

B. A. (Hons.) Part - III
History - VII

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The Growth of Political Consciousness in India

Unit Structure

- 1.0 Introduction**
- 1.1 Objectives**
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1.0 Introduction

The dearth of a unifying sense of nationalism and patriotic feelings was one of the cogent contributing factors to the foundation and consolidation of the British rule in India. It may justly be said that before the nineteenth century the people in general were mostly callous and indifferent to political changes. There was no sense of unity, no conception of India as a nation of Indians as a race. There was neither any public opinion nor any forum to express and ventilate grievances. Even in the beginning of the nineteenth century signs of political consciousness in the country were hardly evident. No organised attempt was made to resist the Government's repressive measures, tyranny and merciless exploitation. Of course there was resistance against the British and there was reaction against the British rule. Signs of discontent and disaffection were discernible.

1.1. Objectives

But the struggles of various rulers and chieftains against the British rule did not have

a nationalist character. These lacked genuine patriotic feelings and they did not have the broader object of the deliverance of the whole country from the foreign yoke. More laudable and heroic were the struggles of the weavers and malangis, the peasants' revolt against Debi Singha, agent of the Zamindar of Dinajpore, the peasants' revolt in Bankura, the Choar revolt (1799) in Midnapore, the Sannyasi revolt (c. 1760 - c. 1800) in northern Bengal and later the Kol rebellion in Chota Nagpur. These revolts, obviously lacking in patriotic favour and outlook, were caused by economic factors and were more spontaneous in character. Though devoid of any national colouring these revolts revealed discontent against the exploitation and unbearable tyranny of the Company's Government and its officers.

1.2 Main theme

1.2.1

The growth of political consciousness, leading to the birth of the Indian National Movement for independence was one of the salient features of the nineteenth century Indian awakening. Significantly, the alien rule itself was basically responsible for the growth of Indian nationalism, as it is only natural for a subjugated country to aspire after and fight for freedom. Broadly speaking, nationalism in India was the product of western impact. It was western knowledge and education that provided the intellectual background to Indian nationalism. Study of European history and literature made the educated Indians familiar with the prevailing spirit of democracy, nationalism and liberalism of Europe. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the ideas of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Hume and others began to reach the Indian shores. These made a profound influence on the inquisitive and responsive Bengali middle class mind. It was Bengal where the British rule was first established and English education was first introduced. So it was only natural that Bengal was the vanguard of the growth of political consciousness and agitations in Indian in the nineteenth century. The growth of political consciousness and the beginning of the national movement in the nineteenth century may be attributed to a number of other factors.

1.2.2

The spread of English education and the foundation of the universities had great influence on the young generation of Indians. The universities were producing every year capable, brilliant, educated youngmen with ambition and aspirations. But suitable employments were not yet available in plenty. The principle of "Indianisation" of service was accepted as early as in 1833. A clause of the Charter Act of 1833 provided that "No Native of the said Territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company". The same principle was re-affirmed in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, where it was stated that "so far as may be, our subject of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge". But

these declarations practically remained dead letters. Educated Indians found the doors to higher offices barred. The British Government was reluctant to associate Indians with the administration at its highest level. Even in the lesser services the experience of the Indians was mostly unhappy. They suffered from a sense of humiliation and frustration which soon transformed into one of opposition to the foreign rule. One such notable example was the life of Surendranath Banerjee. The latter had passed the Civil Service Examination in 1869 but was consequently discharged from the Civil Service on trivial grounds. The real cause of Surendranath's dismissal was that the English officials still did not like to have Indians within their close preserve. His dismissal hurt the feelings of the Indians and was a rude shock to the aspirations of Indians to have a share in the administration of their own country. In his famous autobiographical work, A Nation in Making Surendranath writes, " I felt with all the passionate warmth of youth that we were helots, hewers of wood and drawers of water in the land of our birth. The personal wrong done to me was an illustration of the helpless impotency of our people."

