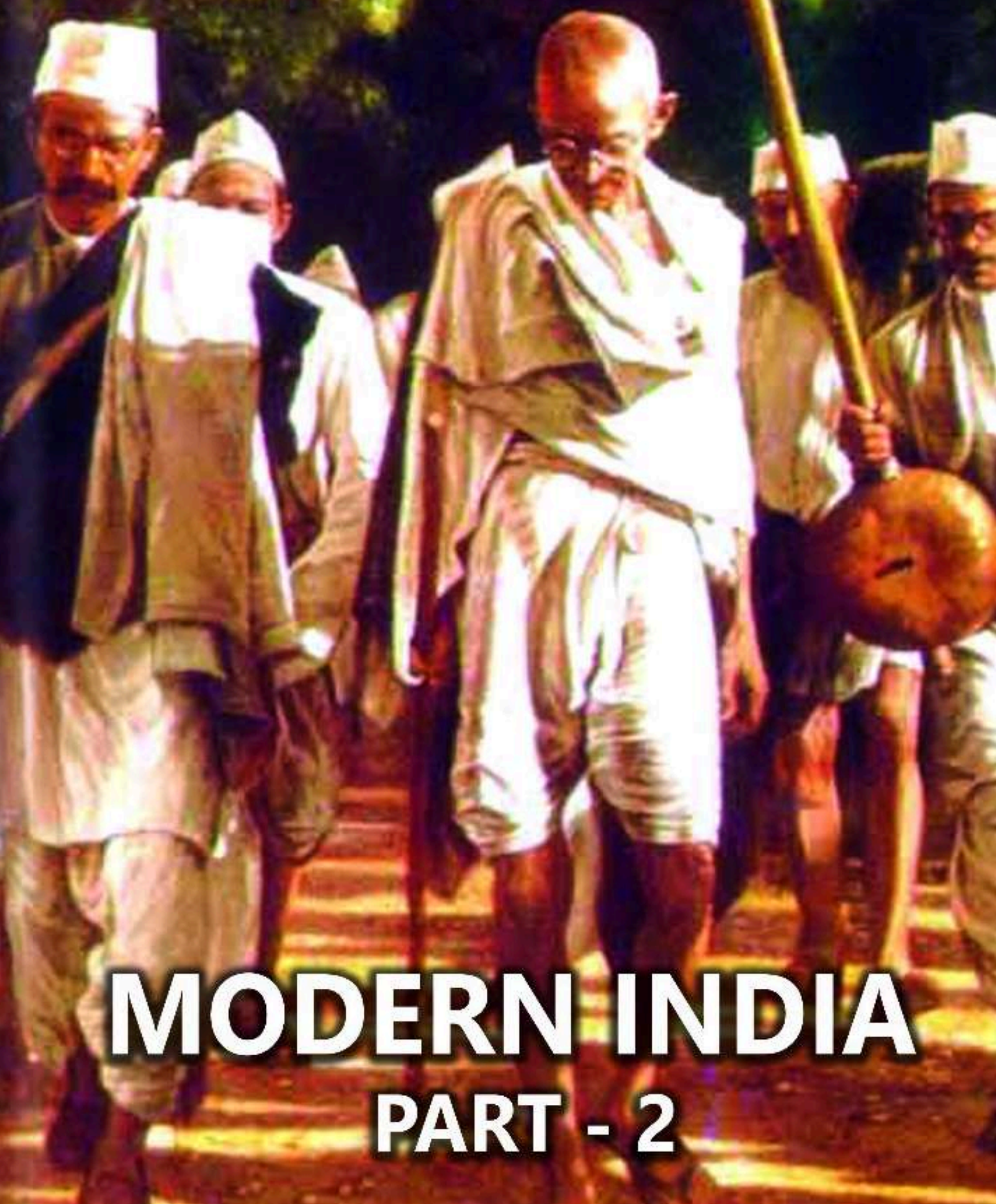




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# **MODERN INDIA**

## **PART - 2**

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GS-I

MODERN INDIA

Part-2

Mains Harvest

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## MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

**Dear Aspirant,**

This book is dedicated to YOU, the untiring civil service aspirant who has the drive and commitment to persevere towards clearing this exam which is considered as one of the toughest exams in the world.

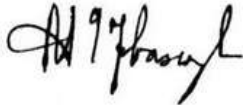
We congratulate you on choosing this book for “**Modern India Part-2**”. Our attempt here is to simplify important concepts without losing the key points. Hence, we hope you will find this book useful in your civil services journey.

About this book

This book is a distillation of the expertise of the faculty at Officers IAS academy, explained in simple and easy to understand language. What you get to study in this book has been painstakingly collated by our faculty through their years of teaching and mentoring thousands of aspirants.

A strong zeal from you to clear this exam combined with our coaching and textbook will, I am sure help you scale great heights.

I wish you the very best in the most important endeavour of your life.



R. A. Israel Jebasingh

(IAS, 2004 Batch All India Rank 59)

Director of Officers IAS Academy

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### **Hello Aspirant!**

There is a subtle difference between putting in effort and putting in the right and focussed effort. That difference could determine whether you get into the civil services or not! This statement becomes highly relevant during the UPSC Main Examination stage.

Aspirants know that every mark scored or missed in the Main examination determines their presence as well as their place in the All-India Rank list. Unlike the Preliminary examination, Main exams are fairly predictable. But with Mains, completing the examination on time becomes the biggest challenge.

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We in the R&D team of the Officers IAS Academy, have been pondering over this challenge, and have found a solution.

Our R&D team spent a year meticulously combing through the *past 47 years'* Mains General Studies question papers, to identify all possible topics and dimensions ever covered for each subject in an UPSC Main examination. Our researchers, then set out to prepare a series of books for each of the 'Main exam subjects' (pertaining to GS1, GS2, & GS3) where all relevant content is covered in a scientific and precise manner. Aspirants can confidently use these books to 'complete' the UPSC Main Exam syllabus effectively and efficiently.

Please note, we do not advocate the use of these 'Mains Harvest' books as 'Standard' sources. However, instead of reading endless number of books for the UPSC preparation, aspirants can focus on the standard books (NCERTs) for foundational knowledge and then devote the rest of their time in studying the Officers IAS Academy's Mains Harvest books.

For you, dear aspirants, we have practically 'harvested' the 'essence' of the UPSC main examination to produce the 'Mains Harvest' book series. Use them well!

Thanking and wishing you all the very best in your preparations,

**R&D Team,**

Officers IAS Academy, Chennai.

