinced that the new society could politically, culturally, and economically develop only on the basis of liberal principles such as the recognition of individual liberty freedom of human personality and social equality.

The reform movements represented the striving of conscious and progressive sections of the Indian people to democratize social institutions and

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remodel old religious outlooks to suit the new social needs. It was the grievances of the Indian Social reformers that the slow advance of social reform was due to the insufficient support to it by the British government, which, they asserted, did not actively assist them in the work of storming the citadels of social reaction and injustices in the country. The rate at which the social reform legislation was enacted was too slow and generally undertaken under the pressure of the advanced opinion in the country. It is true that in the first half of the nineteenth century, the British ruler themselves initiated such progressive legislation as the abolition of slavery, Suttee and infanticide.

However their attitude suffered a change later on. In fact the age of consent act passed in 1891 was the only important social reform legislation enacted by government during many decades prior to that date. This only strengthened the determination of the leader of the Indian national movement to secure political power so that they could use it to accelerate the tempo of social and religious reform in India. The caste system of Hindus, which divided the Hindu community into a multitude of almost hermetically sealed groups, hierarchically graded and based on birth, was one of the principal target of Socio-religious Reform Movement.

The caste system was "steel flame of Hinduism". It was ancient than the Veda, which recorded its existence at that time. Originally, the Hindu society seems to have been differentiated into three or four castes. Subsequently however, as a result of the operation of such factors as racial admixture, geographical expansion and growth of crafts which brought into existence new vocations, the original caste (Varnas) broke up into various smaller castes (Jatis).

While Hinduism made for cultural unity of all Hindus in the past, the caste system socially disintegrated them into an ever increasing number of groups and subgroups. In all, Social matters such as marriage, vocation and dining each such group or sub groups was an exclusive unit.

The caste system was undemocratic and authentarian in the extreme. The castes constituting the series were hierarchically graded, each caste being considered inferior to those above it and superior to those below it. The status of a man born in a particular caste was determined by the rank of that caste in the hierarchy. Once born in that caste, his status was pre-determined and immutable. Thus birth decided his status, which could not be altered by any talent he might show or wealth he might accumulate.

Similarly, the caste in which a man was born predetermined what vocation he would pursue. He had no choice. Thus birth decided the occupation of a man. The rule of endogamy governed every caste or sub-caste. A person belonging to one caste could not marry a person of other caste. Thus birth restricted the zone of selection in the matter of matrimony.

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Since caste system was hierarchically graded, it was based on social and legal inequalities. For example, at the apex of this social pyramid stood the caste of Brahmins who had the monopoly right to officiate as priests with exclusive access to all higher religious and secular learning and knowledge while, at the base swarmed the mass of Shudra together with the untouchable and even unapproachable whom the scheme of Hindu society, sanctified by the Hindu religion and enforced by the coercive power of Hindu state, had assigned the duty of serving all other caste and constrained to follow, under the threat of severest penalty, such low vocation as those of scavengers, tanners and others.

The uniqueness of caste system did not consist in that it was based on the difference of functions. Its specificness lay in the fact that it made birth as the basis of social grouping. It implies not only the negation of equality but the Organization of inequality exclusively on the basis of inheritance. Difference there will be in an imaginable society, difference of functions at all events. It is not in recognizing their inevitability that caste is peculiar, it is in the method it adopts to systematize and control them.

Since each caste had its own conception of the norms of conduct which it forced on its members, it became culturally separated from other castes which had other conception of ethics. Each caste thus became a separate socio cultural group.

Further the caste system was sanctified by the sanction of religion. Its very genesis was attributed to God Brahman. If a member of a caste infringed the caste rules, he did not merely commit a crime against the caste but perpetrated sin against religion. Thus, religion fortified the hold of the caste over its members in fact, the basic demand of Hinduism on its followers was that he should gladly accept the social position in which he was born, *i.e.*, his caste since it was divinely ordained and should fulfill meticulously the duties which the caste assigned to him.

Since caste controlled his life including such vital personal affairs as marriage, vocation and social intercourse. Such as eating with others and since behind the imperatives of the caste stood the sanction of religion, the coercive power of Hindu state as well as the penal authority with which the caste itself was armed, the individual was almost completely shorn of personal liberty. He could not choose his profession he could not marry to whom he desired; he could not eat with whom ever he likes. And, further, the rank of the caste in which he was born, in the finally graded caste hierarchy determined his social status and position in the eye of law of the state which was not uniform but varied according to the caste a person belongs to.

Hierarchic gradation, social and other inequalities, endogamy, restrictions on dining and the lack of freedom regarding the choice of vocation, were the principal features of the caste system.

The caste system became an obstacle both to the development of the contemporary economy established during the British rule, in India as also to the national unity so vital to win national freedom. For the growth of Industries, it was necessary to have of labour supply. The rigid rule of caste forcing its every member to follow the hereditary occupation came in the way of the plentiful labour supply for industries.

The caste, demanding the fore-most allegiance to it, came also in the way of the paramount need of the subject people subordinate every allegiance to the supreme allegiance to nationalism. The ruination of the artisans and the impoverishment of farmers made it economically necessary for them to take to other vocations. The spread of democratic ideas such as individual liberty kindled urges to revolt against caste distinctions and inequality among the educated Indians.

It was the educated section of the Indian people who launched attack on caste. It sensed the anomaly of the caste in the new India. For national freedom and advance, political, social, economic, cultural, the caste structure had to be reformed, or even eliminated. The social reformers propagated national progress as the objectives of men.

The social reformers attacked inequalities and separatism and stood for equality and cooperation. They attacked the heredity as the basis of distinction, and law of karma as which supplied the religio-philosophic defence of the undemocratic authoritarian caste institution. They called on the people to work for the betterment in the real world. In which they lived rather than strive for salvation after death. They branded the caste system as the powerful obstacles to the growth of national unity and solidarity.

There were different angle from which caste was attacked by different social reform groups, Raja Ram Mohan Ray the founder of Brahma Samaj invoked the authority of Mahanirvana Tantra, an old religio-sociological work of the Hinduism, to support his view that caste should no longer continue. The Brahma Samaj opposed the rigid social divisions which caste implied.

Rabindra Nath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen, who succeeded the Raja Ram Mohan Ray as successive leaders of Samaj, were more critical of Hindu scriptures than Raja Ram Mohan Ray. It was Keshab Chandra Sen, who is most unambiguous categorical term, repudiated the caste system without invoking any scriptural authority. The spirit of social revolt, which the Raja inaugurated,

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reached a climax in the history of the Brahman Samaj under the guidance of Keshav Chandra Sen.

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The pioneering work of the anti caste movement first started by Brahman Samaj was continued by other organizations which were subsequently formed in the country.

The Bombay Prarthana Samaj carried on the propaganda of the repudiation of caste practically on the same lines of the Brahma Samaj. Both Brahma Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj under the democratic cultural influence of the west denounced the caste as an institution itself in contrast to this attitude, the Arya Samaj started by Swami Dayananda Saraswati preached not to repudiation of the caste system. But the revival of the Hindu society of Vedic period based only on the four castes. The Arya Samaj, while crusading against the minute's dissection of the Hindu society into countless sub-castes, aimed at reconstructing it on the original four fold division. Further, it stood for extending the right to study scripture even to the lowest caste Shudra.

Thus, while both the Brahma Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj were iconoclastic movement with regards to caste, the Arya Samaj stood for reforming caste by eliminating all sub-castes. In addition to Brahma Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and the Arya Samaj, there was other movement, which also carried on a campaign against caste.

Telang Ranade, Phooley who founded the Satya Sadhak Samaj (1873), Malabari poet Narmad and other were crusader against the caste system. In the south, the self respect movement, attacking the humiliating disabilities from which the non-Brahmin communities suffered, was organized.

Though Indian nationalism reached the conclusion that political power was vital promise for a fundamental reconstruction of Indian society on a democratic basis, it did not relax its campaign against social evils. However social reform was given auxiliary place in the scheme of its work.

The movements of the lower castes of Hindu society suffering from social, religious, and legal disabilities, as a result of the undemocratic caste system, had two aspects; (1) progressive and (2) the reactionary and anti-national. When a lower caste organized even on a caste basis and fought for democratic freedoms, its struggle helped the general struggle for the unity of the Indian people on a democratic basis. Communalism thrived on privilege on one side and disabilities on the other. When democratic liberties were won and all social and legal inequalities based on the hierarchic structure of society were abolished, communalism itself would vanish. There would survive no distinction between the member of one community and those of other. It would be the democratic merging of all individuals, only to be subsequently classified into social groupings

based on their real role in the existing socio-economic structure and therefore, historically valid. Communalism would end only when the democratic freedom were extended to the unprivileged social groups.

But when a lower caste organized itself for securing a specific weight in the constitution of the country, when it demanded separate electorate, it acted in a reactionary and antinational manner. Separate electorates would only perpetuate communalism. Lower caste would be right in demanding the removal of special obstacles put in their way for the manifestation and development of their talent as a result of hierarchic structures of society. This would be a progressive democratic demand and would help to increase the creative vitality of the people. But if a caste asked for special rights, it acted in an undemocratic and anti-national way. The member of a submerged caste and only common negative interest in as much as they were interested in the removal of disabilities imposed on all of them. But when, due to the establishment of a new economic system, the vocational basis of every caste was disorganized, when every caste was composed of individuals pursuing different vocations and having even conflicting materials interests, there could be no common positive interest of all its members.

Similarly non-Brahmin bloc of caste had no common positive interests. These castes were composed of artisans, land labourers, landlords, factory workers, tenants and others. The interest of these groups were widely divergent, within the same caste of this bloc too often there were groups pursuing different occupation.

The non-Brahmin movement was valid and progressive only so far as it struggled to remove legal and social disabilities. Special representation aiming at serving common positive interest had no meaning, since there were no common positive interests of the different castes comprising of non-Brahmin bloc.

The role of nationalist, movement in weakening the caste should not be underestimated. It is true that the basic pillar of the caste, *viz.*, endogamy practically remained intact, but increased collaboration of the members of different-caste in economic, political, and secular cultural movements, steadily grew. The national movement, which already secured a mass basis, affected the narrow caste bonds. Again, the national movement was essentially democratic in principle and based its programmes on equal right of individuals and groups. As such, it was objectively and indirectly in irreconcilable conflict with the hierarchically graded caste, conserving inequalities based on birth. The national movement unified the people while caste kept them divided. The national movement proclaimed the principles of individual freedom and self-determination as much as national freedom and national self-determination. So the growth of the national movement weakened the caste.

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The social organization of Hindus inherited from the Pre-British period had many oppressive and undemocratic features. The segregation of a section of the Hindus as untouchables, who were prevented from such elementary rights as the right of entry to public temples or of the use of public well and tanks, and the touch of whom contaminated a member of higher castes, constituted a most in human form of social oppression.

The untouchables were the outcaste of the Hindu society. Though belonging to the Hindu society, they were its prescribed parts. Historically, untouchability was the social fruit of the Aryans conquest of India. In the process of social interaction, a portion of the indigenous conquered population was incorporated into the Aryan fold. The most backward and despised section of this incorporated population, it appears, constituted the hereditary caste of untouchables.

For centuries, untouchability persisted in the Hindu society. Even extensive and profound humanitarian and religious reform movements such as started by Buddha, Ramanuja, Ramanand, Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Tukaram and others, hardly affected the inhuman and age long institution of untouchability. Hallowed with tradition and sanctified by religion, it continued to exist in all its barbarous vigour for centuries.

History has known hierarchically graded societies of various types in different epochs and among different peoples. All these societies were based on social privileges and inequalities. However, no hierarchically graded society can compare with the Hindu society in its extreme gradation of ranks and inequalities of right.

Hardly any society condemned its section to physical segregation as the Hindu society did in the case of its untouchables. The mere physical touch of the untouchable was a sin, an abomination.

In the Hindu society, the hereditary untouchables were assigned such low function as those of scavengers, of remover of dead cattle and others. They are socially and legally, debarred from any other profession. They had no right to study or enter the temple. They had to live in a separate area in the village or town and had no freedom to use public wells and tanks which the caste Hindu used. As untouchable was punished for crime, by the law of the Hindu state or village tribunal composed of the caste Hindu, more drastically than a caste Hindu who committed the same crime.

The social oppression of the untouchables had religious sanction. As such, it was more firmly entrenched.

Thus, under institution was man so deeply humiliated and crushed as under that of untouchability. The outraging of human personality and human dignity reached its high watermark under it. It was but natural that the elimination of

such as atrocious social phenomenon as untouchability became one of the main plank of the platform of all social reform movement in India.

Though different motive and consideration prompted various group of social reformer in their campaign against untouchability, all recognized it as an institution to be destroyed. It is true that a good proportion of the Hindu community, its numerically strong orthodox section, tenaciously opposed the abolition of untouchability and general disabilities from which these depressed classes of the Hindu society suffered. However, the tendency was towards its increasing elimination.

The socially submerged classes formed about one fifth of the whole Hindu population. The problem of their emancipation, therefore assumed vital importance in any scheme of national freedom and social reconstruction of India.

Among the depressed classes themselves, there were social gradations. There were socially superior and socially inferior group among these victims of social injustice themselves. This made the problem further complicated and difficult. Again the extent of untouchability and other disabilities varied from place to place. In spite of this, the depressed classes were demarcated from the upper caste Hindus by certain fundamental social oppression and disabilities common to them.

The removal of untouchability and all disabilities from which the depressed classes suffered, formed an important item in the programmes of all social and religious reform movements that sprang up in India during the British rule.

The Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the social reform conference, even political organization like the Indian Congress led by Gandhi and all India Harijan Sangh, a non-political body founded by Gandhi, strove by propaganda, education, and practical measures to restore equal social, religious and cultural rights to the untouchables. There was a stirring among depressed classes themselves. The spread of education among them brought forth a group of intellectual such as Dr. Ambedkar, who became the spokesman of their suffering and disabilities and passionate fighter for their elementary human rights. The All India Depressed Classes Association and All India Depressed Federation were the principal organization of these classes. The latter was founded and led by Dr. Ambedkar. In addition, there were numerous local and sectional organizations of the various castes comprising the depressed classes.

The Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj and other religious reform movement of Hindu had for their aim at consolidation of Hindu society on a reconstructed, rational basis. Their leaders strove in the direction of the democratization of Hindu social system. They stood against the gross social injustice from which the

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depressed Hindu were suffering and generally preached their abolition in the very name of the Hindu Sastras by reinterpreting them.

The non-religious social reform movement condemned untouchability and other social injustice in the name of individual liberty and equality of human right without trying to secure any favourable verdict of the Vedas on their side. Even those Hindus, who like Savarkar, stood for the Hindu Raj, advocated the elevation of the status of the depressed classes. This was due to the fact that they felt alarmed at the numerical loss which the Hindu community had been experiencing due conversion of untouchables to Islam and guaranteed them more social equality.

Gandhi, the all India Harijan Sevak Sangh founded by him in 1932, and other bodies were doing extensive work of social reform and educational character for the depressed classes. The Sangh started numerous schools for including residential vocational schools. In addition scavenger's union, cooperative credit society and Housing Society were formed.

A number of Satyagraha movements of the Harijan also took place wherein they disobeyed the ban on their temple entry and strove to enter the temple. Those movements reinforced by growing popular sympathy for their democratic demands, secured for the untouchables and the rights to temple entry in to number of place.

The Indian nationalist stated that the British Government did not energetically and enthusiastically work for the restoration of the rights of the depressed classes and that it did not exercise its power to strike at the undemocratic denial of elementary human rights to untouchables.

Even Dr. Ambedkar who was not irreconcilably hostile to British government while addressing the untouchables remarked. "Before the British were in a loathsome condition due to your untouchability. What has the British government done to remove your untouchability? Before the British, you could not draw water from the village wells. Has the British government secured you the rights to the well? Before the British you could not enter the temple can you enter there now? Before the British you were denied entry into the police force. Does the British government admit you to the force?"

Dr. Ambedkar considered that unless the Indian people secured the political power and that power did not concentrate in the hands of the socially suppressed section of the Indian society. It was not possible to completely wipe out all social, legal and cultural disabilities, from which that section suffered.

This was a strong structure on the neutrality policy of the British government in India in social and religious matters, which objectively tend to perpetuate reactionary and oppressive social custom and institution. It was true that orthodox resented and resisted all progressive social measures, but the leaders

of Indian nationalism and depressed classes argued that the British government ought not to have evaded its state duty to stamp out social inequalities and injustices. It was true that the British government had intervened in social matters and introduced reforms like the abolition of Sati, equality before law of all citizens touchables or untouchables alike and others.

The democratic awakening of the depressed classes, their increasing consciousness of their basic human rights was a part of the general national democratic awakening which had taken place among the Indian people during the British rule during that period, a new economic and political system was established all over India. This system was based on the principles that all individual of society were equal units having equal individual liberty and treatment before law. It dealt a heavy blow to the ideas of heredity and status on which the pre-capitalist medieval Indian society was based. An individual had the equal right and freedom to follow what vocation he liked.

He was treated on the whole at par with other fellow citizen before law. This had kindled among the specially submerged classes the urge to break through all shackles imposed on that freedom for centuries. Their humanitarian activities of the member of the upper caste reinforcing the rebellious struggles of the submerged section constituted the socio, religious reform movement in India.

Thus a movement to elevate the depressed to improve their miserable economic condition, to spread education among them, to extend to them the freedom to use public well, schools and roads and enter public temples, also to secure for them special political representation, steadily grew in the country and gathered momentum. The Mahad Satyagraha for the right to water led by Dr. Ambedkar was one of the outstanding struggles of untouchables to win equal social rights.

There was string among the depressed classes themselves. The spread of education among them brought forth a group of intellectuals such as Dr. Ambedkar who become the spokesman of their suffering, disabilities and passionate fighter for their elementary human right through the All India Depressed Class Federation (AIDCF).

The Mahad Satyagraha for the right of water led by Dr. Ambedkar was one of the outstanding struggles of the untouchables to unequal social rights. So he stood against gross social injustice from which the Depressed Hindu were suffering from.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar from the case of his heart fought relentlessly to establish a society based on the democratic idea of liberty, equality and fraternity. Echoing the philosophy of Lord Buddha, Ambedkar said that the main evil plague the life of mankind is "Dukha" (sorrow). But unlike Buddha who sought solace in

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Nirvana, Ambedkar endeavoured to eradicate sorrow (in other words injustice and exploitation) from the human life through the reconstruction of social and economic order which rendered the majority of people as sufferers veritable servitude in economic prosperity, which could be made available to every human being progressively releasing him from want and fear the cause of *Dukha*.

A pragmatist to the core Ambedkar believed that in the absence of economic and social justice, political independence would not bring about either social solidarity or the national integration; therefore he laid emphasis on the liquidation of hierarchical structure of society on the basis of *Chaturvarna*. He advocated the abolition of privileges on the basis of caste status and vigorously fought for the liberty and dignity of the individual. At the same time he was equally forceful in his advocacy of the unity of the nation.

Dr. Ambedkar was a towering figure of an astonishingly unerring foresight, who many times lashed out against social and economic inequality and wretched *Varnashrama* system in this country. He believed in the consciousness of the Hindus to bring home to them their sins in keeping all the *Shudras* and *Untouchables* in perpetual degradation.

Luckily all that stormy dust has now settled down and our people are now seeing him in his true light as a great patriot. Ambedkar has tried to uplift the depressed classes. He has dealt at length with his crusade to save the integral unity of the country.

Ambedkar has taken social reform approach at low level. One at the level of the Hindu family and other at the level of Hindu society. Because, he endeavoured to reconstruct the Hindu society from the grass root level. The problem regarding the child marriage, widow remarriage, cremation of *Sati* and post cremation (*Sati*) relate to the reform of the Hindu family. The problem of the untouchability and the caste system and the modification of the laws of adoption, marriage and succession related to the reform of the Hindu society.

Dr. Ambedkar has spoken and written against the Hindu social order which is based on graded inequality with the superiority of the few and degradation of many. To him this can not continue for long and if this ambivalent state of society continues those who suffer from inequality will blow up the "Structure of Political Democracy". Politics can not be the monopoly of a few and other can not remain either beast or burden of prey. He vehemently criticized the theory of birth, death and reincarnation which according to popular Hinduism is bound up with the development of caste system. The capacity of man to shape his own destiny is not recognized in this system. Such inequality can not establish a healthy society. There can not be the real unity in this country unless the caste system is annihilated.

The caste system according to Babasaheb Ambedkar is an integrated part of the Hindu civilization and culture and therefore there are always feud and

conspiracy of caste to enslave the weaker section. According to him to get economic equality, it is necessary to complete, bargain to fight, but caste prejudices, ultimately result in conflict and conspiracies to suppress the weak. They result in vested interest and monopoly of only one or two higher castes. The unity of the country is therefore blown up by the caste system and there is no coherence.

Providing special safeguard to the minorities and certain classes, who are socially and educationally backward. Through these safeguards he sought to instill in the minority the spirit of nationalism and tolerance, to accept the rule of the majority even though the majority in India is a communal majority and not a political majority.

The untouchables and other backward classes in India have been enabled to make some improvement in their social, economic and educational situation because of the special safeguard, provided in the Constitution on a preferential basis. Such safeguard are necessary in order to remove the age old disparities existing between the upper caste majority and outcaste minority in India, so that the progressive assimilation of latter into the mainstream of social and national life would ultimately lead to the liquidation of minority. A statesman, scholar, crusader of downtrodden and above all a spiritual guide, Dr. Ambedkar has left an indelible impression on the Indian History. His contribution to uplift the downtrodden made him a cult figure among the depressed classes. He now lives in the heart and mind of the million of the suffering people. They now look at him as immortal soul whose memory will even guide the nation on the path of social justice, liberty and equality.

4.4 E.V.R. PERIYAR

E. V. Ramasami Naicker, popularly known "Thanthai Periyar" was born in an affluent family on 17 September 1879. His parents, Venkata Naicker and Chinnathayamma were deeply pious and religious. Venkata Naicker was a businessman in the town, Erode, and the family belonged to the Naicker caste.

As a schoolchild, Periyar was mischievous and showed little interest in studies, thus his schooling came to an end within a few years. He left the school at the age of twelve and entered the business of his father. To the astonishment of all, he showed keen interest in business, learnt its technique in short time and he was found to be an expert in matters connected to business entrepreneurship.

Periyar's efficiency and skill in business won him the respect of his fellowmerchants in Erode. At the age of nineteen, he married Nagammai who was only thirteen. She proved to be an ideal wife and co-operated wholeheartedly with her husband in all his public activities and agitations. His father died in 1911 when Periyar was only thirty. Without losing heart, he threw himself into his father's business, strengthened it and added to the wealth of the family.

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THE SOUTH INDIAN SITUATION OF HIS TIME

Religiously, South Indian society is complex. The religion of the majority, Hinduism is inextricably linked up with the temple-cult. Temples and shrines are numerous and the ritual of worship in temples and at home guides the daily life of millions of Tamils. The religious year with its astrological calculations, often bound to local traditions has its timings for holidays, festivals and pilgrimages. Inauspicious and auspicious times are decisive for almost any activity in family life, in business and for social engagements.

The mythological traditions, both oral and written in the Puranas, are in the minds and hearts of the people and are often quoted and held up as ideals. To these characteristic features and trends belong also a common popular conception of power and spirits, and indigenous traditions of religious-judicial leadership exemplified by Brahmin Purohits (Priests) to local non-Brahmin village leaders and advisors, like elders Mantiravatis and inspired soothsayers. These popular leaders exercise a considerable and sometimes decisive influence based on their religious and social functions and positions. The role of the Brahmin in the temple cult, through its traditional importance, has furnished the South Indian Brahmins with great authority.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ROLE OF YOUNG PERIYAR

Early in life, Periyar entered a career of trade and politics. His active participation in public association started when he was in his twenties. His engagement in business and trade was soon followed by a political career at first in the municipality of Erode and later in Tamil Nadu as a whole. Periyar's first entry into public life of Tamil Nadu was made when the Madras Presidency Association (MPA) was founded on 20 September 1917. His association with the MPA helped him in the development of his ideals and convictions. Public spirit was very dominant in young Periyar. He never believed in the theory that the character of young people was largely determined by the company they keep and the social atmosphere in which they were brought up. He lived in the midst of all kinds of people from his young days but took his own decisions about everything after deep thought and was never a victim of influence or pressure of any kind.

It was at this stage that the Congress put before itself the ideals of amelioration of the condition of the masses, removal of untouchability, prohibition, etc. As these ideals were similar to his own principles on social reform, Periyar joined the Congress in 1919. He soon began to adopt Gandhiji's principles punctiliously. He cast away all expensive mill clothes and foreign garments and took to hand-spun khadi. He persuaded all the members of his family to only

wear simple khadi clothes. He said, "If everyone decided to wear only khadi, there won't be starvation in this country."

In the year 1920, Gandhi started the Non-Cooperation Movement. All the Congress members were asked to resign the positions given to them by the Government. In response to Gandhiji's call, Periyar closed down the wholesale business. He did this in order to devote all his time and energy to serve the people and wear the Congress banner. In the beginning of the year 1920, Periyar enrolled himself as one of the members of the Congress party in the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and was elected as a secretary for two consecutive years, 1921-22. The Tamil Nadu Congress never suspected Periyar's commitment and sincerity. In fact, they were secretly afraid of his righteousness and his fervour for eradicating casteism.

Periyar was an active member in the Congress. His work in the Non Co-operation Movement in 1920-21, the Temperance Movement in 1922, the Khalar Movement in 1922-24 and the Vaikom Satyagraha in 1924 had not only helped the growth of the Congress party in Tamil Nadu but also had in the process, promoted his image and status in the party as an important leader. After Periyar's significant role in the Vaikom Satyagraha, the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, which met at Kanchipuram in 1925, unanimously passed a resolution praising Periyar as "one whose contribution to the success of the Satyagraha was highly remarkable and henceforth he came to be known as 'Vaikom Veerar' (Vaikom Hero)."

The attitudes, convictions and ideals of the Congress party and the Non-cooperation Movement that attracted Periyar in the beginning, gradually disillusioned him. Though he was an active member of the Congress and a responsible office bearer, he suspected that certain individuals within the party were trying to take advantage of their position to advance the interest of their communities. When he joined the Congress in 1919, he believed that all the prominent people in that organization were enlightened, and he hoped that with their co-operation, he could get rid of the evil of untouchability and that the backward and depressed classes could be enabled to have proper education and a proper share in Government appointments. With this hope, he wanted to move a resolution at the Tamil Nadu Congress Conference at Thirunelveli in 1920 urging the committee to accept the principle of communal representation in education and employment. However, S. Srinivasa Iyengar who presided over the conference disallowed the resolution stating that it would cause communal tension. Periyar was disappointed but did not lose hope. He proposed the resolution at the Tirupur conference in 1922. There was a heated discussion. However, nothing positively emerged from it. Periyar was really irritated by the heartlessness of the upper classes, which quoted the Sastras and the Puranas. He thundered that those who

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were keen on doing justice to the backward and depressed classes must come forward to burn Manu Dharmasastra and the Ramayana. In 1923 at the Salem conference, Periyar proposed the same resolution. The tension between two groups of people mounted and the resolution was not put to vote.