1.2.3

Racial discrimination was a major factor behind the growth of Indian nationalism in the nineteenth century. An increasing irritation and sense of humiliation caused by racial discrimination accelerated the progress of the Indian freedom movement. The arrogance and aggressiveness of the Europeans in India, often displayed in the crudest form, the numerous privileges and exemptions enjoyed by them and the impunity with which they could humiliate, assault or even murder the natives of the country they had conquered served as painful reminders to the small but potent and influential class of educated Indians of their state of subjection to an alien rule, however benevolent it otherwise professed and appeared to be.

1.2.4

The current of nationalist ideas in Europe and the international political events also contributed to the making of Indian nationalism. The American War of Independence, the great French Revolution of 1789 and the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, the Greek War of Independence, the struggle of the Italians for independence and unification stirred the imagination of the Indians.

1.2.5

The establishment of a highly centralised administration had also its cementing effect. The improvement in communications, increasing travelling facilities, the adoption of English as the medium of communications by the intelligentsia, increasing social contacts, between the people of the different provinces gave a new meaning to the words "India and "Indians". On the growth of Indian nationalism Lala Lajpat Rai wrote that "the methods of the English Government in India, their educational system, their press, their laws, their courts, their railways, their telegraphs, their post offices, their steamers, had as much to do with it as the native love of country".

1.2.6

The rapid growth of the press, particularly the vernacular press, accelerated the growth of national consciousness. Besides fostering the growth of Indian nationhood the press started enlightening the people and largely influenced as well directed the course of the national struggle. From the early nineteenth century the number of newspapers and journals in India began to increase rapidly. By the end of the century there were more than five hundred newspapers in India. Some of the notable among these were Sambad Prabhakar, Hindu, Patriot, Indian Mirror, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Bengalee, Somprokash, Sulabh Samachar, Reia and Rayat in Bengal, Voice of India, Native Opinion, Bombay Samachar, Indu Prakash, Jame-Jamshed, Mahratta, Kesari in Bombay, Hindu, Swadeshmitram in Madras and later the Herlad in Bihar, the Advocate in Lucknow and the Tribune in Lahore.

1.2.6

Most of the nationalist leaders had their own forum. In many cases they were the editors and in some cases they were the proprietor-editors. It is significant that the invitees to the first Indian National Congress (1885) included a conspicuously large number of "Journalist politicians". The link between Indian nationalism and Indian journalism was very close and almost inseparable.

1.2.7

The economic condition of the country had been in the meantime deteriorating. Increasing Indian poverty became alarming. Famines occurred almost regularly and the Government did little to mitigate the peoples, sufferings. The steady "drain" of wealth had impoverished India. Many Indians, as Coupland observes, "Came to believe that it would have been better that India's natural resources should have been lain untouched and undeveloped until Indias had acquired the capacity to exploit them entirely by themselves". This feeling led to a reaction against the British rule even among those who had been its admirer for a longtime. The British economic policy leading to the ruin of flourishing Indian trade and industry and impoverishment of the people was bitterly criticised by Dadabhai Naoroji in the 1870s. This was the theme of his famous work, published later, entitled Poverty and Un-British Rule in India 1901. The condition of the cultivators was also worsening which was exposed in the works of men like Romesh Chunder Dutt.

1.2.8

The growing spirit of patriotism found expression in contemporary Indian literature whih in turn immensely helped the cause of Indian nationalism. Significant contribution, to mention only a few, was made by Bankimachandra Chatterjee, the composer of Bande Matram, Mihael Madhusudan Datta, Dinabandhu Mitra, Rangalal Banerjee, Hemchandra Banerjee, Nabin Chandra Sen and Rabindranath Tagore in Begali, Bharatendu Harischandra in Hindi, Subramaniam Bharati in Tamil and G.H. Desmukh, Visnusastri Ciplonkar and Sivaram Mahadev Paranjpe in Marathi literature. The effects of English literature and Western philosophy on

the educated Indians were not insignificant. As a vernacular paper remarked, "It is their Wilberforces, Hampdens, Mills, Brights, Metcalfes, Macaulays, and hundred of other great men, whose liberal principles have captivated us, and we have regarded them as the very model of morality, and hold them in veneration".