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## *Nature of Indian national movement*

### **The emergence of Indian Nationalism before INC**

#### **Political Associations in Bengal Presidency**

##### **Raja Rammohan Roy:**

- Raja Rammohan Roy was the pioneer of political movement in India. He was greatly influenced by Western ideas. He was a widely-read man. His extensive studies had freed his mind from bigotry that characterised an average Bengali. His sympathies in the domain of politics were cosmopolitan and his heart went in sympathy for popular movements all over the world. In 1821 the Raja celebrated in Calcutta the establishment of a constitutional government in Spain.
- Rammohan Roy was the first Indian to focus the attention of the Englishmen on the grievances of India and to ask for remedial measures. He demanded liberty of the press, appointment of Indians in civil courts and other higher posts, codification of law etc. It was generally believed that some of the beneficent provisions in the Charter Act of 1833 were due to his lobbying in England.
- The task of organising political associations was, however, left to the associates of Rammohan Roy. The first such association called "Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha" was formed in 1836. The association discussed topics connected with the policy and administration of the Government and sought redress by sending petitions and memorials to the Government.

##### **Zamindary Association:**

- In July 1838 the "Zamindary Association" more popularly known as the "Landholders' Society" was founded to safeguard the interests of the landlords. Although limited in its objectives, the Landholders' Society marks the beginning of an organised political activity and use of methods of constitutional agitation for the redressal of grievances.
- The Landholders' Society of Calcutta cooperated with the British India Society founded by Mr. Adams in London in July 1839.

##### **Bengal British India Society:**

- In April 1843 another political association under the name of the Bengal British India Society was founded with the object of "the collection and dissemination of information relating to the actual condition of the people of British India...and to employ such other means of peaceful and lawful character as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just right, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects".

##### **British Indian Association:**

- However, the Landholders' Society and the Bengal British India Society did not flourish well and on 29 October 1851 the two associations were merged into a new one named the British Indian Association.
- This Association was dominated by members of the landed aristocracy and its primary objective was safeguarding their class interests.
- However, the Association struck a liberal note and when the time came for the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company it sent a petition to the Parliament praying for establishment of a separate legislature of a popular character, separation of judicial from executive functions, reduction in the salaries of higher officers, abolition of salt duty, abkari and stamp duties etc. The prayers of the Association were partially met and the Charter Act of 1853 provided for the addition of six members to the Governor-General's Council for legislative purposes. The British Indian Association continued its existence as a political body down to the 20th century even though it was overshadowed by the more popular Indian National Congress.

- By the 1870s there were signs of change inside Indian society. In the Presidency towns higher education was well established and the members of the new professions were acquiring status and developing new ambitions. A new elite had grown in all the Presidencies whose aspirations and status were roughly comparable. These were good developments for the formation of more popular and broad-based associations.

### **Indian League and Indian Association:**

- In September 1875 Babu Sisir Kuniar Ghose founded the Indian League with the object of "stimulating the sense of nationalism amongst the people" and of encouraging political education.
- Within a year of its foundation, the Indian League was superseded by the Indian Association founded on 26 July 1876 by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee.
- The Indian Association hoped to attract not only "the middle classes" but also the masses, and therefore kept its annual subscription at Rs. 5 as opposed to the subscription of Rs. 50 p.a. fixed by the British Indian Association.
- Soon the Indian Association became 'the centre of the leading representatives of the educated community of Bengal.
- Lytton's unpopular measures whipped up political activity in India.
- A regulation of 1876 reduced the maximum age for appearing in the Indian Civil Service examination from 21 to 19 years.
- Since the examination was held only in London, young Indians had to face innumerable difficulties.
- The Indian Association took up this question and organised an all-India agitation against it, popularly known as the Indian Civil Service Agitation.
- Surendranath Banerjee went on a whirlwind tour of northern India in May 1877 and visited Benaras, Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Aligarh, Delhi, Meerut, Amritsar and Lahore.
- At certain centres he visited, new political organisations to act in concert with the Indian Association of Calcutta were set up. Next year, Banerjee went on a similar mission to the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras.

### **Political Associations in Bombay Presidency**

- While to the Bengali Hindus the English might have appeared as deliverers from the tyrannical rule of the Muslim nawabs, in Maharashtra the British were looked upon as foreign tyrants who had displaced indigenous rulers. Commenting on the nature of British rule, Shri Bhaskar Pandurange Tarkhadkar wrote in the Bombay Gazette in 1841, "If I were to give you (the English) credit for your having saved us from the Pindaris and Ramosis, your trading system stands in the way which has indeed more effectually emptied our purses in a few years than the predatory excursions of these tribes could do in some five or six hundred years.
- In short, it must be acknowledged that your progress in cunning and craftiness has kept pace with your advancement in knowledge and wisdom."

### **Bombay Association:**

- On the lines of the British India Association of Calcutta, on 26 August 1852 was founded the Bombay Association with the object of memorialising from time to time the Government authorities in India or in England for the removal of existing evils, and for the prevention of proposed measures which may be deemed injurious or for the introduction of enactments which may tend to promote the general interests of all connected with this country".
- The Bombay Association sent a petition to the British Parliament urging the formation of new legislative councils to which Indians should be also represented. It also condemned the policy of exclusion of Indians from all higher services, lavish expenditure on sinecure posts given to Europeans. However, the Bombay Association did not survive for long

- The reactionary policies of Lytton and the Ilbert Bill controversy caused political commotion in Bombay. The credit for organisation of the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885 goes to the popularly called brothers-in-law-Mehta, Telang and Tyabi presenting the three chief communities of Bombay town.

#### **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha:**

- At Poona the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was established in 1867 with the object of serving as a bridge between the Government on the one hand and the people on the other.
- The Bombay Presidency Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha worked in close collaboration.

#### **Political Association in Madras Presidency.**

##### **Madras Native Association:**

- A branch of the British Indian Association of Calcutta was set up at Madras under the name of the Madras Native Association.
- The Madras Association also sent petition to the Parliament on the eve of the passing of the Charter Act of 1853 making demands similar to that of the British Indian Association and the Bombay Association right from its inception was worked by some officials, possessed very little vitality, had hardly any hold upon the public mind and languished into obscurity after 1857.
- Political trends similar to other presidencies were at work in Madras Presidency also.
- A number of small local associations came into existence during the viceroyalty of Ripon.