Periyar realized that some men within the party were the main obstacle for the failure of his effort in getting the resolution passed. He was then convinced that in order to get justice to the underprivileged and depressed, he must disassociate himself with Congress and work from outside. This daring step was remarkable because it gave birth to his political philosophy.

4.5 PERIYAR AND THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

In the Annals of the presidency of Madras the period between 1927 and 1934 was important because of the series of social reform movements which emerged and affected the social and political life of the people. Of all the social reform movements in Tamil-Nadu, the only movement, which was entitled non-religious and secular in its approach to social problems, was the Self-Respect Movement started by Periyar.

This movement was quite strong and even militant in its efforts to achieve social equality. It was described from the beginning as "dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmins a sense of pride based on their Dravidian past." The laudable social progress that has been achieved now in Tamil Nadu can be attributed to the Self-Respect Movement and the tireless propaganda conducted by Periyar over the years. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, in his tribute to Periyar, said, "At the beginning of the 19th century, the French thinker Rousseau kindled the reasoning power of his country men and prepared them for the French Revolution. I should say that because Periyar has taught our people to employ their reasoning faculty and because he has kindled their sense of self-respect, he should be called the Rousseau of Tamil Nadu."

GENESIS OF THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

What prompted Periyar to take up with missionary zeal a cause that was not easy to promote even among those who needed it most is generally known. But what sustained his interest is a mystery. It was the steadfast devotion to the cause. That was the greatness of E. V. Ramasami Naicker which made him a Periyar "a great man," a Tantai "father" and a Thalaivar "leader." Periyar was born and brought up in an extremely orthodox household. In his early boyhood, he was exposed to a rigid orthodox way of life strictly governed by traditional prescriptions and scrupulously attached to conventional ritual-ridden activities. Periyar, recalling his boyhood remarked that "the Hindu orthodoxy practiced by his ancestors and the theological discourses perennially conducted in his house

turned him to be an agnostic." Small incidents of caste discriminatory treatment experienced while he was yet a schoolchild seemed to have made a lasting impression so derogatory to his sense of "self-respect" as to drive him to be a determined speaker after an egalitarian society. Giving his own reason for becoming a staunch opponent to religious practices, Periyar had observed that in every circumstance and in every manner he was different from his "association and surrounding" and never became a victim to his surrounding in any field. He stated that the general belief that association and environment mould a person's life, ideals and methods, which was also found true in experience, had been disproved in his case. The environment, which provided him with enormous opportunities to learn theological lessons, did not infuse religious spirit in him, but instead helped to supply him tremendous raw material for building up a philosophy and a movement to resist and break that environment and all that it signified and patronized.

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Viewed from the context in which the Self-Respect Movement originated, it seems doubtful whether Periyar deliberately shifted his attention from "reform" to "social reform" on the ground that the latter should precede the former. Periyar was actively and deeply involved in national politics in 1925, when he left the Indian National Congress to organize the Self-Respect Movement. At that time, Periyar seemed to have felt that he had not been able to reform the nation through political work and realized that the reason for this was the obstruction posed by religious beliefs and that his service was essential for removing them. Periyar felt that intense work was required first for the removal of the miseries caused in the name of religion and suffering of the people living a life without self-respect and only then the attainment of true freedom would be possible.

The immediate provocation for Periyar to quit the Congress was said to be the discriminatory treatment given to students on caste basis at the Gurukulam (a resident school) conducted at Cheran Mahadevi (Tirunelveli District) with Congress funds. Periyar objected to the provision of separate dining and living arrangements provided for Brahmin and non-Brahmin students at the hostel. Another thing was that Periyar as an active member of the Congress and a responsible office bearer had observed and understood the subtle ways of the Brahmins to use the Congress to fortify the interest of their community. He also realized that all his efforts in the Congress were being made use of by the Brahmins in the Congress party. Therefore, he left the congress in 1925. Periyar bitterly remarked, "The Congress can not do any good to non-Brahmins. Here after, my chief duty will be to destroy the Congress."

However, the organization was not registered as a society for a long time although efforts were on since 1929. It was registered in 1952 under the name "The Periyar Self-Respect Propaganda Institution, Tiruchirappalli." The Self-Respect Movement thus got a firm foundation in Tamil Nadu. It was a political

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movement in origin; a social movement in its goals; and an apparently anti-religious movement in its methods. The intertwining of religion, society and state in the progress of this movement reflects the personality of its founder leader Periyar.

SUYAMARIYATHAI

The term "self-respect" corresponds to the Tamilized form of the Sanskrit word *suyamariyathai*. It is a combination of the words *suya* which means "self" and *mariyathai* which means "respect." The motive behind the inauguration of the movement was to instill the feeling of Self-Respect among the people and to eradicate all kinds of birth-based inequalities and discriminations. The Self-Respect Movement was dedicated to the ideal of giving the Tamils "a sense of pride" based on their glorious past. Periyar declared that the objectives of the Self-Respect movement were "the establishment of a casteless and classless society with equal rights, free from superstitious beliefs and the eradication of all social evils." Its aim was also to give complete equality, to women with men including property rights, to promote women's education and widow remarriage.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

No account of the freedom movement in Tamil Nadu can be complete without an account of the Self-Respect Movement that accompanied it and accomplished a silent revolution in the thinking of the people. The philosophy of self-respect, which underlines Periyar's image of an ideal world, was said to be an universally accepted one, a philosophy that preaches that human actions should be based on rational thinking; conclusions drawn from reason should be respected under any circumstances.

Periyar declared that the Self-Respect Movement alone could be a genuine freedom movement and political freedom would not be fruitful without individual self-respect. To Periyar, self-respect was as valuable as life itself. To a human being it is the protection of his *Suyamariyadai* (self-respect) which is his birthright and not *swaraj* (political freedom). He described the movement as *Arivu Vidutalai Iyakkam*, that is, a movement to liberate the intellect. Human equality with stress on economic and social equality formed the central theme of the Self-Respect philosophy. Propagation of the philosophy of self-respect became the full time activity of Periyar since 1925. Oral and written media were used mostly in Tamil. A Tamil weekly *Kudi Arasu* started in 1925, became the principal organ of the movement.

THE AIM OF THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

The aims of the Self-Respect movement have been outlined and stated in two pamphlets *Naniathu Kurikkol* and *Tiravitakkalaka Lateiyam* —

- (a) This movement aims to do away with such social structure of the society where one class of people claim to be superior to others and some men claim to be of higher birth than others.
- (b) It aims to work for getting equal opportunities for all people, irrespective of their communities it will strive to secure equal status for women along with men in life and according to law.
- (c) All people should be given equal opportunities for growth and development. Friendship and fellow feeling should be natural among all the people.
- (d) It aims to completely eradicate untouchability and to establish a united society based on brotherhood and sisterhood.
- (e) To establish and maintain homes for orphans and widows and to run educative institutions.
- (f) To discourage people from building new temples, mutts, chlorites or Vedic Schools. People should drop the caste titles in their names. Common funds should be utilized for educational purpose and for creating employment opportunities for the unemployed.

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The aims and resolutions were recommended for the careful scrutiny and guidance of all the people in Tamil Nadu, after the first Self-Respect Conference which was held at Chegalpattu on 17 and 18 February 1929. More than six thousand people attended this great conference. About half of them were ordinary people who had come from distant places in the hope of getting sound advice on social equality, social evils and the ways of overcoming the forces of exploitation. The next Self-Respect Conference was held at Erode on 10 May 1930, under the chairmanship of the Guest National leader M. R. Jayakar. This conference took a bolder step than the previous one and discouraged idol worship in strong terms. At the Self-Respect Conference held at Virudhunagar in August 1931 under the presidentship of Sri Kanchi K. Shanmugam, all the progressive ideas were emphasized, in addition to these, strongly worded resolutions against untouchability and for the encouragement of inter-caste marriages were passed.

After this conference, the Self-Respect Movement gained momentum and the people in the villages realized that their children should have the benefit of education. People in general were coming to realize that caste distinctions should never be encouraged. The practice of having separate dining places for certain sections of society was abolished. Self-respecters were the inaugurators of the temple-entry movement in Tamil Nadu.

The social service rendered by Periyar thus helped in the liberation and uplift of the neglected masses and brought them into the mainstream of National

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Life. Through this movement, Periyar wanted to dispel the ignorance of the people and make them enlightened. During his speech at the conference, he exhorted people to take steps to change the institutions and values that led to meaningless divisions and unjust discriminations. He advised them to change according to the requirements of the changing times and keep pace with the modern conditions.

THE POLITICS OF THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

The most outstanding personalities on the Indian political scene in the last century were Mahatma Gandhi and Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan. They have made unique contributions to political theory and represented in their personalities an immense political force which none could ignore. However, neither could found or find a political party that could project all their philosophies and programmes. Though Periyar was not working on a national scale, yet his philosophy had, no doubt, a relevance all over India. He was working through the medium of a regional language, within a regional setting and for the regional people and this factor limited the application of his theories essentially to the local situation. However, his propaganda produced such widespread impact that the leaders and parties at the national level could not afford to ignore him or his campaigns.

In the early years of the Self-Respect Movement, Periyar seemed to have been very clear in his opinion that linking social service with political service would prove very harmful to social service. Periyar observed that politics had led to the rise of dishonest people to cheat the masses and he did not want social service to be associated with it. He feared that it would also fall into the hand of dirty politics. Therefore, he decided to keep away from politics completely.

Periyar asserted that everyone in politics was bound to turn dishonest or betray his own society or nation. He thought that for the continuance and success of the social service movement, an assurance should be taken from the intending participants in the Self-Respect Movement regarding non-participation in active politics.

His decision to not to enter into politics was taken after considerable thought, over the corrupting influence of politics. Periyar was of the opinion that even Gandhiji's movement—that was held as noble had degenerated after the decision to enter legislative politics. However, the movement that started in disgust of party politics was consciously or unconsciously dragged into a search for its identity in the political arena. At that time, the Self-Respect Movement went through a crisis over the issue whether to have political participation or not. This crisis was solved by a compromise solution adopted at a meeting. According to this, the Self-Respect Movement was to concentrate primarily on its objective of social

transformation, but should permit those who wanted to enter politics to do so. The change was due to the realization that any social reform could be achieved through political power. Therefore, to accommodate the politically inclined self respecters it was decided to organize a socialist party (Self-Respect Samadharma Party).

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

The Self-Respect Movement was popular in its appeal. Though it began as a social reform movement, its effects were ultimately profoundly political. In the words of Irschick, "it was dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmins a sense of pride based on their Dravidian past, which also meant a denial of the superiority of the Brahmins and of the Brahmin's implicit faith in the system."

One of the important achievements of the movement is the ushering in of self-respect marriages, in which there will be no priest and the marriage alliance had to be entered into by the free will of the couple after declaring that they have agreed to be life partners by the exchange of garlands and without religious rituals in a simple function to avoid all wasteful expenses.

After Self-Respect Movement gained momentum, all the people in the villages realized that their children should have the benefit of education. They also learned to claim that children of all communities sit together in their schools. People had been waiting for years and years for such a healthy and helpful movement. This amount of progress can be attributed only to the Self-Respect Movement and the tireless propaganda conducted by Periyar over the years.

DRAVID KAZHAGAM

When Periyar was young, there were two political parties other than the Congress—the Justice Party and the Swarajya Party. The Swarajya Party, like the Congress was dominated by Brahmins. The Justice Party consisted only of non-Brahmins under the leadership of Panagal Raja who was working for the uplift of the underprivileged. Although an ardent opponent of Brahmin power, Periyar seemed to have politically drawn toward the Congress rather than the Justice Party.

When Periyar left the Congress in 1925, he organized the "Self-Respect Movement" designed as a Dravidian uplift, and seeking to expose the Brahmin tyranny and deceptive methods by which they controlled all spheres of Hindu life. He publicly ridiculed the Puranas as fairy tales, not only imaginary and irrational but grossly immoral as well. He carried an active propaganda in an attempt to rid the people off Puranic Hinduism and wean them away from religious ceremonies requiring the priestly ceremonies of the Brahmins.

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Periyar made a trip to the Soviet Union in 1931. When he returned he was fully convinced that materialism was the answer to Indian's problems and openly advocated mass revolution and the overthrow of the Government. Tempered somewhat by imprisonment for sedition in 1933-34, he indicated a willingness to join one of the major parties on a conditional basis. He formulated a fourteen-point programme and presented it to both the Congress and the Justice Party for their acceptance. It was wholly unacceptable to the Congress, but the Justice Party, then rapidly going downhill gave the nod.

Under the Congress ministry of C. Rajagopalachari in 1937, Hindi was introduced to the South as a compulsory subject in schools. Taking it as an affront to Tamil culture, Periyar waved black flags of rebellion in his first anti-Hindi campaign. The agitation against the imposition of Hindi brought Periyar to the forefront of attention. The following year 1938, while in jail, Periyar was elected President of the Justice Party.