1.2.9

The growth of Indian nationalism owed much to the beginning of researches in ancient Indian history and civilization. The beginning was made with the foundation of the Asiatic Society in 1784. For an awakening of interest and curiosity in their own past, which largely infused into the Indians a sense of self-respect, the Asiatic Society founded by Sir William Jones played a conspicuous role. By laying emphasis on rational knowledge the Asiatic Society helped the growth among the Indians of an intelligent understanding of their national culture through scientific research. The works of William Jones, Prinsep, Cunningham, Max Muller, Wilson, Rajendra Lal Mitra and others unearthed and threw a flood of light on India's great heritage and ancient glory. These instilled into them a buoyant sense of pride and self-confidence. As Percival Spear writes, "All this attention was to the new class as water in a thirsty land, avoid as it was for respect. When it came from the new world of the West the source at the same time of so much criticism and scorn, it was balm indeed".

1.2.10

To these inspiring revelations were added the spirit of revivalism spread by the Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati and the Theosophical movement. Dr. B. B. Majumdar has observed that in the seventies of the last century religious men like Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Dayananda "did much more than the Orientalists to make the people proud of their own culture". Dayananda, a great Sanskrit scholar, founded the Arya Samaj. His main motto was "Go back to the Vedas", and he sought to remodel the society on Vedic ideals. He was in favour of drastic social reforms. He began the Suddhi movement i.e. conversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism. His mission was a great success among the masses in Northern India and he did much to revive the shaken spirit of Hinduism. Dayananda strictly eschewed politics. He argued that the Indians, own failings were responsible for the establishment of foreign rule in India. But gradually his movement began to gather "political undertones" and it contributed to the growth of extremist philosophy.

1.2.11

The Theosophical movement, started in India by Col. H. S. Olcott and later led by Mrs. Annie Besant, strengthened the Hindu revival movement. The spirit of reawakened Hinduism found reflection in the growth of extremism towards the end of the nineteenth century.

1.2.12

The success of Swami Vivekananda at Chicago and his inspiring speeches became a source of inspiration to young nationalists. Swamiji took no direct part in politics, but his

contribution to the Indian national movement was invaluable. His soul stirring messages put the image of the Motherland on a high pedestal. He gave expression to India's growing nationalism and spirit of self-help and independence. He was the very embodiment of courage, self-confidence and strength. His life and speeches inspired the nationalists to be more courageous and stronger and to work for greater success. "Heaven is nearer through football than through Gita", "What our country now wants are muscles of iron and nerves of steel", "For the next fifty years this along shall be our keynote - this our great Mother India" - words such as these were like molten lava pouring from a volcano destroyed all weakness, cowardice, hesitancy or timidity. It is no wonder that Vivekananda's life and teachings had a great impact on the Indian national movement. He has been described as a "Prophet of Nationalism" and the "Rousseau of India". Swamiji instilled a burning patriotism in the minds of the Indian youths and paved the way for the Swadeshi upsurge of 1905.

1.2.13 Conclusion

The growth of political consciousness leading to the beginning of the national movement for independence was one of the striking trends of the Indian Awakening. The remarkable transformation in the life and thought of the people, the new era of social, religious and educational reforms ushered in by great men of the age naturally accelerated the growth of Indian nationhood.

1.3. Summary

Factors responsible for the growth of political consciousness were :

- (i) Alien rule united the nationalists.
- (ii) Spread of English education.
- (iii) Racial discrimination.
- (iv) Nationalist ideas percolating from the West.
- (v) Growth of Vernacular literature and other literatures.
- (vi) Bad economy of the country.
- (vii) Researches in past history and culture of India.
- (viii) Socio - religions reform and Theosophical movemens also contributed.

1.4. Key words

Political consciousness; Middle class; Indianization; Autobiography; Discriminatioin; Vernacular Press; Ancient glory; Political undertones.

1.5 Questions

(A) Short questions :

- (i) Discuss the role of English education on the growth of political consciousness in India.
- (ii) How far the growth of Vernacular literature was responsible for the growth of political consciousness in India.