##### **Madras Mahajan Sabha:**

- The Madras Mahajana Sabha was formed in May 1884 to-coordinate the activities of local associations and "to provide a focus for the non-official intelligence spreading through the Presidency.' At its conference held on 29, 31 December 1884 and 1-2 January 1885 the Sabha demanded expansion of legislative councils, representation of Indians in it, separation of judicial from revenue functions etc.
- Trends Towards a Grand United National Political Organisation. Although the idea of a common political organisation for the whole country was as old as the first stirrings of constitutional politics in India, it took decades to ferment and materialise. The East India Association founded in London in October 1866 had hoped to set up branches in Calcutta and Bombay and claimed to work for "the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally" In 1877 the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha had urged the representatives of Bombay and Bengal to work together and the following year sent a deputation to Calcutta "to hold a conference with the representatives of the native press and the political associations in Calcutta for the interchange of ideas." There were protests all over India cover the imposition of the Licence Tax (1878) and abolition of Cotton Duties (1879). In the 1880s certain developments gradually pushed the hesitant leaders of the various regional associations to common and concerted action. Various schemes were in the air. In 1882 there was a plan for a national meeting. The Indian Association of Calcutta had plans to hold a national conference. In 1883 Telang went from Bombay to Calcutta to arrange for 'more political concerts' between Calcutta and Bombay. There was a plan to form a Federation of the Native Press, a scheme to start a National Newspaper, and a plan to set up an Indian Constitutional Reform Association.
- During 1883-84 the various local associations in the presidency towns were forging towards unity. In Calcutta the Indian Association, the British Indian Association, the National Mohammedan Association and the Indian Union had worked together to call the National Conference. During November-December 1884 there were spontaneous demonstrations throughout India to mark Ripon's departure from India. These demonstrations marked a spirit of organisation which India had never known before, commented the editor of The Times of India.

**New political thrust in the Nationalism prior to the formation of INC:**

- The new political thrust in the years between 1875 and 1885 was the creation of the younger, more radical nationalist intellectuals most of whom entered politics during this period.
- They established new associations, having found that the older associations were too narrowly conceived in terms of their programmes and political activity as well as social bases.
- For example, the British Indian Association of Bengal had increasingly identified itself with the interests of the zamindars and, thus, gradually lost its anti-British edge.
- The Bombay Association and Madras Native Association had become reactionary and moribund.
- And so the younger nationalists of Bengal, led by Surendranath Banerjea and Anand Mohan Bose, founded the Indian Association in 1876.
- Younger men of Madras — M. Viraraghavachariar, G. Subramaniya Iyer, P. Ananda Charlu and others — formed the Madras Mahajan Sabha in 1884.
- In Bombay, the more militant intellectuals like K.T. Telang and Pherozeshah Mehta broke away from older leaders like Dadabhai Framji and Dinshaw Petit on political grounds and formed the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885.
- Among the older associations only the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha carried on as before. But, then, it was already in the hands of nationalist intellectuals.
- A sign of new political life in the country was the coming into existence during these years of nearly all the major nationalist newspapers which were to dominate the Indian scene till 1918 — The Hindu, Tribune, Bengalee, Mahratta and Kesari.
- The one exception was the Amrita Bazar Patrika which was already edited by new and younger men. It became an English language newspaper only in 1878.
- By 1885, the formation of an all-India political organisation had become an objective necessity, and the necessity was being recognized by nationalists all over the country.
- Many recent scholars have furnished detailed information on the many moves that were made in that direction from 1877.
- These moves acquired a greater sense of urgency especially from 1883 and there was intense political activity.
- The Indian Mirror of Calcutta was carrying on a continuous campaign on the question. The Indian Association had already in December 1883 organised an All-India National Conference and given a call for another one in December 1885. (Surendranath Banerjea, who was involved in the All-India National Conference, could not for that reason attend the founding session of the National Congress in 1885).
- Meanwhile, the Indians had gained experience, as well as confidence, from the large number of agitations they had organised in the preceding ten years.
- Since 1875, there had been a continuous campaign around cotton import duties which Indians wanted to stay in the interests of the Indian textile industry. A massive campaign had been organised during 1877-88 around the demand for the Indianization of Government services.
- The Indians had opposed the Afghan adventure of Lord Lytton and then compelled the British Government to contribute towards the cost of the Second Afghan War.
- The Indian Press had waged a major campaign against the efforts of the Government to control it through the Vernacular Press Act. The Indians had also opposed the effort to disarm them through the Arms Act.
- In 1881-82 they had organised a protest against the Plantation Labour and the Inland Emigration Act which condemned plantation labourers to serfdom.

- A major agitation was organised during 1883 in favour of the Ilbert Bill which would enable Indian magistrates to try Europeans.
- This Bill was successfully thwarted by the Europeans. The Indians had been quick to draw the political lesson.
- Their efforts had failed because they had not been coordinated on an all-India basis. On the other hand, the Europeans had acted in a concerted manner.
- Again in July 1883 a massive all-India effort was made to raise a National Fund which would be used to promote political agitation in India as well as England. In 1885, Indians fought for the right to join the volunteer corps restricted to Europeans, and then organised an appeal to British voters to vote for those candidates who were friendly towards India.
- Several Indians were sent to Britain to put the Indian case before British voters through public speeches, and other means.

#### **INC - Not a sudden Process:**

- The foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was not a sudden event, or a historical accident.
- It was the culmination of a process of political awakening that had its beginnings in the 1860s and 1870s and took a major leap forward in the late 1870s and early 1880s.
- The year 1885 marked a turning point in this process, for that was the year the political Indians, the modern intellectuals interested in politics, who no longer saw themselves as spokesmen of narrow group interests, but as representatives of national interest vis-a-vis foreign rule, as a 'national party,' saw their efforts bear fruit.
- The all-India nationalist body that they brought into being was to be the platform, the organiser, the headquarters, the symbol of the new national spirit and politics.

#### **Contribution of the Moderates**

- A notable contribution of the moderates is the economic critiques of British imperialism.
- The Moderates demanded:
  - Reduction in land revenue,
  - Abolition of salt tax,
  - Improvement in working conditions of plantation labour,
  - Reduction in military expenditure
  - Encouragement to modern industry through tariff protection
  - Direct government aid.
- The moderates also took part in Constitutional Reforms:
  - From 1885 to 1892, the nationalist demands for constitutional reforms were centred around:
    - Expansion of councils—i.e., greater participation of Indians in councils
    - Reform of councils—i.e., more powers to councils, especially greater control over finances.
  - The moderates severely criticised the Indian Councils Act of 1892 and they demanded:
    - A majority of elected Indians
    - Control over the budget
  - They also gave the slogan of "No taxation without representation".