Periyar saw the imposition of Hindi as a subjugation of Tamil peoples, which could only be avoided through the creation of a Dravidian state. In 1939, he organized the "Dravida Nadu Conference" for the advocacy of a separate and independent "Dravidasthan." In 1944, the Justice Party was recognized under the guidance of Periyar as the "Dravida Kazhagam" or "Dravidian Federation" and at its Salem conference, took on the character of a highly militant mass organization. At the 1945 conference at Tiruchirapalli, the Dravida Kazhagam adopted a constitution and took as its symbol a black flag with a red circle in the centre. Black represented the deprivations and the indignities to which the Dravidians were subjected to under the Hindu religion milieu. Red stood for the determined efforts to dispel the ignorance and blind faith among the people and to liberate them materially and mentally from all kinds of exploitation, especially of social and cultural.

The object of the Dravida Kazhagam was proclaimed to be the achievement of a Sovereign Independent Dravidian republic, which would be federal in nature with four units corresponding to the linguistic divisions each having residuary power and autonomy of integral administration. It would be a "casteless society" an egalitarian "Dravida Nadu" to which the depressed and downtrodden could get allegiance.

As in the Self-Respect Movement, one of Periyar's basic objectives was to remove all "superstitious beliefs" based upon religion or tradition. No members were allowed to wear the sectarian marks of faith across the foreheads. Periyar vigorously campaigned for widow remarriage and intercaste marriages. The reformed marriage rite of the Dravida Kazhagam gained wide acceptance among the non-Brahmins of Tamil Nadu.

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The ceremonies and rites of passage at which Brahmins officiated, came to be despised by the Dravida Kazhagam, and the Hindu religion was denounced as an opiate by which the Brahmins had dulled the masses so that they might be controlled. Atheism became virtually a cult among Kazhagam members. "A Hindu in the present concept may be a Dravidian, but a Dravidian in the real sense of the term cannot and shall not be a Hindu." Pain was taken to destroy the images of sacred Hindu deities such as Rama and Ganesha; and the Ramayan and the other Sanskrit epics were destroyed.

Young people, attracted to the party by powerful speakers and forceful writers, were encouraged to contribute to the cultural growth of Tamil Nadu. The glories of the Tamil kingdom were hailed as peaks in the cultural history of India and the antiquity of Dravidian civilization was pushed further back into the past with the aid of English scholars such as Robert Caldwell. The culture of the ancient Aryans was belittled as barbarian in comparison to the splendour and richness of Dravidian tradition and Tamil culture. The past was resurrected and given a reality, which far exceeded the evidence extant.

The Dravidian movement has been instrumental in bringing the people of Tamil Nadu to an awareness of itself as a community. The Dravida Kazhagam through its organizational units in every district and taluka in Madras brought the message of Tamil nationality to the masses. The Dravida Kazhagam in spite of its appeals to the masses retained its quasi-military organization and its basically elitist character. The vitality of the Dravida Kazhagam had attracted many outstanding young men of whom one of the most talented was C. N. Annadurai.

Periyar's popularity suffered a disastrous blow in 1949, when at the age of 72; he married a 28-year-old girl who had been an active member of the party. In a statement giving the reasons for his marriage, he said that as he had no confidence in his lieutenants, he was marrying a girl in whom he had full trust and who would lead the party after his death. On the pretext that the marriage was contrary to the avowed social objectives of the Kazhagam, which included the elimination of the practice of unequal marriages, C. N. Annadurai seceded from the party to form the "Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam."

This marked the birth of the DMK. After some years, when Karunanidhi was the leader of the party, M. G. Ramachandran seceded from the party to form "Anaithu Indiya Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam" (AIADMK). So likewise many Dravidian movements took birth. All of them appeared as manifestations of the Dravidian movement at large. Like the Dravida Kazhagam, other Dravidian parties emphasized the great role of the Tamils and their cultural heritage.

More than eight decades have passed since the Dravidian movement was born in Tamil Nadu and in this period it has passed through many changes, many slogans and deviated from many of the ideals of Periyar that it had been

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persuing. Today in Tamil Nadu, the Dravidian parties do not live up to the Self-Respect ideology and principles of Periyar. The heights of corruption have been reached with parties calling themselves Dravidians. They are not taking up the contemporary crucial issues for fear of losing their vote banks. Though many parts of India realize the importance of Periyar, surprisingly, back in its own state, he seems to have little or no following. As a matter of fact, we see that the main Dravidian parties in Tamil Nadu have now come to a stage where they have no hesitation in joining hands with the Hindutva parties (BJP and others) to share power at the centre. Hindutva and Brahminism, which Periyar declared as the main enemy, are today the closest allies of the DMK, AIADMK, MDMK and other Dravidian parties.

4.6 PERIYAR AND WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

The oppression of women has been a chronic and deep-rooted malady all over the world. The condition of women has continued to be far from satisfactory in our country too. Early nineteenth century saw the emergence of various socio-religious reform movements in India. In the social sphere, there were movements of caste reform or caste abolition, equal rights for women, and a crusade, against social and legal inequalities. Interestingly, the enlightened individuals of the male section took the lead in initiating efforts to abolish laws and customs, which suppressed the women in society. If the girls today outshine the boys in Tamil Nadu, in academic excellence, the credit should go to E. V. R. Periyar and others. This chapter highlights the contribution of Periyar to women's emancipation.

Periyar was aware that for ages, women in India had been confined within their homes and it was taken for granted that bringing forth children and cooking for the family were their only duties. Very few families cared to educate their girl children. The orthodox people justified their attitude towards women saying that they followed Manu dharma. Periyar said, "Any code that advised men to treat their women folk worse than animals is a barbarous code and can be respected only by barbarians." The uplift of women was one of the programs of Periyar from the beginning of his public services.

In the view of Periyar, women should give up all practices that deny their legitimate rights and makes them subservient to men. They should develop physical strength just like men. They must exercise and get trained in the use of weapons. They must acquire the ability to protect themselves when they are physically harassed. They should obtain the necessary training to enter the army and, when need arises, they must fight the enemy. Therefore, Periyar says, "The present system of education, which will be common to both men and women, which will be useful in practical life and which will enable them to free themselves from cowardice and superstitious belief should be adopted." Periyar was thus

emphatic that the common practice of giving a lower status to women in the Indian society should disappear.

SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT'S RESOLUTIONS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Periyar believed, "If a man realizes that he is equal to all other men and that he has the right to equality with all other men then he becomes a self-respecting person." Periyar also wanted women to develop that kind of self-respect. This was one of the reasons why he named his movement the "Self-Respect Movement." In 1929, when the first Self-Respect Conference was held at Chengalpat in Tamil Nadu, the following resolutions were passed :

This conference resolves that women should be given equal rights with men for property and for the privilege of succession and the rights and facilities to be employed in any profession or job, and that necessary steps should be taken (by the government) to employ a greater number of women of teachers in schools including primary schools.

Another resolution stated that the age for a girl's marriage should be about 16 years. If the husband or the wife disliked the alliance and wanted the marriage to be dissolved he or she should be given the right to cancel it. Widows should be helped to remarry and men and women should be given the right to choose their partners without attaching any importance to religion or caste.

PERIYAR'S VIEWS

Let us now see some of the views of Periyar on love and chastity, women's marriage, widow-remarriage, education, birth control and property rights. These are from the vast and varied speeches and articles of Periyar.

On Love and Chastity

"A man or a woman can be moved to love only on a consideration of age or intellect or property or educational or musical talent, features or the status of the parents or the apparent suitability for physical satisfaction or areas of interest as a source of satisfaction." According to Periyar the Tamil word Kadhal which can be translated into English as "love" has no special significance other than what words like kindness, desire and friendship indicate. For Periyar, "If true love has arisen in the heart of a person towards a member of the other sex, then that love becomes a fixed and permanent feature and the person concerned cannot experience any kind of feeling like lust, temporary attachment or anything of that kind for the other person." Hence, Periyar opines that when a man and woman fall in love they may have the same temperament, mental or other equipments, aims and ideals.

Therefore, he believes that love is not different from desire, affections and friendships. These feelings are the same whether they are directed towards living

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beings or non-living things and that these feelings are all subject to change. Kindness, attachment, friendship and such feelings are there to give pleasure and mental satisfaction and not for demonstrative show. Chastity of women is highly valued in our society but today's writers have interpreted Karpu as Pathiviratham or worship of the husband. This is because men have more property, more income and greater physical strength than women. Men have been encouraged to adopt a rough attitude towards women, to subordinate them and also to believe that Karpu does not concern man. The Tamil word for "chastity" only means "integrity" or "truthfulness" or being true to one's commitments.

Periyar kindled the everybody's thoughts by ridiculing the use of the word "chastity" only with reference to women. According to Periyar, character is essential for men and women. Therefore speaking of chastity only with reference to women, degraded not merely women, but men also. He strongly said :

Cruel religions and laws which force women to put up with the brutal behavior of the husband for the sake of chastity must die out. The wickedness of society which, in the name of chastity, force a woman to suppress her real feelings of love and live with a man who has neither love nor kindness for her, should go.

He emphatically expressed that he could not find a more hateful practice in human society than the imposition of chastity in all circumstances on women alone.

On Marriage

The booklet "The Benefit of a Help-Mate" by Periyar, gives his views on the situations and the rights of women. It states :

What is marriage today? We are not bound to any tradition. Marriage is an agreement. Marriage of lust is not good. Of importance is knowledge, love, suitability and experience. Marriage is for life. There is no room for old Tamil customs, or for Aryan traditions. Marriages in Russia are free, and no property is involved.

In our country and particularly in Hindu society, a marriage is a function causing a lot of difficulties and wastage. A marriage indicates that a man and a woman are going to live together as husband and wife and it need not imply anything else. But people spend a lot of money, borrow recklessly and spend lavishly to satisfy their vanity and get flattering compliments from others. For Periyar this was all a waste. He advocated civil marriages, which did not incur much expense, but were legally valid. In place of traditional marriages he advocated and even conducted self-respect marriages. These marriages enhanced the dignity of women.

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Periyar objects to terms like "giving of a maid" and "given in marriage". They are Sanskrit terms, and treat women as objects. He wants them to be substituted by *Valkkai tunai*, a word for marriage taken from the *Tirukkural*, which means a "help-mate in life." Thus he advocates self-respect marriages. A self-respect wedding is based on rationalism. Self-respect marriages can be successfully undertaken in an atmosphere where the status of women is raised on par with men. Their emancipation also lies in relieving them from the age-old traditions and other irrational chains of bondage and exploitation.

On Widow Re-Marriage

One of the reasons why Periyar hated Hinduism and the orthodoxy practiced in the name of Hinduism was the barbarous practice of child marriage. Many of the girl children who were married before they were ten or twelve years old became widows before they knew the meaning of the word "widow". It is surprising that no leader other than Periyar reacted against this practice of child marriage. If the Indian society was liberal enough to permit the innocent young widows to marry again, child marriages would not appear as barbarous as it does now. But the orthodox people who conducted these child marriages considered it a sin for a widow to get married. Periyar's sister Ponnuthai had a girl child. When this girl was nine years old; she was married to a boy aged twelve. On the thirtieth day after the marriage, the boy-bridegroom died of cholera and the innocent nine-year-old girl child became a widow. The child came to Periyar and lamented why he and others had subjected her to that miserable condition. This incident moved Periyar deeply and he decided to do something revolutionary and make life meaningful for the widows.

The 1931 census report brought to light the increase in the proportion of widows in the Madras Presidency as a result of young girls marrying bride grooms much older than themselves. The Self-Respect Movement strongly criticized marriages which involved women and aged widows. The Self-Respect Movement deplored the plight of the young widows who were denied the opportunity to re-marry and to lead a contented life like other women. It went further and appealed to all, not to resort to such inhuman behaviour but to treat the frustrated young widows with sympathy and concern. The Self-Respect Movement encouraged books which highlighted the plight of the young widows with an intention to educate the ignorant and orthodox people. Therefore, the Self-Respect Movement deemed all these problems not only as social problems and mere menaces but also as complete slavery and moral degradation.

On Birth Control

Periyar advocates birth control for women, to gain freedom. Conceiving too young and too many times is the root cause for women becoming sickly,

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developing premature signs of old age, and meeting with pre-mature death. Further, it is this conception that stood in the way of women proving their mettle and joining hands with men in the progress of life. That is why he advocated birth-control. It is his view that the propaganda for birth control is more important than the propaganda for prohibition and the propaganda against contagious diseases.

Birth control does not aim at preventing the birth of children altogether; it only aims at limiting the births. This policy was opposed by some priests. By way of meeting their opportunities he published a book entitled "Priests and Condemnation of Sins," exposing the irregularities in human beings. Though the book was confiscated, the opposition of the priests ceased altogether. The continuation of his propaganda and the time spirit was strong to support it. Women began to develop the necessary courage to practice birth control.

On Property Rights

Periyar says :

Despite there being a goddess of learning and a goddess of wealth in the Hindu religion, why do they not grant women their education and right to property? Among the many reasons for the subjugation of women, the most important one is that they lack the right to property.

In the sacred books of many religions we read that women are not given equal rights with men. Periyar, therefore, puts across the question to these who seek to improve the status of women. If they are real reformers, they must decide first whether they are going to be bound by the scriptures or not.

If women should gain true independence, men should give them an equal status. The view that women are weak by nature, and that they have been created to be under the protection or patronage of men should drastically change. In addition to the absence of property rights, women's feelings of subordination and feeling of fear, stand in the way of their enjoyment of independence.