(B) Long Question :

- (i) Account for the growth of political consciousness in India during second half of the 19th Century

1.6 Suggested books

1. The Indian National Movement - N. S. Bose
2. India's Struggle for Independence - Bipan Chandra
3. British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance - R. C. Majumdar



**The Indian National Congress; Establishment,
early relations with the British Government.**

Unit Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Main theme
 - 2.2.1 to 1.2.19 Sub theme
- 2.3 Summary
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- 2.6 Suggested Reading

2.0 Introduction

It appears to some that the idea of an all-India organisation might have first come from some important events. The Delhi Durbar of 1877 which British organized to proclaim Queen Victoria as the Empress of India saw a grand gathering of hundreds of Indian Princes. This gave the idea for a similar gathering of the Indian patriots. The National Conference which met at Calcutta in 1883 was yet another occasion to develop that idea. Some newspapers were also advocating for the formation of a national body. For example, the Hindu wrote in early 1883 thus "Time had come when the people of India would assert their rights with all the strength of a national movement." According to some, the origin of the idea of a national body could be traced to the famous International Exhibition which was organised in Calcutta in 1883. To some others, when many of the Indian leaders from several parts of the country met in Decembr 1884 to bid farewell to Lord Ripon, "the idea of a common gathering patriotic men from al parts of India" dominated their thought.

2.1 Objectives

1.01

While the idea of a national organisation was thus gaining ground, it was an Englishman

named Allan Octavian Hume, who came forward to give that idea a practical shape. It was an irony of history that the Indian National Congress which came into existence by the efforts of an Englishman ultimately ended the British rule in India.

1.02

Allan Octavian Hume was the son of Joseph Hume, a radical Member of British Parliament who belonged to the northern regions of Scotland. Born in 1829, he came to India at the age of only twenty, and began his career as a District Officer. Twenty years later he was occupying the office of a Secretary to the Government of India. When he was fifty, he was already known for his sympathy for the Indian people and for his criticism of the British administration. Hume pointed out to his fellow Englishmen that they were ruling India at the point of bayonets while doing little for the good of the people. He reminded his own superiors that "a free and civilised Government just look for its stability and permanence to the enlightenment of the people and their moral and intellectual capacities to appreciate its blessings".

1.03

Feeling unhappy with the unchanging character of imperialism, Hume resigned from service in 1882. The poverty of the people distressed him greatly. While describing the 'dull misery' of the countless Indians, he once wrote: "Toil, toil, toil; hunger, hunger hunger; sickness, suffering, sorrow, these, alas! are the key-notes of their short and sad existence". He was worried to see how the Indian discontent against the British increased day by day. The gulf between the ruler and the ruled was getting wider. Reports from various sources convinced Hume that India was heading towards a 'terrible revolution'. As he wrote in a memorandum: "Many of the entries reported conversations between men of the lowest classes, all going to show that these poor men were pervaded with a sense of hopelessness of the existing state of affairs, that they were convinced that they would starve and die, and that they wanted to do something. They were going to do something and stand by each other, and that something meant violence".

2.2 Main theme

In the larger interest of Britain and India, Hume at last thought of a remedy. If the leaders of Indian thought could be united in a Congress to present the grievances of the people before the Government, things might improve, he felt. To him, such a Congress could work like a 'safety-valve' between the Empire and the growing dangers to its existence. Hume also knew the value of an opposition party as it worked in Britain. It warned the ruling party of its mistakes. In India, a national organisation like the proposed Congress could serve the Empire better by criticising the misdeeds of the Government. Hume, in fact, wanted to save the Empire from disaster by bringing a national party of the Indian people into existence.

1.2.1 Sub-theme

With such ideas, Hume met the new Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, at Simla early in 1885 to convince him of the necessity of an Indian party. The Viceroy took keen interest in the subject. Finally, in the summer of that year he gave his approval to Hume's proposals in consideration of the fact that "there was no organization of persons in this country who performed the functions which her Majesty's Opposition did in England. The newspapers, even if they really represented the views of the people, were not reliable and as the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in native circles, it would be very desirable in the interests as well of the rulers as of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it would be improved." The Viceroy made it a condition that his own name in connection with the Congress scheme should not be disclosed so long as he remained in India, and that the officials should not take part in the Congress as the administration was likely to be criticised by the members of the Congress. Hume agreed.