- The British thought that they can use the councils to incorporate the more vocal among Indian leaders, so as to allow them to let off their “political steam”. The councils in their opinion can remain impotent and deaf to the criticism it faced.
- The nationalists had however, managed to turn the tables. They were able to:
  - Transform these councils into forums for ventilating popular grievances,
  - Use the opportunity for exposing the defects of an indifferent bureaucracy,
  - For criticising government policies/proposals,
  - For raising basic economic issues.
- The nationalists were, thus, able to enhance their political stature and build a national movement while undermining the political and moral influence of imperialist rule. But, at the same time, the nationalists failed to widen the democratic base of the movement by not including the masses.
- Campaign for administrative reforms:
  - They demanded Indianization of government services because:
    - Indians would be more economical
    - Salaries of British bureaucrats were remitted back home, amounting to economic drain
    - Also, this will reduce the discriminations against Indians on racial grounds
    - Call for separation of judicial from executive functions
    - Criticism of an oppressive & tyrannical bureaucracy
    - Criticism of an aggressive foreign policy
    - Call for increase in expenditure on welfare
    - Demand for better treatment for Indian labour abroad in other British colonies.
- **Moderates’ campaign for the protection of civil rights:**
  - Through incessant campaigns, the nationalists were able to spread modern democratic ideas
  - As a result of that, the defence of civil rights have now become an integral part of the freedom struggle.
  - Civil rights included the right to speech, thought, association and a free press
  - There was great public outrage on the arrest of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and other leaders by the British.
- **How did the moderates fare:**
  - The early nationalists certainly awakened the national sentiment.
  - They represented the most progressive forces of the time
  - They helped people realise the necessity to rally for common causes against a common enemy
  - They exposed the basically exploitative character of colonial rule.
  - They trained people in political work and popularised modern ideas.
  - Their political work was based on hard realities, and not on shallow sentiments, religion, etc.
  - They were able to establish the basic political truth that India should be ruled in the interest of Indians.
  - They created the base for a more vigorous, militant, mass based national movement for the future.

- They organised a number of newspapers and journals such as Bengali Newspaper, Hindustan Times, Rast Goftar, Bombay Chronicle, Induprakash and a weekly journal called India was published in England.
- **Important Moderate leaders:**
  - Dadabhai Naoroji,
  - Pherozshah Mehta,
  - D.E. Wacha,
  - W.C. Bonnerjea,
  - S.N. Banerjea
  - G. Subramania Aiyer
  - Gopal Krishna Gokhale
  - Rash Behari Ghosh
  - R C Dutt
  - M G Ranade
  - PR Naidu
  - Madan Mohan Malaviya
  - P. Ananda Charlu
  - William Wedderburn.
- **Assessment of the Policies of the Moderates (1885-1905)**
  - The achievements of this period were decried by the Radical otherwise called Extremist leaders of the early twentieth century. The policy of the Moderate leaders or the 'Old Guard' was criticised as 'political mendicancy'. Lala Lajpat Raj wrote: "It was at best an opportunist movement. It opened opportunities for treacheries and hypocrites. It enabled some people to trade in the name of patriotism."
  - A big charge against the moderates was their loyalty to the Crown. It may be mentioned that the Moderate leaders believed that India lacked some of the essential elements which constituted a nation and British rule kept them together.
  - As such they did not see any alternative to British rule in the foreseeable future. Their patriotism, therefore, demanded that they should be loyal to the British raj, for any termination of British rule was likely to be harmful to Indian national interests. B.C. Pal, then a Moderate leader, said in 1887, "I am loyal to the British Government because with me loyalty to the British Government is identical with loyalty to my own people and my own country...I am loyal to the British Government, because I love self-government."
  - In all fairness it must be said that men like Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir Dinshah Wacha, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Surendra Nath Banerjee etc. were the most progressive elements in Indian society and true patriots. They desired all-round progress and modernisation of India-social reform, modern education, industrial and economic development of India. They earnestly wished the betterment of Indian society and worked to lessen the harshness of British rule. Their main achievement was the appointment of a Public Service Commission in 1886 which caused disappointment and the enactment of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 which did not modify the basic constitution.
  - Further, their efforts resulted in a resolution of the House of Commons (1893) for simultaneous examination for the I.C. S. in London and India and appointment of the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure (1895). In addition, they did a lot of spadework. Their methods-the use of prayers, press and protests-brought about political maturity.

- Perhaps, the greatest service of the Moderate leaders was rendered when they assessed the economic impact of British rule on India. They focussed public attention on the fact of Indian poverty and explained that this poverty was largely due to the colonial exploitation of India's economic resources by Britain. The Drain Theory popularised by Dadabhai Naoroji, Dutt, Wacha and others was an open indictment of Britain's economic role in India. This Drain Theory was used as a convenient stick by the Extremist leaders to malign and spit British rule in India.
- **Opinions on the Moderates:**
  - **Gopal Krishna Gokhale:** Let us not forget that we are at a stage of the country's progress when our achievements are bound to be small, and our disappointments frequent and trying. That is the place which it has pleased. Providence to assign to us in this struggle, and our responsibility is ended when we have done the work which belongs to that place. It will, no doubt, be given to our countrymen of future generation to serve India by their successes; we, of the present generation, must be content to serve her mainly by our failures. For, hard though it be, out of these failures the strength will come which in the end will accomplish great tasks.
  - **Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** We cannot blame them for the attitude they adopted as pioneers of Indian political reform any more than we can blame the brick and mortar that is buried six feet deep in the foundation and plinth of a modern edifice. They have made possible the superstructure, storey by storey, by colonial self-government, Home Rule within the Empire, Swaraj and on the top of all, complete independence.
  - **Bipan Chandra:** The period from 1858 to 1905 was the seed time of Indian nationalism; and the early nationalists sowed the seeds well and deep. Instead of basing their nationalism on appeals to shallow sentiments and passing emotions, or abstract right of freedom and liberty, or on obscurantist appeal to the past, they rooted it in a hard-headed and penetrating analysis of the complex mechanism of modern imperialism and the chief contradictions between the interests of the Indian people and British rule. The result was that they evolved a common political and economic programme which united rather than divided the different sections of the people..... In spite of their many failures the early nationalists laid strong foundations for the national movement to grow upon and that they deserve a high place among the makers of modern India.