The government is trying to root out this disease by means of legislation. According to the new legislation, women have the right to a share of the parents' property. Therefore every girl will be getting her legitimate share from her parent's wealth - if the parents are wealthy. This does not mean that the boy's family demand from the girl's parents for dowry. Periyar would have felt happy if the youth had courage, and were not be hidebound in their outlook like bullocks tied to a yolk of an oil mix. Without fear, men should come of their conventions and must treat women as their equals.

Whenever Periyar took up any problem for discussion, he explored all its possibilities most critically. On the question of uplift of women and their rights also examined he all its aspects thoroughly. His views on love and chastity,

marriage, widow remarriage, birth-control and property rights, express Periyar's concern to uplift the status of women. The Self-Respect Movement, which he started, had shown a definite sense of commitment to all these sensitive issues.

4.7 PERIYAR'S CRITICISM OF RELIGION

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Our civilization does not come from the skies. It is not the result of an inspiration. It is the child of invention, of discovery, of applied knowledge, that is to say of science. In fact, religion hampers the growth of science and as well as scientific thinking at every stage. The first enemy of science is religion.

What is religion? Is religion anything but profit? If not, how do the heads of the churches, mutts, ashrams, like Shankaracharyas and Sai Babas accumulate wealth by millions? In addition, how does a temple in Tirupati or church in Velankanni collect gold, silver, currencies, etc. worth millions every month? How did they acquire their money? The answer is simple. Religion is only profit.

Religions' capital is fear. It is the dominant element, which is mightier than love. This weakness of man is exploited by the so-called "God men." They blackmail their devotees with the threats of imaginary hell and damnation.

On religion, Periyar used both lip and pen rationally and forcefully. He was convinced that people used religion only as a mask to deceive the innocent people. Periyar proclaimed himself as a vowed atheist. Puranas, shastras and smritis were the target of his vociferous condemnation. He firmly asserted that these were responsible in making the public feel hardy and superstitious. At one stage, he asserted that the meaningless religious treatises must be burnt. He believed that belief in God dampens the natural human qualities such as initiatives, perseverance and enthusiasm. Fear of God is the beginning of one's own foolishness. Periyar attacked mainly Hinduism and its gods, because they are the greatest enemy of human equality and liberty. He felt that if a person should live with self-respect he must do away with religion.

Religion, according to Periyar, forms the main impediment to progress towards a just and equal society and it must be eradicated and replaced by rationalism. Periyar spoke highly of man's reasoning capacity and saw a clear contrast between belief and reason. "One must respect man and his wisdom rather than talk of God and his power." Rationalism thus stands for development and equality; whereas religion confirms superstitions, suppression and exploitation. For Periyar :

Rationalism and religion do not go together. Religion goes hand in hand with superstition and fear. Religion prevents progress and suppresses man. Religion exploits the suppressed classes. Religion makes man lazy as well as cowardly. Rationalism and Atheism liberate man.

GOD THE ARCH-ENEMY OF RATIONALITY

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How and when did God come into being? Periyar answers that the notion of God arose only when man began to think. Man began to accept the natural forces as divine beings when it was not possible to comprehend them scientifically. It had been the when something was considered to be divine would turn out to be part of science when scientifically proved. For example, when humans were unable to explain the solar and lunar eclipses, they connected a story of Rashi and Khedu, two snakes swallowing the sun and the moon respectively. It is obvious that those items that are unexplainable using cause or effect are said to be the actions of God. As one's knowledge grows, these notional items are bound to disappear.

According to Periyar no theologian could convincingly explain what is meant by God. Every theologian clings dogmatically to what he calls God, which is neither understandable to him nor explained by him in detail. Many theologians say that God administers His providential rule only through human beings. Perhaps that is the reason why, says Periyar, "that a beggar says that he got alms with the blessings of God. One who secured a job also says the same. If this is true how can we attribute responsibility to a man for all the good and bad occurrences? When God himself is omnipresent, why should a human being pray to him? Why should the human beings suffer if God is inherently benevolent? When the evil is present in the world how can we accept the existence of a benevolent God?" Periyar condemned those religions that divide people on the basis of caste, doctrines, etc.

He was also against wasting money on religious celebrations, temple worship, etc. During his time, he said that in India more than 200 million rupees were being spent on temple worship, pilgrimage and ceremonial festivals. According to him, if the money was channelized for the development of the country, the condition of the poor and the lower castes would have improved.

Periyar exhorts his followers saying that God is the arch-enemy of rationalism. Belief in God has prevented us from making maximum use of our reason. The belief that everything is possible by God has resulted in the thinking that nothing is possible without Him. Man's enthusiasm is thus mitigated. Theists would say that though we can not see God He was and is and He continues to be so. According to Periyar, it is a foolish attempt to explain what they cannot say authentically. If there is a force far beyond our knowledge why should we be fool ourselves analyzing it. "God is fictitious and imaginary. It is like sapless foliage with no use whatsoever." Theists say that God is not understandable. If so, how did they understand God? If they also did not understand it, what right have they to speak about it and champion its cause? Periyar cites his rationalist motto:

There is no God, no God at all, never a God, One who fabricates God is a fool, One who propagated God is a dishonest fellow, One who prays to God is a savage.

ANTI-RELIGION AND RATIONALISM

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Periyar says, "Without destroying religion we cannot eradicate the problem of unsociability." Periyar sees religion as the main impediment to social and political progress. This explains the predominance he has given to anti-religion in the presentation of his messages. Periyar himself recorded his early experiences thus:

"In our house Sanyasis, Pundits, Hermits and Priests commanded respect. Because I did not like them, I made it a point to oppose whatever they said and ridiculed them. Though I had not read the Puranas or other religious books the discourse with saiva or vaishnava pundits constantly in our house gave me enough information about religious matters and enabled me to question the pundits. In answering my questions, the religious men contradicted one another and sometimes contradicted themselves. It gave extraordinary pleasure to fling at the pundits, their own contradictions and thus perplex them. I believed that, it was this experience, which deprived me of faith in communities, in religion, in Puranas and Sastras and in God."

A stand against Brahmanism is the first and seemingly the foremost conviction with Periyar. As we know, Brahmins have traditionally had a dominant role in south India such as a home-priest, temple-priest, Purohit and Arcaka. Periyar strongly and repeatedly criticized Brahmins for misusing their position and argued that traditional social structures based on religion, have been means used by them to suppress and exploit the masses. God, religions, Sastras, Puranas and Itihasas are the powerful weapons in the hands of the upper caste people to subjugate the sons of the soil and treat them as fourth or fifth castes under the vicious Varnashrama Dharma system.

Brahmins are thus accused of a superior, contemptuously arrogant, attitude towards non-Brahmins and of suppressing them, religiously as well as prevailing "unjust" legal system, mainly created by Brahmins themselves. Periyar strongly said that religion was used by the Brahmins for domination and he felt that it should be replaced by rationalism, in which he puts all his trust.

So we can say that the bedrock of Periyar's principles and the movements that he started was rationalism. He is of the opinion that the reason for the chaos and deterioration in our country is that we have been hindered from inquiry and repressed from the use of rationality. Reason is the life-blood of human beings. Among all creatures, only human beings possess reason. "Rationality is the acute capacity of thinking. Man should contemplate on anything, not following the

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path of belief, but that of reason." He prescribes the following as the duties of rationalists, "analyzing everything with courage and intelligence according to the need, rejecting what should be rejected, contributing what should be contributed, to reform, without fearing change."

The second dominant aspect of Periyar's struggle was to fight against casteism. He pleads for the eradication of caste system. Periyar also questions the domination of one part of the country by another. He attacks the compulsory introduction of any language in the South that will undermine Tamil. These aspects of his teachings are inter woven, and there is much that is overlapping. It is not feasible to make a clear distinction between religions and social issues in India and with Periyar and also religious, social and political ideas go together.

Religion and social issues are closely linked. Ritual impurity leading to untouchability means socio-economic degradation, for lower caste and ritual purity leads to social supremacy for the upper caste. That was why Periyar strongly and repeatedly criticized the upper castes for grave misuse of their position and the way they used religion as a means to suppress and exploit the people. One can see a clear logic behind Periyar's extreme stand against religion and God. He was pained to see millions of depressed classes leading a subhuman life. When Periyar studied the situation, he found the cause of their ill treatment in the division of the society into several castes and he understood that it was religion, which sanctioned and provided sustenance to this unhealthy segregation. He discovered that the whole edifice of religion derived its authority from the concept of gods. In order to root out the cruelties of caste system he had to attack religion and do away with it to achieve this, he had to do away with God. Periyar's iconoclasm is thus the result of his concern for the depressed masses and their uplift.

ANTI-HINDUISM

"If Hinduism, its arts and rituals are to be strictly implemented, you will find the Brahmins as high and superior and the Dravidians degraded to the status of Sudras or Panchamas." Periyar's attack on the Brahmin's function in the religio-social structure of South India consequently leads to a criticism of Hindu religion as such. He says, "Hinduism is not a religion. It is founded by a small group for their own vested interests and built on the ignorance, illiteracy and exploitation of the people." Periyar in his pamphlet "Philosophy" argues about God, religion and man. He says, "God, religion and man are the social inventions of the upper castes, and Brahmins, with a view to securing their own superiority."

The "Agamic" rules regulate the role of certain communities and authority in the temple and in home worship. Manu in his Dharmasastra, which was accordingly attacked by Periyar, gives a wider legislation of their superiority in

the religio-social field. These have formed a part of functional Hinduism and regulate religion and form the basic structure of the social system. Periyar asks, whether we should accept or reject this religion. Can this religion be an agent of social growth? He concludes, "The oil lamps are replaced by electric bulbs, the cart-age is replaced by aviation. Similarly, gods and religions of older days should be radically amended and set right. His famous slogan is "Forget God and respect man."

TEMPLE CULT

"I am prepared to demolish temples," said Periyar. For Periyar temple and cult worship are the leading features in popular Hinduism. His attack on temple cult is two fold. One is the atheistic point of view of attacking the religious functions of temples as the abodes of gods and therefore as places of worship. Secondly, temple cult also implies the application of the law of untouchability. Periyar's criticism is about a social protest against the prohibition for non-upper caste Tamils to enter the Garbha Griha. A special point with Periyar is a place for abolishing any unintelligible language as the language of temple worship and cult. He insisted on the use of the vernacular.

His criticism of classical Hindu religious concepts like Dharma, Moksa, Karma, Samsara and Maya, which form the doctrinal structure of the Hindu faith were collected and printed in 1970 in a pamphlet called Prakrit or materialism. In order to break away from the Hindu religious structure and as a protest against "superstition" in accordance with Periyar's rationalistic way of thinking, the self-respect marriages were deliberately conducted at hours feared as inauspicious. He says, "The self-respect marriage is a revolt against accepted dogmas and tradition, against Dharma Sastras, against religious rites and ceremonies."

ICONOCLASM

Periyar's opposition to the Hindu cult and worship in and outside of temples resulted in iconoclastic actions. "He ridiculed and damaged the images of deities and heroes. He campaigned for burning pictures of them in 1956 and 1971, as his opposition to religious as well as political domination by the upper castes."

Periyar called himself an atheist. His atheism seems to mean more a denial of the role of religion in society than a refusal of belief in God. His numerous anti-religious comments characterized religion as superstition leading to ignorance, exploitation and suppression. In his opinion, "no religion is without superstition." Superstition is belief in miracles and supernatural. Religion must be eradicated and replaced by rationalism. For this he stressed on an education that is rational

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and general, through which one can conquer superstition and ignorance and improve justice and morality in society.

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VIEWS ON OTHER RELIGIONS

We have already said that Periyar called himself an atheist and a materialist. He always felt that it was necessary to eradicate religion as such in order to impart progress and justice in society. Periyar was also confronted by other religions than Hinduism, which even if of more recent origins and much smaller in number, have long been alive in South India. We, therefore, briefly study his views on Islam, Buddhism and Christianity.

Periyar declared, "I was prepared to die as a Muslim. I was ashamed of being a Hindu, therefore I would become a Muslim." He recommended conversion to Islam to non-Brahmins so that they would be free from the "Hindu yoke." Since there was no caste distinction in Islam, he preferred Islam. But at the same time he declares, "If you can find another way better than Islam, so much the better."

Buddhism was also highly praised by Periyar. He liked to compare his own role to that of Gautama the Buddha, and at names-giving ceremonies he often named children Gautama. What appealed to Periyar was the fact that Buddha denied the classical Hindu concepts of Brahman (God) and Atman (Soul).

Periyar was cautious when criticizing the Christian faith. He said, "It will be difficult to abolish Islam and Christianity from society. What was said 2000 years ago could not be relevant today. Heaven in all religions is a way of collecting money. Can you accept Christ according to reason?" He also wrote an article called "The Bible is a dangerous Moral Guide."

Therefore, Periyar's criticism of Islam, Buddhism and Christianity comes out as opportune when serving his ideological propaganda, but contains little of deeper analysis. He can speak appreciatively of them when finding in their ethic principles of equality and justice, thus advocating them if they prove to be an alternative to Brahmanic Hinduism. These religions, in spite of their comparatively long presence in India, seem to have little part in forming or breaking, the traditionally dominant Hindu Brahmin society with the result that Periyar is obviously less concerned about them.