1.2.3

Hume thereafter proceeded swiftly to contact the Indian leaders in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other places. He proposed to them that the leading politicians of the country should meet towards the end of December 1885 in order to form a national union. The idea was accepted with joy and hope.

1.2.4

So, at last, the ground was ready for the meeting of the leading representatives of India in a common organisation. Most appropriately the name of the organisation became the Indian National Congress. It was the Bombay Presidency Association which made arrangements for the meeting of the Congress in the Coluldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the 28 and 29 December 1885. Seventy-two delegates, coming from all parts of India met in that historic first Session of the Indian National Congress. Among them were present some of the greatest Indians of that time like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, and Mahadev Govinda Ranade, Woomesh Chandra Bonnerjee, an eminent lawyer of Calcutta, was chosen as the President of the Session.

1.2.5

Thus was born the Indian National Congress. Its birth signified the advent of a new era. For the first time in history, a political party, representing the whole country and the nation, came into existence. It came to represent the hopes and aspirations of all people irrespective of caste, creed, language or region. It symbolised the unity of the Indian nation, and stood for the development of Indian nationalism. Allan Octavian Hume palced the following guidelines to be worked upon by the Congress :

1. Promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in the country's cause,

2. Eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices, in order to develop and consolidate the sentiments of national unity;
3. To record and discuss the representative and matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing social problems.
4. To formulate the lines and methods of action to be pursued by the Indian politicians for public interest during the next twelve months.

1.2.6

The President of the Session, W.C. Bonnerjee, described the gathering of the delegates as the "First National Assembly ever yet convened in India". "It was not merely provinces", he announced, "that were represented, almost all the Political Associations in the Empire were represented by one or more of the gentlemen present Surely never had so important and comprehensive an assemblage occurred within historical times on the soil of India."

1.2.7

The Congress at its birth wanted its birth-cry to be heard by the British. As Dadabhai Naoroji declared : "In dealing with Englishmen, make up your minds deliberately, speak clearly, and work perseveringly. Then and then alone can you hope to be listened to". "All that we desire is", said W.C. Bonnerjee, "that the basis of the Government should be widened and that the people should have their proper and legitimate share in it".

1.2.8

The Congress passed a number of resolutions criticising the conduct of the Government and advancing its demands. Side by side some of its members also expressed their loyalty to the British Crown. The Session ended with "three cheers" for Allan Octavian Hume. And, Hume raised "three cheers" for the Queen Empress.

1.2.9

It was clear in its very first Session that the Congress was born for great work. Hume saw in it the germ of a 'National Parliament'. In the words of Annie Besant : "The first National Congress dissolved, leaving a happy and inspiring memory of the fine work done, and unity demonstrated. India had found her voice. India was realising herself as a Nation... The rosy fingers of the dawn-maidens had touched the Indian skies. When would her sun of Freedom rise to irradiate the Motherland?"

1.2.10

The birth of the Indian National Congress was a great event in Indian history. At first it became an instrument of political consciousness. Next, it became the supreme force of national movement. Finally it started the struggle for independence. The Growth of the Congress, Moderates and Extremists : Their Political Goal and Technique.

1.2.11

The National Congress began to grow in dimension after its foundation in 1885. It held its annual Sessions in different cities of India year after year. While its first session in Bombay was attended by 72 delegates its second session at Calcutta was attended by 434 delegates and its third session in Madras was attended by 607 delegates. The Congress became a body of the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians. Gradually its message reached the people. Even though its leadership came from middle class intellectuals, it raised voice on behalf of the masses of India. It criticised the Government on different issues and blamed the British for the Indian poverty.

1.2.12 Relations with the British Government.

The Government felt disturbed at the Congress movement. The Viceroy, Dufferin, who gave his good wishes before the birth of the Congress became hostile after it was born. Many of the British officers criticised the Congress as a body of Babus, a microscopic minority, an organisation of no value, a body of discontented place-seekers or an organisation of unhappy educated persons, and a mischievous organisation. They criticised the Congress leader as men of straw who appealed to the ignorance and passions of the people but did not represent them.