### **Indian Independence Movement-a mass based movement**



#### **Mass based movement**

A very large group of people who share a set of beliefs and want to change something.



**Concept of Mass movement:**

- The national goal of swaraj, and the means to achieve it through boycott in all spheres, or through the method of passive resistance as it was then formulated necessitated not only a widespread awakening of the masses, but also their whole-hearted participation in well-organised anti-British mass movements.
- The educated middle class had by and large awakened with the progress of the Swadeshi movement and even some members of the landed aristocracy and the representatives of commercial and mercantile interests were becoming sympathetic to the national cause.
- But the vast majority of the poorer classes, especially the working class and the peasantry, had not yet been brought in the thick of the struggle.

**Workers :**

- Some of the swadeshi activists (notably **Aswini Coomar Banerji, Prabhat Kusum Roychoudhury, Althanasius Apurba Kumar Ghosh** and **Premtosh Bose**) did, however, try to organise workers in Bengal, and direct their economic grievances into political channels.
- The lead in the direction came from 247 clerks of Bum Company in Howrah who struck work in September 1905 in protest against a derogatory new work regulation.
- This was followed by strikes in the tramways in Calcutta, in the jute mills and railway workshops. Coolies, carters and sweepers also took recourse to strikes in Calcutta to voice their economic demands.
- Such greater politicisation was noticed among the more militant printing press, jute mill and railway workers.
- A bitter strike in the Government owned presses resulted in the formation of the first real labour union, namely the Printers' Union in October 1905.
- A similar struggle of the employees of the Eastern Indian Railway saw the organisation of a Railwaymen's Union in July 1906.
- There were attempts on the part of the swadeshi leaders like **Bepin Chandra Pal, Shyamsundar Chakrabarty and Liakat Hussain** to organise agitated railway workers in **Asansol, Raniganj and Jamalpur**, which ended up in police firing at the Jamalpur Workshop 27 August, 1906.
- The jute mill workers, who agitated almost on similar lines from 1905, were led by **Aswini Coomar Banerji** to form an Indian Millhands' Union at Budge-Budge in August 1906.
- However, all these unions later on suffered a set back in the face of the hostility of the Government.
- Not being ideologically committed to the cause of the workers, the enthusiasm of the nationalists in activating them steadily subsided after 1907.

**Peasants:**

- Workmen, they practically refrained from rallying the peasants. Although the samitis had numerous branches in the rural areas (like the Swadeshbhandhav Samiti which alone had 175 village branches in Barisal district), preaching passive resistance to the masses, they failed to stir up the peasants' irredimentation.
- To the bulk of the impoverished kisans, their patriotic calls remained vague, distant and even abstractly rhetorical.
- The reason was the lack of genuine interest among these leaders in improving the agrarian situation, or in formulating concrete programmes for the betterment of the peasant masses.
- The members of the middle class in Bengal, whether, professionals, clerks or businessmen, depended substantially for their economic well-being on the rentals from their ancestral lands.

- Their rentier character had, therefore, placed them into an exploitative category vis-a-vis the exploited peasantry, and had perpetuated a contradiction between their interests and the peasants' aspirations.
- Already the Bengali middle class did not generally approve of the meagre tenurial rights which the Government had conceded to the cultivators in the Tenancy Act of 1885.
- Its representatives had often been intolerant of the "**insolvent raiyats**", and as Bhadrals (gentlemen), they were contemptuous of the Chhotoloks (Lowly men).
- The Swadeshi movement did not raise any voice of protest against the peasant's burden of debts, his periodic eviction from land or against his continued subjection to begar (unpaid forced labour).
- No Samiti gave any call to the cultivators for launching an agitation on the issues of exorbitant tax and rent.
- Even a radical spokesman of the stature of the **Aurobindo Ghosh** expressly ruled out such campaigns lest they should hurt the interests of pampered Zamindars (Aurobindo Ghosh's articles in Bande Mataram, April 1907).
- What was worse, the strong religious overtone that the Swadeshi movement acquired in course of time - its undue emphasis on the Hindu revivalistic symbols and idioms - largely discouraged the Muslim peasants (who formed the bulk of the peasantry in east Bengal) from taking a lively interest in the great commotion.

### **Moderates and Extremist in Mass movements:**

#### **Moderates ideology:**

- The moderate leaders made modest demands from the British rulers in a very cautious and peaceful manner, mainly for two reasons.
- Firstly, most of the moderate leaders had an enduring attachment for the British way of life, a belief in the British sense of justice and fair play and a deep sense of gratitude towards British rulers.
- They believed that it was the association with the British rule and English education that had exposed them to modern ideas such as liberty, equality, democracy and dignity of the individual.
- Moreover, they were convinced that it was only due to the British rule that the much needed law and order, and effective administration had been established in India.

#### **Extremist ideology:**

- Unlike moderates, the extremist leaders neither believed in the goodness of the British rule nor in their sense of justice and fair play. They were aware that the British were driven by selfishness and had come to India to exploit her resources.
- The extremists' programme of action was radically different from that of the moderates and aimed specifically at arousing emotive indignation against British rule and thereby **promoting active involvement of the masses in the agitations.**
- The extremists **aimed at preparing the masses for the struggle** to gain 'Swaraj' by educating them, uniting them and instilling in them a sense of self-respect, self-reliance, and pride in their ancient heritage.

#### **Significance of Extremist:**

- Thus, under the Extremist leadership, the Indian National Movement gradually **began to acquire a mass character.** However, the extremists could not fully exploit the potential of mobilised people or of their radical methods like boycott and passive resistance.

- **They were successful in arousing the urban middle and lower classes, apart from mobilising the peasants and workers.**
- The Extremist leaders used religious symbols in arousing the masses; however, they did not mix religion and politics. Their concept of nationhood encompassed all religions in India.