PERIYAR AND MARX

Marx's analysis and critique of religion is perhaps one of the most famous and most quoted by theists and atheists alike. According to Marx, religion is an expression of material realities and economic injustice. Thus problems in religion are problems in society. Religion is not a disease, but merely a symptom. It is used by oppressors to make people feel better about the distress they experience

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due to being poor and exploited. This is the origin of his comment that religion is the "opium of the masses." According to Marx, human being creates religion, "because the world he inhabits is an inverted world. This perversion is described as consisting in loss of being, in suffering, lovelessness, soullessness and oppression. Religion is man's protest by projecting a world of illusion where he can lead an ideal existence." Marx has three primary reasons for disliking religion. Firstly, he regards it as fundamentally irrational; secondly, he regards it as a complete negation of all that is dignified in a human being and lastly he sees religion as fundamentally hypocritical.

We see that there are some parallels between Periyar's criticism of religion and the Marxist views. Religion is accused of alienating human being, and wanting in social concern. There is a total repudiation of the transcendental in the acceptance of materialism. Both, Periyar and Karl Marx in criticizing religion concentrate on its structure and functions in society. One must be extremely cautious about comparing these men with each other. The decisive point here is Periyar's own thinking, when he regards and calls himself a Marxist. Periyar certainly used Marxist terminology and could present himself as a Marxist on account of his reading and direct personal contact with the former USSR. Periyar was aware that Marxist philosophy would not be fully suitable for the South Indian situation. He believed, "Rationalistic knowledge and self-respect must come before economic equality. Economic communism does not suit our climate. The purohit must go before the capitalist, but communism will come."

In Periyar's concept of man his social, political, ethical and economic programme is influenced by Marxist philosophy. In short :

- (a) To scrap the foolish belief that whatever sins and dishonest act a man would have committed, he can earn the indulgence of god by merely building a temple or bathing in a temple ghat or offering money to priests.
- (b) To reveal that God has nothing to do with the expectation of couples for begetting children after the religious scriptures of the priests.
- (c) To eradicate the blind belief that God is sure to offer heaven to any dishonest person when he or she pays the priest to conduct the ritual celebration in temples and that the same God is sure to condemn even an honest man who does not do so.
- (d) To free the human society from the blind belief that God feels satisfied with a sinful person after accepting the latter tonsorial offer of shaven hair from his head.
- (e) To stop the practice of wasteful expenditure by way of building temples and conducting religious festivals.

- (f) To do away with the irrational practice that only those who are born in a particular community are entitled to officiate Pujas in the temple."

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Periyar's criticism of religion can be summed up in his slogans such as, "Roots of evil in society are to be found in religion. Religion or superstition has prevented development in society. Religion must be abolished by rationalism. Caste system and domination by Brahmins must be destroyed."

4.8 COMMUNALISM

While discussing the nature of politics in the new states of Africa and Asia, Clifford Geertz, an American anthropologist (1963 : 105-157), wrote, "When we speak of communalism in India we refer to religious contrasts, when we speak of it in Malaya we are mainly concerned with racial ones, and in the Congo with tribal ones". Here the significant link is between communal and political loyalties. Thus when we talk of India we are talking mainly of religion based oppositions.

Communalism has been described as a sectarian exploitation of social traditions as a medium of political mobilization. This is done to punish the interests of the entrenched groups. Thus communalism is an ideology used to fulfill socioecopolitico hopes of a community or social ups. It requires proposals and programmes to ensure its very existence. These become active in phases of social change.

Communalism arose in India during its colonial phase. Communal politics bes it strategies on religion and tradition. The interpretation of history is for purposes of mobilisation. Communal organisations have little room for democracy. Secondly they may also involve racist contrasts and perpetrate the same. They consider egalitarianism as abnormal and support patriarchy as a familial and social norm Communalism is therefore a —

- (i) belief system,
- (ii) social phenomenon.

Communalism arises out of a belief system, and assumes great solidarity within a community which is not always true. We find that there are often inercommunity quarrels. Further, the protagonists of cominunalism hold a particular view of history and take care to point out that a community has been identified with common sufferings and goals as a whole. The exclusiveness of the community is stressed vis a vis other communities, and it is tnerfore considered logical to fiht for one's rights in a literal way.

Communalism in India has, as noted earlier, a colonial legacy wherein the rulers (Britishers) used religious contrasts, existing among the different communities to their advantage by giving them prominence.

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After Independence economic modernization of India expanded economic opportunities but not enough to curb unhealthy competitiveness. Job sharing among the different communities from a smaller pool of opportunities in causing much heartburn. Independence from the colonial power unleashed a horrendous communal holocaust, caused by the partition of the country into two parts on the eve of Independence in 1947.

COMMUNALISM IN INDIA

The ideology of communalism in India was, and still is, that the different communities in India cannot co-exist to their mutual benefit, that the minorities will become victims of Hindu subjugation and that the historically created situation nor culture will allow cooperation.

Communalism took deep roots in Indian polity during the later phase of the national movement and this was encouraged by the colonial rulers. This process was a continuation of the weakness and inadequacy of secularism as conceived and practised during the anticolonial struggle.

Implicit in all the theories has been the assumption that the growth of Hindu-Muslim tension was not the natural and inevitable outcome of changes taking place in the Indian society. Partition was the culmination of the conflict which could and should have been avoided. Further this line of reasoning states that nation building essentially means obliteration of communal moulds and creation of a common identity which dedries the existence of differentiated groups based on religion, caste or language. Communal forces are therefore viewed as division and a sign of political underdevelopment. *Communalism arises when one or two characteristics of an ethnic identity e.g. religious beliefs are taken and emotionally surcharged. Communal movements are often brief and exist in a dyad, comprising an opposing force or ideology which has to be countered. Unlike fundamentalism, communalism can only exist dyadically.*

Hindu-Muslims riots reflected the religious fears and socio-economic aspirations of the Hindus and Muslims. Sometimes these riots occur for very minor reasons such as quarrels between Muslim and Hindu shopkeepers (Ghosh, 1981 : 93-94).

The important point is that these are not isolated acts but often deliberate mechanizations of various socio-religious organisations. Recurrent collisions were engineered on festivals by stopping them and various religious occasions by interfering in their process. This was done to inflame communal passions and bitterness. According to Ghosh (1981) the acme of communal rioting was reached in August 1946 in Calcutta when the Muslim League observed a 'Direct Action Day'. Bombay did the same in the following month. Thus Independence was erected on the corpses of many thousands of people. With Mahatma Gandhi's

assassination the riots abated awhile, and this situation was basically sustained by Nehru. Again the passing away of Nehru in 1964 and the deteriorating socioeconomic circumstances led to the resurrection of communal violence.

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THE BRITISH LEGACY

The British rulers had devised a system of separate electorates based on religion, caste and race (Indian Council Act of 1909 and Government of India Act 1919) in order to intensify the division of Indian society and weaken the Independence movement. Keeping in mind this evil design of the Britishers and the multi faceted structure of Indian society, the framers of the Indian constitution did away with these Acts after Independence and unity, integrity of the nation and secularism were incorporated as basic features of the Constitution, for governance of the country. But even after governing ourselves for more than half a century we are yet to overcome the hang over of divisive designs of the Britishers. The problems relating to caste and religion have become so acute that no political leader or party dare to contest the election without manoeuvring a combination of caste and religious groups in the constituencies.

TWO-NATION THEORY

Jinnah's passion for Hindu-Muslim unity was replaced by his belief in the two-nation theory after he had rejected the Nehru and the Simon Commission reports. For him Hindus and Muslims no more constituted a unity. Instead, they now came to represent two separate nations. He emphasised that Muslims were a separate "party", and he spoke the "language of a bargainer". As a chairman of the federal subcommittee he said "no constitution would work unless it gave a sense of security to the Muslims and other minorities". He began to emphasise that since Muslims are a nation, they must preserve their culture and separate identity. He said that Hindu extremism could be dangerous to Muslim existence. He ruled out the possibility of harmony between Hindus and Muslims. He called Congress a Hindu party which wanted to establish "Hindu Raj". Establishment of democracy would mean complete extinction of Islam, he said.

Almost during the same period the Muslim students in Cambridge University were launching an agitation for the separate state of Pakistan. Rahmat Ali, a student of Cambridge University founded Pakistan National Movement. He was inspired by the poet Iqbal. He wrote a pamphlet - "Now or Never : Are We to live or perish?" He strove for the formation of Pakistan which would supposedly include the following regions - Punjab, N.W.F.P. (Afghanistan), Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan. The Muslim League met on March 4, 1934 in New Delhi for establishing unity in the party. This terrorised the pro-British elements. Though Jinnah supported the communal award, which was opposed by the Congress, he abstained from voting on it.

Jinnah continued to ignore Rahmat Ali's call for Pakistan and his angry attacks even in 1937. But he changed his position during the election campaign of 1937.

He further emphasised that "historical" and "cultural" differences existed between the Hindus and Muslims. He held that Hinduism and Islam were "two entirely distinct and separate civilisations". They belong to different religions, philosophies, social customs and cherish two distinct-bodies of literature. They neither inter-marry nor do they interdie. They belonged to two different societies. Jawaharlal Nehru did not acknowledge the existence of the Muslim League during the election campaign in 1937. Jinnah reacted to this attitude of Nehru and said, "there is a third party (apart from the Congress and the government) in this country and that is the Muslims".

He asked the Congress "to leave Muslims alone". Jinnah complained at the All India Muslim League session held in October 1937 that the Congress discriminated against the Muslim League in the Hindu dominated areas. He made building up of a mass party of Muslims one of his priorities during 1938 and 1939. The membership of the Muslim League multiplied manifold between the Lucknow session of 1937 and the Lahore session of 1940. He still strove for an India which was independent, and where the interests of the Muslims would be safeguarded. He denounced Congress for imposing "Bande Matram (Hail to the Mother)". He compared the Muslims of India with "the Negroes of Africa" and "Slaves" in January 1938. In April 1938, he labelled Congress as a "Hindu party". On March 20, 1940, Jinnah demanded the division of India into "autonomous national states". But he did not use the word Pakistan. But after Jinnah finished speaking at Lahore, the historic Pakistan resolution was hammered. Jinnah said that the Hindu leaders of Hindu Mahasabha wanted to treat Muslims "like Jews in Germany". Jinnah considered the "Quit India" demand as an attempt to "force Mussalmans and surrender to Congress terms of dictation".

Jinnah maintained that "Muslims cannot divorce their religion from politics..... Hence Hindu-Muslim unity or nationalism, signifying homogeneity between them in all non-religious matters, is unimaginable". Therefore, a separate homeland for Muslims was demanded. Jinnah exhorted the Muslims to prepare for the battle for getting Pakistan in Baluchistan in July 1948. In the 1940s he reminded the Muslims of the discrimination they faced in the earlier decades. Jinnah said in his message on the Pakistan Day on March 23, 1944 :

"Pakistan is within grasp Insha-Allah, we shall win."

Jinnah told in a public meeting in Ahmedabad in October 1945 "Pakistan is a question of life and death for us". He campaigned in the 1945 elections on the issue.

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On June 20, 1947, the members of the Bengal legislative Assembly voted for the partition of their province by a large majority. Sind did it later.

The 'Partition Council' was formed.

The birth of separatist Muslim Nationalism had taken place much before Jinnah started advocating it. But before Jinnah supported it, the character and content of separate Muslim Nationalism had largely been cultural. Jinnah made it a political weapon for the creation of Pakistan—a new state. He successfully gave an ideological and religious tinge to the two-nation theory.

Jinnah's two-nation theory even distorted his earlier concept of liberal democracy. His new concept of democracy was limited to his idea of separate homeland for Muslims. He did not deny the spiritual aspects of democracy in Islam. He opposed the application of the western type of democracy in India. According to him, India was not fit for democracy. He said the majority of the people are "totally ignorant, illiterate, untutored, living in old superstitions of the worst type, thoroughly antagonistic to each other, culturally and socially ... It is impossible to work a democratic parliamentary government in India". Majority rule will become tyrannical in India. Muslims will suffer in economic, social, cultural and political aspects of life. He said that the joint-electoral system would lead to the enslavement and virtual extinction of the minority community. This aspect of the Aligarh movement, which was rejected by Jinnah earlier, influenced the later phase of his politics and thought.

HINDU MAHASABHA

The Hindu Mahasabha is a Hindu nationalist political party. It was founded in 1915, as an alternative for Hindus who were not attracted to the secular Indian National Congress and sought to oppose the Muslim separatism of the Muslim League.

Hindutva

The Mahasabha promoted the principles of Hindutva, a Hindu nationalist ideology developed by its pre-eminent leader Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. The Mahasabha identified India as "Hindu Rashtra" (Hindu Nation). Although it broadly supported the Indian National Congress in its efforts to attain national independence, it criticised the Congress commitment to non-violence, civil disobedience, secularism and its efforts to integrate Muslims and hold dialogue with the separatist Muslim League party, which the Mahasabha deemed to be appeasement.

Although it remained a relatively small political party, the Mahasabha's members at various times included pre-eminent Indian political leaders such as Madan Mohan Malaviya, founder of the Benaras Hindu University; Dr. K. B.

Hedgewar, founder of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the former chief minister of the Central Provinces and Berar; Syama Prasad Mookerjee of Bengal, who served as Central Minister in Nehru's cabinet; and Narayan Bhaskar Khare, who served as the Mahasabha's president from 1949 to 1951. The Mahasabha's influence was hindered by its opposition to the widely-popular civil disobedience campaigns led by the Congress Party to achieve Indian independence from British rule. The restrictions imposed by the British authorities on the political activities of its leader Vinayak Damodar Savarkar also impaired its development.