1.2.13

In spite of such criticisms, the Congress went ahead to reach the people and work for them. As the Congress President in 1890, Pherozeshah Mehta declared : "We have survived ridicule, abuse and misrepresentation. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyalty. We have survived the charge of being a microscopic minority. We have also survived the charge of being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise." The Congress, in the first phase of its movement had towering leaders such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, William Wedderburn, Bepin Chandra Pal, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Ananda Charlu, Surendranath Banerjee, Rahimatullah Muhammad Sayani, Sanskaran Nair, Dinshaw Wacha, Subramania Iyer, Nawab Syed Mohammed and Henry Cotton. Their bold lead gave the organisation strength and stability.

1.2.14

For the first twenty years from 1885 to 1905, the National Congress worked as a moderate constitutional body. This period marked the first phase of its movement. Its main achievement during this period was to make itself a national organisation and to spread political consciousness among the people. During this period it exposed the evil effects of the British rule and advanced its demands through its resolutions. Among other things, the Congress

demandd enquiry into the working of the Indian administraiton, reform of Legislative Councils, inclusion of elected members, reduction of military expenditure, introduction of representative institutions, separation of judiciary from the executive, and reform of police. It criticised the taxation policy, suggested measures for the welfare of the peasants for development of local industries, and for spread of education. It came to play the role of an Opposition to an all-powerful Imperial Government. Through petitions and prayers, it wanted to move the Government for the welfare of the dumb millions.

1.2.15

But the Government turned deaf ears to the Congress demands. As Allan Octavian Hume, who worked as the General Secretary of the Congress for some years, said at one time : "The National Congress had endeavoured to instruct the Government, but the Government had refused to be instructed." Such indifference made the Indian patriots more and more restless. Many of them criticised the Congress for its moderation, many among the Congressmen also felt the need for a radical change in the Congress policy. As a result, towards the closing years of the 19th century, the Congress came to present two faces, the face of moderation and of extremism i.e. The Moderates and the Extremists.

1.2.16

It was natural that a national movement could not rest merely on petitions and prayers for a longer time. Some of the leaders felt that constitutional methods would bring good results, while others felt that bolder politices were necessary to change the attitude of a despotic Government. Thus there appeared in the Congress moderate and extremist sections towards the end of its first phase of existence.

1.2.17

The Moderates continued to believe in slow of progress through constitutional reforms. The Extremists got influenced by radical ideologies and patriotic idealism coming from various sources. In the writings and saying of great Indians like Swami Vevekananda and Swami Dayananda, there were inspiring calls for the nation to rise. Bankimchandra's famous hymn Vande Mataram inspired the youth to find a new image of their motherland. Aurobindo Ghose criticised the Congress for its moderate policy and preached fiery patriotism in his writings. Lala Lajpat Rai described the Congress moderation as weakness.

1.2.18

In Maharashtra. Bal Gangadhar Tilak rose to fame as an extremist leader with a radical philosophy. He believed in political agitation. In his publications the Maratha and the Keshri. Tilak aroused the national sentiment against the foreign rulers. He also organised the Ganapati and the Shivaji festivals for creating mass consciousness. Advocating a stronger movement, he wrote : "We are becoming so weak or lifeless that anybody may loved over us or tyrannise over us all", Realising the weakness of the Congress, Tilak wanted to make the

Congress movement a vigorous mass movement. "Then only" he announced "will the Government realise that to despise the Congress is to despise the Indian nation." In 1897 Tilak was sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment for his extremism, but the national movement gained ground because of that action.