#### **Swadeshi movement / Boycott movement:**

- Use of Swadeshi goods and boycott of foreign made goods were the two main objectives of this movement.
- On 7th August 1905, a Boycott Resolution was passed in the Calcutta town hall where it was decided to boycott the use of Manchester cloth & Liverpool salt.
- This message of boycott of foreign made goods was adopted by the masses and value of the British cloth sold there decreased sharply.
- Bande Mataram became the theme song of the boycott and swadeshi movements
- Leaders took to different methods in different places protest of the partition.
- Lokamanya Tilak took the movement to different parts of India, especially Poona and Bombay.
- He organized the Shivaji and Ganapati festivals in Western India (Maharashtra) to spread the message of the swadeshi and boycott movements.
- The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti set up by Ashwini Kumar Dutt, a school teacher, was a volunteer organization. Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai spread the Swadeshi message in Punjab and other parts of northern India.
- INC took up Swadeshi in its 1905 session presided by G K Gokale at Syed Haidar Raza led the movement in Delhi;
- Rawalpindi, Kangra, Jammu, Multan and Haridwar witnessed active participation in the Swadeshi Movement;
- Chidambaram Pillai took the movement to the Madras presidency.
- The Swadeshi and boycott movements gave great emphasis upon 'Atmasakti' or self-reliance in different fields, especially education as a means to re-assert national dignity.
- The Bengal National College was founded with Aurobindo as its Principal.
- Several National schools were established in a short period all over the country
- The Swadeshi movement gave great deal of encouragement to Indian industries.
- The period saw an explosion of Swadeshi textile mills, soap and match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops etc
- Acharya P.C. Ray's Bengal Chemicals Factory, became successful and famous.
- In the field of culture, there was a flowering of nationalist poetry, prose, & journalism.
- Rabindranth Tagore's Amar Sonar Bangla, which he wrote in protest against the partition of Bengal, became a rallying point of the Swadeshi and boycott movements and later inspired the liberation struggle of Bangladesh.

#### **Mahatma Gandhi and Mass Movement:**

- Satyagraha, The Rowlatt Act, Non-Cooperation Movement, Dandi March, Quit India Movement, Social Movements After Independence are started by Mahatma Gandhi for Independence of India as per the need of the society. He successfully organized mass movement on the following incidence & got aim of Independence of India.
- After arriving in India, Mahatma Gandhi successfully organized Satyagraha movements in various places.
- The effects of Non Cooperation on the economic front were more dramatic -

- Foreign goods were boycotted
- Liquor shops picketed
- Foreign clothes burnt in huge bonfires.
- Impact of these mass movements the import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922. It's value war dropping dramatically. Production of Indian goods went up.

**Significance:**

- The movement was a turning point in modern Indian history.
- It proved to be a 'leap forward' in more ways than one. Hitherto untouched sections—students, women, workers, some sections of urban and rural population—participated.
- All the major trends of the national movement, from conservative moderation to political extremism, from revolutionary activities to incipient socialism, from petitions and prayers to passive resistance and non-cooperation emerged during the Swadeshi Movement.
- The richness of the movement was not confined to the political sphere, but encompassed art, literature, science, and industry also.
- People were aroused from slumber and now they learned to take bold political positions and participate in new forms of political work.

**Nature of Peasant Movements after 1857:**

- Peasants emerged as the main force in agrarian movements, fighting directly for their own demands.
- The demands were centred almost wholly on economic issues.
- The movements were directed against the immediate enemies of the peasant—foreign planters and indigenous zamindars and moneylenders.
- The struggles were directed towards specific and limited objectives and redressal of particular grievances.
- Colonialism was not the target of these movements.
- It was not the objective of these movements to end the system of subordination or exploitation of the peasants.
- Territorial reach was limited.
- There was no continuity of struggle or long-term organisation.
- The peasants developed a strong awareness of their legal rights and asserted them in and outside the courts.

**Peasants' movements after 1857:**

- UP Kisan Sabha
- All India Kisan Sabha / Congress
- Bardoli Satyagraha
- Champaran Satyagraha
- Eka Movement
- Kheda Satyagraha

**UP Kisan Sabha:**

- After the 1857 revolt, the Awadh taluqdars had got back their lands. This strengthened the hold of the taluqdars or big landlords over the agrarian society of the province.

- The majority of the cultivators were subjected to high rents, summary evictions (bedakhali), illegal levies, renewal fees or nazrana.
- The First World War had hiked the prices of food and other necessities. This worsened the conditions of the UP peasants.
- Mainly due to the efforts of the Home Rule activists, kisan sabhas were organised in UP. The United Provinces Kisan Sabha was set up in February 1918 by **Gauri Shankar Mishra** and **Indra Narayan Dwivedi**. **Madan Mohan Malaviya** supported their efforts.
- By June 1919, the UP Kisan Sabha had 450 branches. Other prominent leaders included **Jhinguri Singh**, **Durgapal Singh** and **Baba Ramchandra**.
- In June 1920, **Baba Ramchandra** urged Nehru to visit these villages. During these visits, Nehru developed close contacts with the villagers.
- In October 1920, the **Awadh Kisan Sabha** came into existence because of differences in nationalist ranks.
- The Awadh Kisan Sabha asked the kisans to refuse to till bedakhali land, not to offer hari and begar (forms of unpaid labour), to boycott those who did not accept these conditions, and to solve their disputes through panchayats.
- From the earlier forms of mass meetings and mobilisation, the patterns of activity changed rapidly in January 1921 to the looting of bazaars, houses, granaries, and clashes with the police.
- The centres of activity were primarily the districts of Rai Bareilly, Faizabad, and Sultanpur.
- The movement declined soon, partly due to government repression and partly because of the passing of the Awadh Rent (Amendment) Act.

#### **All India Kisan Sabha / Congress:**

- This sabha was founded in Lucknow in April 1936 with **Swami Sahajanand Saraswati** as the president and **N.G. Ranga** as the general secretary.
- A kisan manifesto was issued and a periodical under Indulal Yagnik started.
- The AIKS and the Congress held their sessions in Faizpur in 1936.
- The Congress manifesto (especially the agrarian policy) for the 1937 provincial elections was strongly influenced by the AIKS agenda.
- The period 1937–39 was the high watermark of the peasant movements and activity under the Congress provincial rule.
- The chief form of mobilisation was through holding kisan conferences and meetings where demands were aired and resolutions were passed. Mobilisation campaigns were carried out in the villages.

#### **Champaran Satyagraha (1917)—First Civil Disobedience:**

- Gandhi was requested by **Rajkumar Shukla**, a local man, to look into the problems of the farmers in context of indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar.
- The European planters had been forcing the peasants to grow indigo on 3/20 part of the total land (called tinkathia system).
- When towards the end of the 19th century German synthetic dyes replaced indigo, the European planters demanded high rents and illegal dues from the peasants in order to maximise their profits before the peasants could shift to other crops. Besides, the peasants were forced to sell the produce at prices fixed by the Europeans.