Due to the rise of the Muslim League's campaign for a separate Muslim state of Pakistan and growing acrimony between Hindus and Muslims, the Mahasabha increasingly became home to radical Hindu activists. With the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan in 1947, Savarkar and the Mahasabha laid blame on the Congress leaders, especially Mahatma Gandhi, for appeasing the Muslims and making too many concessions it considered detrimental to Hindu interests.

A good number of Hindu Mahasabhaites joined the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, founded in 1951 under the leadership of Syama Prasad Mookerjee, who had joined with the RSS. Mookerjee had left Mahasabha after his proposal to allow Muslims to gain membership was turned down by Savarkar. In 1980, the BJS transformed into the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which is today India's largest party aside from the Congress.

The Hindu Mahasabha continued to survive on the fringes of Indian politics. Bishan Chandra Seth of Shahjahanpur was elected twice to the Indian Parliament from Etah and was one of the longest serving parliamentarians from Hindu Mahasabha. Another long-serving parliamentarian from Sabha was Mahant Avaindnath.

4.9 CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

The Constituent Assembly began its work on 9th December 1946 and Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected as its Chairman. **Dr. B.R. Ambedkar** was appointed as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. After a detailed discussion, the Constitution of India was finally adopted on 26th November 1949. The Constitution came into effect on 26th January 1950. Since then the day is celebrated as Republic Day.

The salient features of the Indian Constitution are the adult suffrage, Parliamentary system, Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles. It provides a combination of federal and unitary forms of governance at the centre and the powers of the government have been clearly stated in the three lists: Central, State and Concurrent.

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The President is the constitutional head of the state while the Prime Minister is the head of the Executive. The Prime Minister is the leader of the party that has a majority in the Lok Sabha. The Indian Parliament has two houses – the **Rajya Sabha** or upper house and the **Lok Sabha** or lower house. Each state has its own government headed by the Chief Minister who remains the leader of the majority party in the respective Legislative Assembly. Thus, democratically elected governments rule the nation and provision is made for periodical elections.

The judiciary remains the upholder of the constitution. The Indian judiciary system consists of the Supreme Court at the centre and High Courts in the states. The subordinate courts in each state are under the control of the High Court.

4.10 INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

At the time of Independence there were 11 British provinces and nearly 566 princely states. After the departure of the British from India the princes of Indian states began to dream of independence. With great skill and masterful diplomacy Sardar Vallabhai Patel succeeded in integrating the princely states with the Indian union by 15 August 1947. Only three of them – Junagadh, Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad – refused to join.

The ruler of Junagadh expressed his willingness to join Pakistan against the wishes of the people of that state. Patel sent Indian troops and after a plebiscite Junagadh joined Indian Union. The state of Jammu and Kashmir bordered India and Pakistan. Its ruler was **Raja Hari Singh**. In the beginning he also claimed independent status. When the Pathan tribes led by Pakistan army officers invaded Kashmir, Hari Singh sought the help of India. Nehru pointed out that under international law India could send its troops only after the state's accession to India. Therefore, on 26th October 1947, Raja Hari Singh signed the 'instrument of accession' and Jammu and Kashmir has become an integral part of India.

In the case of Hyderabad the Nizam refused to join the Indian union. After repeated appeals, in 1948 Indian troops moved into Hyderabad and the Nizam surrendered. Finally, Hyderabad acceded to the Indian Union.

Thus the Union of India was established with the integration and accession of the princely states with the Indian Union. This formidable task was fulfilled by the "Iron Man of India" Sardar Vallabhai Patel.

4.11 THE LINGUISTIC REORGANIZATION OF THE STATES

In 1948, the first Linguistic Provinces Commission headed by S.K. Das was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to enquire into the possibility of linguistic provinces. This commission advised against such a step. In the same year another committee known as JVP committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru,

Vallabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramaih was appointed by the Congress Party. This committee also did not favour for linguistic provinces. But there were popular movements for states reorganization all over the country and it was intensive in Andhra. Therefore, in 1953 Andhra was created as a separate state. Simultaneously, Madras was created as a Tamil speaking state. The struggle led by M.P. Sivagnanam to retain Tiruttani with Madras was a memorable event in the history of Tamil Nadu.

The success of Andhra struggle encouraged other linguistic groups to agitate for their own state. In 1953, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru appointed the States Reorganization Commission with Justice Fazal Ali as its chairman and Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru and Sardar K.M. Panikkar as its members. The commission submitted its report on 30 September 1955. Based on this report, the States Reorganization Act was passed by the Parliament in 1956. It provided for 16 states and six union territories. The Telengana region was transferred to Andhra. Kerala was created by merging the Malabar district with Travancore-Cochin. There was a strong movement of the Tamil linguistic people in Travancore (Kanyakumari) who struggled to be part of the state of Tamil Nadu.

4.12 INDIAN POLITY (1947 – 2000)

India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was considered the architect of modern India. He consolidated the Indian Independence by forging national unity, nurturing democratic institutions, promoting science and technology, planning for economic development and by following independent foreign policy. He was truly a nation builder. He died in 1964.

Lal Bahadur Sastri succeeded Nehru as the next Prime Minister of India. He remained a role model for honesty in public life. He ended the Indo-Pak war of 1965 by concluding the **Tashkent Agreement** in January 1966. His untimely death was a great loss to the nation.

Indira Gandhi, daughter of Nehru became Prime Minister in 1966 and bravely faced the domestic challenges such as scarcity of food and foreign pressures during the 1971 Bangladesh crisis. When opposition to her rule gathered momentum in 1975, she brought emergency rule, a black mark in the democratic tradition of India. However, she restored democratic rule by announcing general elections in 1977 in which she was defeated. Later in 1980 she was able to regain power by democratic means. In 1983 she undertook "Blue Star Operation" in the Golden Temple at Amritsar - Punjab. As a result, unfortunately, she was shot dead by her own bodyguards in 1984 as a vengeance to her policy towards Punjab militancy.

The Janata Party rule for brief period between 1977 and 1980 brought **Morarji Desai** as Prime Minister of India. For the first time a non-Congress

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ministry was formed after independence. The lack of unity among the Janata leaders had resulted in the fall of the Janata Government.

Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India in 1984 after her mother Indira Gandhi's assassination. He introduced New Education Policy and encouraged foreign investment. In 1987 he sent the Indian Peace Keeping Force to Sri Lanka with a view to put an end to the ethnic violence. He continued as Prime Minister till the next elections held in 1989. Later in May 1991, he was assassinated (by the Sri Lankan Tamil extremists).

V.P. Singh was the Prime Minister between 1989 and 1991. He was leading an anti-Congress coalition called the Janata Dal. During his tenure he decided to implement the **Mandal Commission Report** which provided reservation for other backward classes. His government was marked by factionalism, and he was forced to resign in 1990. The next Prime Minister Chandrasekhar held the office from November 1990 to March 1991.

In June 1991 **P. V. Narasimha Rao** became Prime Minister. He moved decisively toward new economic reforms, reducing the government's economic role, instituting austerity measures, and encouraging foreign investment. The finance minister Dr. Manmohan Singh's role in this sphere is worth noting. As a result, India started moving towards liberalization, privatization and globalization.

After the elections of 1996, **Atal Bihari Vajpayee** became Prime Minister from the BJP party but he was not able to prove majority in the Parliament. **Deve Gowda** formed a coalition government. He was the eleventh Prime Minister of India (1996–1997). He was from the state of Karnataka. His government also fell due to the no confidence motion voted jointly by the Congress and the BJP. He was succeeded by **I.K. Gujral** for a brief period in 1997. **Atal Bihari Vajpayee** became the Prime Minister of India in 1998. In the 1999 elections the National Democratic Alliance under the leadership of Vajpayee formed the government. His period witnessed two important events. One was the Kargil War with Pakistan and another was the nuclear tests at Pokhran.

4.13 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

When India became independent in 1947, it was gripped by mass poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, static agriculture, poorly developed industries and inadequate infrastructure. There was an urgent need immediate efforts on national scale to achieve the path of progress in the socio-economic front. Jawaharlal Nehru, was greatly influenced by the achievements of Soviet Planning. But he also realized the importance of the democratic values. He encouraged planning for rapid industrial and agricultural growth. He encouraged **Mixed Economy** as a result both public sector (Government owned) and Private Sector companies come in

to existence. His fundamental objective was to build an independent self-reliant economy.

ECONOMIC PLANNING

The National Planning Commission was established on 15 March 1950 with the Prime Minister Nehru as its chairperson. The main objectives of the Planning Commission were :

- (i) To achieve higher level of national and per capita income.
- (ii) To achieve full employment.
- (iii) To reduce inequalities of income and wealth.
- (iv) To setup a society based on equality and justice and absence of exploitation.

The First Five Year Plan (1951-1956) tried to complete the projects at hand including the rehabilitation of refugees. It was only during the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis, the noted economist played a leading role. This plan aimed at developing the industrial sector in the country. Rapid industrialization with particular emphasis in the development of basic and heavy industries continued during the Third Five Year Plan (1961-66).

During this period many iron and steel, chemical, fertilizers, heavy engineering and machine building industries were set up in different parts of India.

The objective of the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) was “**growth with stability**” and “**progressive achievement of self reliance**”. The original draft outline of the plan was prepared in 1966 under the stewardship of Ashok Mehta. Popular economic slogan during this time was *Garibi Hatao* (Removal of poverty). The Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) was introduced at a time when the country was under severe economic crisis arising out of inflation.

There was increase in oil price. But the plan was dropped at the end of the fourth year of the plan in March 1978 by the Janata Government. The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) aimed at strengthening the infrastructure for both agriculture and industry and meet the minimum basic needs of the people. The Seventh Five Year Plan (1985 - 90) emphasized on accelerating the growth of food grains production, increasing employment opportunities and raising productivity. The Eighth Five Year Plan (1992 - 97) aimed to achieve the goals, namely, improvement in the levels of living, health and education of the people, full employment, and elimination of poverty and planned growth of population. The main objectives of the Ninth Five Year Plan (1997 -2002) were to give priority to agricultural sector, to remove poverty, to control prices, to provide food to the weaker sections, population control, to develop panchayat administration and to uplift the depressed classes as well as tribal people.

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THE GREEN REVOLUTION

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Despite creditable growth of agricultural output in the 1950s India faced food shortage in the mid sixties. The increase in population and the huge outlay to the plan of industrialization put pressures on agricultural growth. India was forced to import millions of tons of food grains. The two wars with China (1962) and Pakistan (1965) and two successive drought years (1965-66) brought enormous pressures to food production. In this background the Green Revolution was launched in India with the aim of achieving self-sufficiency in food production.

The then Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Sastri, Food Minister, C. Subramanian, and Indira Gandhi, who succeeded Sastri in 1966 after his brief tenure, put their efforts to the development of agriculture. The term Green Revolution was coined by Dr William Gadd of USA in 1968, when Indian farmers brought about a great advancement in wheat production. The introduction of modern methods of agriculture such as high-yield variety seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides agricultural machineries such as tractors, pump-sets and agricultural education considerably increased the food grain production in India. India attained food self-sufficiency by the 1980s. The effects of Green Revolution were notable in the northwestern region of Punjab, Haryana and western U.P., Andhra Pradesh, parts of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

4.14 GROWTH OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Independent India has also witnessed a tremendous growth in the sphere of science and technology. After 1947, Nehru became aware of the significant role of scientific research and technology for the progress of India. India's first national laboratory, the National Physical Laboratory was established in 1947. It was followed by seventeen such national laboratories for specializing in different areas of research. Nehru himself assumed the chairmanship of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

In 1952, the first Indian Institute of Technology, on the model of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was set up at Kharagpur. Subsequently, IITs were set up at Madras, Bombay, Kanpur and Delhi. The expenditure on scientific research and science-based activities has increased year by year.

There are about 200 research laboratories in India carrying out research in different areas. The Department of Science and Technology (DST) which was set up in 1971 has been assigned the responsibility of formulating science policy.

ATOMIC ENERGY

India was one of the first countries in the world to recognize the importance of nuclear energy. The Atomic Energy Commission was set up in August 1948

under the chairmanship of Homi J. Baba to formulate a policy for all atomic energy activities in the country. The Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was set up in 1954 as executive agency for implementing the atomic energy programmes. In 1956, India's first nuclear reactor in Trombay near Bombay (first in Asia also) began to function. Research and development work in the field of atomic energy and allied fields are carried out at three research centres, namely the Bhabha Atomic Research Center at Trombay, the Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic Research, Kalpakkam, Tamil Nadu and the Center for Advanced Technology, Chennai.

SPACE RESEARCH

India has also evinced interest in space research. The Indian National Committee for Space Research was set up in 1962. Side by side, a Rocket Launching Facility at Thumba came up. The first generation Indian National Satellite System (INSAT-1) represents India's first step towards implementing national requirements. The INSAT - 1A and the INSAT - 1B served country's need in the field of telecommunications and meteorological earth observations. The ISRO [Indian Space Research Organization] looks after the activities in space science, technology and applications. The Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre at Trivandrum, the largest of the ISRO centres, is primarily responsible for indigenous launch vehicle technology. The ISRO Satellite Centre, Bangalore is the satellite technology base of the Indian space programme.

The SHAR Centre, encompassing the Sriharikota Island in Andhra Pradesh on the east coast of India is the main operational base of ISRO which is the satellite launching range.

4.15 INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

After 1947, India began to follow an independent foreign policy. It was designed by the first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He developed the basic principles of India's foreign policy. He was the architect of the Non-aligned Movement during the Cold War era.