1.2.19

While Tilak championed extremist theories, Gopal Krishna Gokhale still in the goodness of the British people, and advocated moderate means to achieve reforms. Both these leaders were great patriots, both felt for their countrymen and both believed in the rise of the nation for a better future. But they differed in policies and methods to be adopted. Once Mahatma Gandhi compared these two great son of India in the following way : Tilak was like the Himalayas, great and lofty - but unapproachable, while Gokhale was like the Holy Ganges in which one could confidently take a plunge. Tilak and Gokhale were both Maharashtrians; they were both Brahmins; they both belonged to the same Chitpavan sect. Gokhale's aim was to improve the existing constitution; Tilak's was to reconstruct it. Gokhale had to work with the bureaucracy; Tilak had to fight it. Gokhale's ideal was love and sacrifice; Tilak's was service and suffering. Gokhale's methods sought to win over the foreigner; Tilak's replace him. Gokhale depended on outside help; Tilak on self-help. Gokhale looked to the classes and the intelligentsia; Tilak to the masses and the millions. Gokhale's arena was the Council Chamber; Tilak's forum was the village mandap. Gokhale's objective was Self-Government for which the people had to fit themselves by tests prescribed by the English; Tilak's objective was Swaraj, the birth-right of every Indian without let or hindrance from the foreigner. Gokhale was in tune with his age; Tilak was in advance of his times."

1.2.20

Gandhi's comparison of Tilak who represented the extremists group and Gokhale who represented the moderate group gives a vivid picture of the modes and techniques which the Extremists and the Moderates wanted to follow. As the Congress entered into its second phase, sharp division in the Congress became a marked feature on the above lines. Leaders like Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjee, Pherozeshah Mehta, and Sankaran Nair belonged to the Moderate group. They worked like political reformers. On the other hand, the Extremists were led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal. The trio became famous as Lal - Bal - Pal. They represented respectively three main regions of India, namely, Maharashtra, Punjab and Bengal where extremism began to grow. They believed in political agitation for self-government.

The division of the National Congress into Moderates and Extremists became more sharp with the coming of the 20th century when the Congress entered into its second phase of existence. The British policy, too, forced the Congress as a whole into agitational methods which came in the form of Swadeshi Movement, in the wake of the partition of Bengal in 1905.

2.3. Summary

- (i) Activities of A. O. Hume
- (ii) Birth of the Congress to aims and objects
- (iii) Early leaders and their views
- (iv) Attitude of the British Government
- (v) Moderates and Extremists

2.4. Key words

Indian Princes, District Officer, Opposition Party, Viceroy, Associations, Middle Class, Microscopic Minority.

2.5. Suggested Questions

A. Short questions

- (i) Write a short note on A. O. Hume.
- (ii) Indicate the main objectives of the Congress.

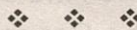
B. Long questions

- (i) Trace the genesis of the Indian National Congress. What were its main objectives?
- (ii) Review the birth and growth of the Indian National Congress.
- (iii) What were the main objectives of the Indian National Congress?

What was the attitude of the British Government towards it?

2.6. Suggested Readings

1. Social Background of Indian Nationalisation - A. R. Desai
2. Emergence of the Indian National Congress - S. R. Mehrotra
3. Genesis of the Indian National Congress - Amitabh Mukherjee
4. History of the Indian National Congress - Pattabhi Sitaramayya



Economic Imperialism - Manifestation and Impact.**Unit Structure**

- 3.0 Introduction**
- 3.1 Objectives**
- 3.2 Main theme**
 - 3.2.1 to 3.2.14 Sub-theme**
 - 3.2.15. Conclusion**
- 3.3 Summary**
- 3.4 Key Words**
- 3.5 Suggested questions.**
 - (A) Short answer questions**
 - (B) Long answer questions**
- 1.6 Suggested Books**

3.0. Introduction

Of all the national movements in colonial countries, the Indian national movement was the most deeply and firmly rooted in an understanding of the nature and character of the colonial economic domination and exploitation. Its early leaders, known as Moderates were the first in the 19th century, to develop an economic critique of colonialism. This critique was also perhaps their most important contribution to the development of the national movement in India - and the themes built around it were later popularised on a massive scale and formed the very pith and marrow of the nationalist agitation through popular lectures, pamphlets, newspapers, dramas, songs and Prabhat Pheries.

1.1. Objectives

Indian intellectuals of the first half of the 19th century had adopted a positive attitude towards British rule in the hope that Britain, the most advanced nation of the time, would help modernise India. In the economic realm Britain, the emerging industrial giant of the world, was expected to develop India's productive forces through the introduction of modern science

and technology and capitalist economic organization. It is not that the early Indian nationalists were unaware of the political, psychological and economic disabilities of foreign domination, they still but supported colonial rule as they expected it to rebuild India as a split image of the western metropolis.