- When **Gandhi**, joined now by **Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul-Haq, Mahadev Desai, Narhari Parekh**, and **J.B. Kripalani**, reached Champaran to probe into the matter, the authorities ordered him to leave the area at once.
- Gandhi defied the order and preferred to face the punishment. This passive resistance or civil disobedience of an unjust order was a novel method at that time.
- Finally, the authorities retreated and permitted Gandhi to make an enquiry. Now, the government appointed a committee to go into the matter and nominated Gandhi as a member.
- Gandhi was able to convince the authorities that the tinkathia system should be abolished and that the peasants should be compensated for the illegal dues extracted from them.
- As a compromise with the planters, he agreed that only 25 per cent of the money taken should be compensated.
- Within a decade, the planters left the area. Gandhi had won the first battle of civil disobedience in India.
- Other popular leaders associated with Champaran Satyagraha were **Brajkishore Prasad, Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Ramnavmi Prasad**, and **Shambhusharan Varma**.

**Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act— First Mass Strike:**

- Just when the Indians expected a huge advance towards self rule as a reward for their contribution to the war, they were given the Montford Reforms with its very limited scope and the shockingly repressive Rowlatt Act.
- Not surprisingly the Indians felt betrayed—more so Gandhi, who had been at the forefront in offering cooperation in the British war effort, and who had even offered to encourage recruitment of Indians into the British Indian forces. He called the Rowlatt Act the “**Black Act**” and argued that not everyone should get punishment in response to isolated political crimes.
- Gandhi called for a mass protest at all-India level. But soon, having seen the constitutional protest meet with ruthless repression, Gandhi organised a Satyagraha Sabha and roped in younger members of Home Rule Leagues and the Pan Islamists.
- The forms of protest finally chosen included observance of a nationwide hartal (strike) accompanied by fasting and prayer, and civil disobedience against specific laws, and courting arrest and imprisonment. There was a radical change in the situation by now.
  - The masses had found a direction; now they could ‘act’ instead of just giving verbal expression to their grievances.
  - From now onwards, peasants, artisans, and the urban poor were to play an increasingly important part in the struggle.
  - Orientation of the national movement turned to the masses permanently.
- Gandhi said that salvation would come when masses were awakened and became active in politics.
- Satyagraha was to be launched on April 6, 1919, but before it could be launched, there were large-scale violent, anti-British demonstrations in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Ahmedabad, etc.
- Especially in Punjab, the situation became so very explosive due to wartime repression, forcible recruitments, and ravages of disease that the Army had to be called in.
- April 1919 saw the biggest and the most violent anti-British upsurge since 1857.
- The Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O’Dwyer, is said to have used aircraft strafing against the violent protestors.

### **Bardoli Satyagraha:**

- The Bardoli taluqa in Surat district had witnessed intense politicisation after the coming of Gandhi on the national political scene.
- The movement sparked off in January 1926 when the authorities decided to increase the land revenue by 30 per cent.
- The Congress leaders were quick to protest and a Bardoli Inquiry Committee was set up to go into the issue. The committee found the revenue hike to be unjustified.
- In February 1926, **Vallabhbhai Patel** was called to lead the movement. The women of Bardoli gave him the title of “**Sardar**”. Under Patel, the Bardoli peasants resolved to refuse payments of the revised assessment until the government appointed an independent tribunal or accepted the current amount as full payment.
- To organise the movement, Patel set up 13 chhavanis or workers’ camps in the taluqa. ‘**Bardoli Satyagraha Patrika**’ was brought out to mobilise public opinion.
- An intelligence wing was set up to make sure all the tenants followed the movement’s resolutions. Those who opposed the movement faced a social boycott. Special emphasis was placed on the mobilisation of women. **K.M. Munshi** and **Lalji Naranji** resigned from the Bombay Legislative Council in support of the movement.
- By August 1928, massive tension had built up in the area. There were prospects of a railway strike in Bombay.
- Gandhi reached Bardoli to stand by in case of any emergency. The government was looking for a graceful withdrawal now.
- It set the condition that first the enhanced rent be paid by all the occupants (not actually done). Then, a committee went into the whole affair and found the revenue hike to be unjustified and recommended a rise of 6.03 per cent only.
- During the 1930s, the peasant awakening was influenced by the Great Depression in the industrialised countries and the Civil Disobedience Movement, which took the form of no-rent, no-revenue movement in many areas.
- Also, after the decline of the active phase movement (1932), many new entrants to active politics started looking for suitable outlets for release of their energies and took to organisation of peasants

### **Eka Movement:**

- Towards the end of 1921, peasant discontent resurfaced in some northern districts of the United Provinces—Hardoi, Bahraich, Sitapur. The issues involved were:
  - high rents—50 per cent higher than the recorded rates;
  - oppression of thikadars in charge of revenue collection; and
  - practice of share-rents.
- The meetings of the Eka or the Unity Movement involved a symbolic religious ritual in which the assembled peasants vowed that they would:
  - pay only the recorded rent but would pay it on time;
  - not leave when evicted;
  - refuse to do forced labour;
  - give no help to criminals; and
  - abide by panchayat decisions.

- The grassroot leadership of the Eka Movement came from Madari Pasi and other low-caste leaders, and many small zamindars.
- By March 1922, severe repression by authorities brought the movement to an end.

**Kheda Satyagraha (1918)—First Non-Cooperation:**

- Because of drought in 1918, the crops failed in Kheda district of Gujarat. According to the Revenue Code, if the yield was less than one-fourth the normal produce, the farmers were entitled to remission.
- The Gujarat Sabha, consisting of the peasants, submitted petitions to the highest governing authorities of the province requesting that the revenue assessment for the year 1919 be suspended.
- The government, however, remained adamant and said that the property of the farmers would be seized if the taxes were not paid.
- Gandhi asked the farmers not to pay the taxes. Gandhi, however, was mainly the spiritual head of the struggle.
- It was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and a group of other devoted Gandhians, namely, **Narahari Parikh, Mohanlal Pandya, and Ravi Shankar Vyas**, who went around the villages, organised the villagers and told them what to do, and gave the necessary political leadership.
- Patel, along with his colleagues, organised the tax revolt which the different ethnic and caste communities of Kheda supported.

**Non-Cooperation Movement:**

- On September 1920, At a special session in Calcutta, the Congress approved a non-cooperation programme till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were removed and swaraj was established.
- The programme was to include:
  - boycott of government schools and colleges;
  - boycott of law courts and dispensation of justice through panchayats instead;
  - boycott of legislative councils (there were some differences over this as some leaders like **C.R. Das** were not willing to include a boycott of councils, but bowed to Congress discipline; these leaders boycotted elections held in November 1920, and the majority of the voters too stayed away);
  - boycott of foreign cloth and use of khadi instead; also practice of hand-spinning to be done;
  - renunciation of government honours and titles; the second phase could include mass civil disobedience including resignation from government service, and non-payment of taxes.
- During the movement, the participants were supposed to work for Hindu-Muslim unity and for removal of untouchability, all the time remaining non-violent.