Also, he extended support to colonial countries in their struggle for independence. Nehru outlined the five principles of coexistence or Panch Sheel for conducting relations among countries. They are :

- mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- non-aggression,
- non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
- equality and mutual benefit, and
- peaceful coexistence.

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India plays an active role in international bodies such as the Common Wealth and the United Nations Organization. After the Independence, Nehru decided to stay within Common Wealth, an organization consisting of former British colonies. India had also played an active role in the UN peacekeeping forces in various parts of the world. It had sent its troops as part of UN peace-keeping Mission to Korea, Indo-China, Suez Canal and The Congo. India had to fight three major wars [1965, 1971 and 2000] with Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir.

India maintained friendly relations with both USA and USSR during the Cold War era. In 1971 India and USSR signed the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance during the Bangladesh crisis. India and China are the two most important powers of Asia.

These two are the most populous countries of the World. Also, they possess the significance of proud, history and civilization dating back to ancient times. When the communist regime under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung was established in 1949, India was one among the first countries to recognize the People's Republic of China. In spite of India's friendly relations with China India had to defend herself when China attacked India in 1962. The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent state with the active help of India was an important event. During the liberation struggle between East Pakistan and West Pakistan India supported East Pakistan. The coordinated approach of the Indian forces along with Mukti Bahini ultimately led to the liberation of Bangladesh (East Pakistan) in December 1971 India is maintaining friendly relations right from the birth of Bangladesh in 1971.

India has also been maintaining friendly relations with its neighbours for which purpose the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives are its members. The aim of SAARC is to increase economic, social and cultural cooperation among its members. Periodic meetings are being held to achieve this goal.

4.16 CIVIL SERVICES IN INDIA

Public personnel administration in India comprise the public services of the country. By now you must be familiar with the meaning and scope of public services in India, their role in the administrative system must have also become clear. The public personnel administration has certain characteristics which are different from the private administration in many ways. Public personnel administration has to cater to the needs of larger number of people and is engaged with the supply of varied services. Public personnel administration does not exist in a vacuum. It is the product of basic public policy, it operates under public scrutiny, it mirrors general social and economic conditions, and it has a continuous

impact upon the general welfare. The government is dependent on the public personnel system for the implementation of its programmes, without proper utilisation of human services, no policy, programme or rule can be made successful.

PRESENT PUBLIC PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION IS A LEGACY OF THE PAST

The bureaucracy in India, especially the top bureaucracy is a spillover of British rule. The East India Company promoted a service structure for meeting their commercial and trading interests. In 1858 when the British Government took over the reins of administration in India, the political consolidation of the country and exploitation of the country's resources to serve its own interests became its aims. This called for minimum economic, social and developmental activities but maximum administrative stranglehold. The superior civil services that is the higher civil services were manned by either British or Indians recruited from higher economic and feudal strata of society. The lower subordinate levels comprised only the Indians. The whole system was an excellent example of high and low, top and bottom, master and servant.

The preponderant characteristics of public personnel system were :

- it was 'elitist', exclusive in outlook and approach,
- it displayed despotism in action and behaviour,
- it maintained safe and wide distance from the people,
- it developed structural rigidity and functional frigidity,
- it was too hierarchic and precedent adherent,
- it had no human relations orientation,
- it had feudalistic, and separatist attitude and temper,
- it had no welfare or development motivation.

India became independent in 1947, but could not develop or structure a novel public personnel system. Our Independence was accompanied by painful partition of the country, communal riots, massive migration of displaced persons and influx of refugees. Moreover we had to tackle with the complicated problems of integration of states, depletion of administrative personnel due to voluntary retirement of British ICS officers and transfer of Muslim ICS officers to Pakistan. If the health of the economy was bad on account of the after effects of the second world war and partition, the condition of administration, particularly personnel administration was worse. The basic administrative structure remained the same. There were gaps in the cadre, experienced senior level officers were very few in number and competent personnel were just not available.

With the adoption of the Constitution in 1950 and commencement of our first five Year Plan, lot of pressure came to be laid on the personnel system. The elitist hierarchic authoritarian and rigid administration now had to be revamped

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in order to meet the Constitutional objectives of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice. Our plan objectives *viz.*, economic development, industrialisation, modernisation, and social justice put the administration under considerable strain, the administration had to be converted into a development and welfare oriented administration. We can say that after Independence, two basic changes took place which greatly affected the role of civil service. First, with the adoption of the system of parliamentary democracy, the civil service became accountable to the political executive. Secondly, civil service became an instrument of development.

PUBLIC PERSONNEL SYSTEM AIMS AT FULFILMENT OF THE GOALS OF THE GOVERNMENT

Personnel system, for that matter any system must have a purpose which has to be related to the objectives of the organisation. In the case of public personnel administration in India, its basic aim is the facilitation and fulfilment of the goals of government. This is the rationale for creating the government services; this is the justification for their existence. Once the goals have been formulated, the public personnel system must rise to implement the programmes and achieve the qualitative and quantitative targets by judiciously harnessing the available resources, keeping two dimensions in view, time and cost. For this purpose, public personnel system is involved with the functions of recruitment, selection, placement, training, health, safety, performance-rating, promotions and general welfare of the employees.

INCREASE IN DEVELOPMENT FUNCTIONS

The extension of social security benefits and an enlarged public aid to education have become very important functions of the government. The government has assumed the larger responsibility of achieving security and well-being of all citizens. Implementation of these changes is not an easy task. The skills and experience of public service is required for this purpose. The public service is an essential social instrument, it bridges the gaps between legislative content and its fulfilment. Public service can help to establish and strengthen the minimum conditions required for economic development. It is responsible for laying down conditions for the maintenance of law and order, development of infrastructural facilities and favourable administrative structure. The public services by fixing certain general or specific output objectives, play an important role in modifying the resource structure of the country. The public services have now taken control of government undertakings or semi-government bodies.

GROWING NUMBER OF PUBLIC PERSONNEL

Due to the increase in the social and economic functions of the government, the number of public personnel is increasing at a very fast rate. As the tasks of the

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government are increasing, the need for personnel to perform these tasks is also growing. A large number of new departments, corporations, commissions and boards are now being set up. The Second Pay Commission had estimated that on April 1, 1948, there were 14,45,050 employees in the Central Government. On June 30, 1957, this figure had increased to 17,73,570. On January 1, 1965, it increased to 22,64,795. On January 1, 1981, it further increased to 32,27,339. This shows that with every new activity of government that aims at providing new services for the welfare of people, the number of government employees is constantly increasing.

GROWING NUMBER OF SPECIALISTS IN PUBLIC SERVICES

The concept of Welfare State, increase in the aspirations of people and the growth of science and technology has brought forth the demand for increasing role of specialists in administration. New specialism, new techniques, new methods are now being expected from the civil servants. The role of the specialists in public services has thus become very crucial and their number in the services is constantly increasing. The expanding role of specialists/generalist will be properly discussed later.

LOW RATE OF TURNOVER OF EMPLOYEES IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The rate of turnover of government employees is quite low in India. According to O Glenn Stahl, the employees leave their jobs for a variety of reasons like voluntary resignation, optional retirement, instances of death or frequent transfers. In India people accept the government service as a career and do not resign on their own due to permanency and moderately good conditions of service. Reasonable hours of work, good leave entitlements, provident fund and retirement benefits, housing and health facilities attract the people to public services and are even able to retain them. Sound promotion policy is another factor which encourages public personnel and fosters a feeling of belongingness in them. In addition, an adequate retirement and pension system also encourage personnel to continue in service till their retirement. Thus the turnover of public personnel is quite low. Most references of turnover are confined to the vacancies occurring due to death, removal, dismissal and retirement.

PREVALENCE OF RANK CLASSIFICATION IN THE SERVICES

Classification of governmental position is a must for a career service based on merit. It enables rational standards or norms to be set up for the selection of personnel, permits uniformity in the method of describing different types of jobs and establishes an alike basis for giving equal status and equal pay for equal work. There are two well-known systems of classification, one is Rank Classification and the other is Duties or position Classification. India follows the

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system of rank classification. In India, the public personnel are classified into 'classes' as well as 'services'. We have four classes of service, class 1, class 2, class 3, class 4, these are now called Group A, B, C and D services, corresponding to differences in the responsibility of the work performed and the qualifications required.

Another way of classification is into 'services'. Public personnel in India are directly recruited to different services *e.g.*, Archaeological Service, Engineering Service, Post and Telegraphs Traffic Service etc. Once the public personnel are recruited to these services, they continue to be the members of the particular service until they retire or resign. At present public services are classified into the following classes :

- (1) All-India Services
- (2) Central Services, Group A, B, C & D
- (3) State Services
- (4) Specialist Services
- (5) Central Secretariat Services, Group A, B, C & D

Rank classification system is very easy to understand and administer, it promotes mobility by facilitating transfers within the services, it is flexible in operation, it opens more career opportunities for individuals. But this type of system violates the principle of 'equal pay for equal work', it does not define the contents of any job in detail, it does not explain what is expected of a post. This system is not conducive to the formulation of scientific standards on which selection of personnel, training, posting, transfer, career development, promotion etc. may be organised. The position classification system prevalent in the USA, Canada, Philippines etc. has various advantages over rank classification system prevalent in our country.

LIMITED POLITICAL RIGHTS OF CIVIL SERVANTS

Extremely limited political rights of the civil servants have been regarded as one of the essential conditions to maintain the discipline, integrity and political neutrality of the services. To ensure political neutrality of the public services, the civil servants are denied direct participation in the political activities. The Government of India's Civil Services Conduct Rules for ensuring neutrality of the service in politics provide the following :

- (1) Rule 5 of the Central Civil Service (Conduct) Rules, 1964, prohibits civil servants from taking part in politics. They cannot be members of any political party or any organisation which takes part in politics nor can subscribe in aid of or assist in any other matter, any political movement or activity.

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- (2) Clause 2 of Rule 5 of the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules requires the civil servants to endeavour to prevent any member of their family from taking part in, subscribing in aid of or assisting in any manner any movement or activity which tends, directly or indirectly, to be subversive of the government as established by law. In case the civil servant fails to prevent a member of his family from indulging in any of the aforesaid actions, he has to make a report to the effect to the government.
- (3) Article 326 of the Constitution of India guarantees the right of franchise to every citizen of India, whose age is 8 years or above and who does not suffer from other disqualifications. But under the Conduct Rules the civil servants are not free to give an indication to the public of the manner in which they propose to vote or have voted.
- (4) Rule 4 of the All India Services (Conduct) Rules, 1954, civil servants are forbidden to canvass or use their influence in an election to any legislature or local authority.
- (5) Civil servants cannot express themselves on political issues. According to Rule 8 of the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules they are prohibited to communicate any official document or information to any one whom they are not authorised to communicate.

Thus we can conclude that the political rights of the civil servants are extremely limited. The higher civil servants must be above politics, as they have to serve the changing governments drawn from different political parties with the same vigour and honesty. According to Masterman Committee Report, "the public interest demands the maintenance of political impartiality in the Civil Service and confidence in that impartiality is an essential part of the structure of Government.....". Therefore, it is necessary that political rights of the civil servants are limited.

4.17 SUMMARY

- The movements of the lower castes of Hindu society suffering from social, religious, and legal disabilities, as a result of the undemocratic caste system, had two aspects; (1) progressive and (2) the reactionary and anti-national.
- Gandhi, the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh founded by him in 1932, and other bodies were doing extensive work of social reform and educational character for the depressed classes. The Sangh started numerous schools for including residential vocational schools. In addition scavenger's union, cooperative credit society and Housing Society were formed.
- E. V. Ramasami Naicker, popularly known "Thanthai Periyar" was born in an affluent family on 17 September 1879. His parents, Venkata Naicker

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and Chinnathayamma were deeply pious and religious. Venkata Naicker was a businessman in the town, Erode, and the family belonged to the Naicker caste.

- In the Annals of the presidency of Madras the period between 1927 and 1934 was important because of the series of social reform movements which emerged and affected the social and political life of the people. Of all the social reform movements in Tamil Nadu, the only movement, which was entitled non-religious and secular in its approach to social problems, was the Self-Respect Movement started by Periyar.
- Communalism has been described as a sectarian exploitation of social traditions as a medium of political mobilization. This is done to punish the interests of the entrenched groups. Thus communalism is an ideology used to fulfill socioecopolitico hopes of a community or social ups. It requires proposals and programmes to ensure its very existence. These become active in phases of social change.
- Communalism took deep roots in Indian polity during the later phase of the national movement and this was encouraged by the colonial rulers. This process was a continuation of the weakness and inadequacy of secularism as conceived and practised during the anticolonial struggle.
- The Hindu Mahsabh is a Hindu nationalist political party. It was founded in 1915, as an alternative for Hindus who were not attracted to the secular Indian National Congress and sought to oppose the Muslim separatism of the Muslim League.
- India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was considered the architect of modern India. He consolidated the Indian Independence by forging national unity, nurturing democratic institutions, promoting science and technology, planning for economic development and by following independent foreign policy. He was truly a nation builder. He died in 1964.

4.18 REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the ideologies of untouchability of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.
2. Describe the anti-caste philosophy of E. V. Ramasami Naicker.
3. What do you understand by communalism?
4. Explain the genesis of communalism in India.
5. Discuss the economic development of post-independence era.
6. State the developments of science and technology during post-independence period.

4.19 FURTHER READINGS

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