3.2. Main theme

The process of disillusionment set in gradually after 1860 as the reality of social development in India failed to conform to their hopes. They began to notice that while the progress in new directions was slow and halting, overall the country was regressing and underdeveloping. Gradually, their image of British rule began to shatter and they began to probe deeper into the reality of British rule and its impact of India.

3.2.1

Three names stand out among the large number of Indians who initiated and carried out the economic analysis of British rule between the years 1870 and 1905. The tallest of the three was Dadabhai Naroji, known in the pre-Gandhian era as the Grand Old Man of India. Though a successful businessman he devoted his entire life and wealth to the creation of national movement in India. His near contemporary, justice Mahadev Govind Ranade, taught an entire generation of Indians the value of modern industrial development. Ramesh Chandra Dutt, in his Economic History of India at the beginning of the 20th century examined in minute detail the entire economic record of colonial rule since 1757. These three leaders along with G.V. Joshi, G. Subramaniam Iyer, G. K. Gokhale, Prithwi Chandra Roy and hundreds of other political workers and journalists analysed every aspect of the economy and subjected the entire of economic issues and colonial economic policies in minute details. They raised basic questions regarding the nature and purpose of British rule. They traced the process of the colonialization of the Indian economy and maintained that colonialism was the main obstacle to India's economic development and nationalism.

3.2.2

They maintained that the essence of British imperialism lay in the subordination of the Indian economy to the British economy. They delineated the colonial structure in all its three aspects of domination through trade, industry and finance. Their view was that colonialism no longer functioned through the crude tools of plunder and tribute and mercantalism but operated through the more disguised and complex mechanism of free trade and foreign capital investment. The essence of 19th century colonialism, they maintained, lay in he transformation of India into a supplier of food stuffs and raw materials to the metropolis, a market for the metropolitan manufactures, and a field for the investment of British capital.

3.2.3

The early Indian national leaders were simultaneously learners and teachers. They

organized powerful intellectual agitations against nearly all the important official economic policies. They advocated the serverence of India's economic subservience of British in every sphere of life and agitated for an alternative path of development which would lead to an independent economy. An important feature of this agitation was the use of bold, hard-hitting and colourful language.

3.2.4

The national economic agitation started with the ascertainment that Indians were poor and were growing poorer everyday. Dadabhai Naoroji made poverty his special subject and spent his entire life awakening the Indian and British public to the continuous impoverishment and exhaustion of the country and the wretched, heart rending and blood-boiling condition of India. He declared from public platforms and in the press that the Indians were starving, they are dying off at the slightest touch, living on insufficient food. All this encompassing poverty was seen by them as man made and, therefore, capable of being explained and removed. In their search for the causes of India's poverty, the nationalists underlined factors and forces which had been brought into play by the colonial rulers and the colonial structure. The problem of poverty was, moreover, seen as the problem of increasing the productive capacity and energy of the people. In other words, as the problem of national development. This approach made poverty a broad national issue and helped to unite, instead of divide, different regions and sections of Indian society.

3.2.5

The early nationalists accepted with remarkable unanimity that the complete economic transformation of the country on the basis of modern technology and capitalist enterprises was the primary goal of all their economic policies. Industrialism it was further believed, represented, to quote G.V. Joshi, a superior type and a higher stage of civilization, or in the words of Ranade, factories could far more effectively than schools and colleges, give a new birth to the activities of the nation. Modern industry was also seen as a major force which could help unite the diverse people of India into a single national entity having common interests. The agitation for political rights may bind the various nationalities of India together for a time. The community of interests may cease when these rights are achieved. But the commercial union of the various Indian nationalities, once established, will never cease to exist. Commercial and industrial activity is, therefore, bond of very strong union and is, therefore mighty factor in the formation of a great Indian nation. Consequently, because of their whole-hearted devotion to the cause of industrilization, the early nationalists looked upon all other issues such as foreign trade, railways, tariffs, currency and exchange, finance and labour legislation in relation to this paramount aspect.

3.2.6

The early nationalists believed that however great the need of India for industrialization,