**Chauri Chaura Incident (1922):**

- When the people of the village Chauri Chaura were taking part in a Satyagrah during the Non-Cooperation movement on 5 February 1922, the British police stationed on the spot suddenly opened fire on them, causing in deaths and injuries to many.
- When the policemen ran out of their ammunition and found the gathering infuriated by the firing, they retreated and hid themselves in the police station. Someone from the crowd



sprayed kerosene oil on the 'thana' building and set it on fire. All 23 policemen who were inside the building were killed.

- This incident so deeply hurt Gandhiji who had all through the movement emphasized on peace and non-violence that he called off the movement suddenly.

#### **Khilafat Movement:**

- It was a campaign in defence of the Caliph of Turkey.
- After the armistice in 1918 it was feared that the Caliph would be deprived of his powers. Distressed at this prospect, the Muslims of India marshalled all their resources to impress on the British Government that the continued existence of the Caliphate (Khilafat) as a temporal no less than spiritual institution was the very essence of their faith.
- The peace terms (Treaty of Sevres, August 1920) crippled the power of Turkey and the deepest religious feelings of the Muslims were outraged.
- As a result there was a considerable unrest and dissatisfaction in India also. A campaign in defence of the Caliph was launched under the leadership of **Shaukat Ali, Muhammad Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.**
- In 1920 the Indian National Congress supported the Muslims' contention and under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, a non-violent non-cooperation campaign was launched.
- Gandhi's suspension of the non-cooperation movement on account of the Chauri Chaura incident, and his arrest in March 1922 weakened the Khilafat movement.
- It was further undermined when **Mustafa Kamal Atatürk** drove the Greeks from western Asia Minor in 1922 and deposed the Turkish Caliph in the same year; it finally collapsed when he abolished the Caliphate altogether in 1924

#### **Mopila rebellion:**

- The Mappilas were the Muslim tenants inhabiting the Malabar region where most of the landlords were Hindus.
- The Mappilas had expressed their resentment against the oppression of the landlords during the 19th century also.
- Their grievances centred around lack of security of tenure, high rents, renewal fees, and other oppressive exactions.
- The Mappila tenants were particularly encouraged by the demand of the local Congress body for a government legislation regulating tenant-landlord relations. Soon, the Mappila movement merged with the ongoing Khilafat agitation.
- The leaders of the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement like **Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, and Maulana Azad addressed Mappila meetings.**
- After the arrest of national leaders, the leadership passed into the hands of local Mappila leaders.
- Things took a turn for the worse in August 1921 when the arrest of a respected priest leader, **Ali Musaliar**, sparked off large-scale riots.
- Initially, the symbols of British authority—courts, police stations, treasuries, and offices and unpopular landlords (jenmies who were mostly Hindus) were the targets.
- But once the British declared martial law and repression began in earnest, the character of the rebellion underwent a definite change. Many Hindus were seen by the Mappilas to be helping the authorities. What began as an antigovernment and anti-landlord affair acquired communal overtones.
- The communalisation of the rebellion completed the isolation of the Mappilas from the Khilafat-NonCooperation Movement. By December 1921, all resistance had come to a stop.

**Civil Disobedience Movement:**

- Breaking of the salt law was just the formal inauguration of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It slowly spread to other areas
  - Mass strikes and processions.
  - Picketing of shops that sold liquor.
  - Women, young mothers, widowed and unmarried girls, played an important role in the picketing of liquor shops and opium dens and stores selling foreign cloth.
- Boycott of courts of law, legislatures, elections, Government functionaries, Schools and Colleges.
- Boycott of Civil Services, Military and Police services. Non payment of Land Revenue, Taxes and Rent.
- Peaceful picketing of shops that sold foreign goods. **Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan** raised the band of non-violent revolutionaries, the Khudai Khidmatgars, popularly known as the Red Shirts in the Peshawar region in the North West Frontier Province.
- **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel** led the no-tax campaign in the Kheda district.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru** played an important role in organizing the no-revenue, no rent campaign and the districts of Agra and Rae Bareli
- Defiance of forest laws took place on a large scale in Maharashtra & Karnataka, especially in areas with large tribal populations
- In Assam, a powerful agitation led by students was launched against the 'Cunningham circular'
- **C Rajagopalachari** led a similar march on the southeast coast from Trichy to Vedaranyam in Tamil Nadu.
- In Bihar, anti-Chowkidara tax campaign was initiated where villages refused to pay protection money to the local guards (chowkidars) who supplemented the meagre police forces in the rural areas. **Rajendra Prasad** took part in this.
- **K Kelappan** led a march in the Malabar region from Calicut to Payyanur.

**The Quit India movement:**

- When in 1942 Gandhi launched the 'Quit India,' Bharat Chodo Aandolan, numerous women were occupying influential positions, -members of student, trade, labour unions, peasant movements, and revolutionary outfits.
- **Uma Nehru** elected member and Chairman of the education committee of Allahabad municipality (1926); **Bibi Raghbir Kaur** was member Punjab legislative Council to which **Begum Shah Nawaz**, **Ms. Lekhwati Jain** were also connected.
- **Durgbai Joshi** elected member of Central Provinces Assembly; **Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur**, was an influential member of the Congress and All India Women's Conference (AIWC); **Sucheta Kriplani** headed the women's wing of the Congress.
- In 1942, the colonisers swiftly arrested almost the apex national leaders, but local, activists often women, propelled the movement, leading protest marches, hartals, demonstrations, hoisting the national flag, courted arrest, distributed anti colonial literature.
- **Subhadra Joshi** from underground published the cyclostyled newspaper 'Hamara Sangram.' **Aruna Asaf Ali**, the editor of the monthly Congress journal 'Inquilab' unfurled the national flag at Gowalia tank maidan in Bombay, went underground to direct the movement.
- Equally active were **Kasturba Gandhi**, **Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur**, **Rameshwari Nehru**, **Mrs. Satyavati**, **Lajjavati**, **Prbhavati Devi**, who were each imprisoned for varying terms, some kept in solitary confinement.
- Kasturba's death in prison was nationally mourned. Indira Nehru who as a child organised the Vanar Sena, joined the Congress in 1938, was imprisoned for thirteen months.



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